Arab-Sasanian Numismatics and History during the Early Islamic Period in Iran and Iraq

The Johnson Collection of Arab-Sasanian Coins

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Volume 1
Part I: Historical Survey
Part II: Coinage

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Anno Domini
ANS	American Numismatic Society, New York
b.	ibn (son of)
B	Breast ornament
BM	British Museum, London
BnF	Bibliothèque national de France, Paris
c.	*circa* (about)
Cat.	Catalogue
CE	Christian Era
ch.	Chapter
cmk	countermark
d.	died
E	Earring types
ed. / eds	editor / editors / edited
e.g.	for example
EI	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*
esp.	especially
et al.	*et alii* (and other(s), authors of books)
Fig. / Figs	Figure / Figures
fn	footnote
fpl	fixed price list
g	grams
h	hour (of clock) for die axes and position of countermarks
H	Hijrī (calendar)
JGSM	Janashia Georgian State Museum, Tbilisi
mm	millimetres
N/A	Not Applicable
no. / nos	number / numbers
nr	not recorded
NZK	Numismatische Zentralkartei, Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, Universität Wien
O	Obverse (used as prefix to die numbers)
Obv.	Obverse
OMJ	Orientalisches Münzkabinett Jena, Friedrich Schiller-Universität
p. / pp.	page / pages
pl. / pls	plate / plates
PYE	Post Yazdgard Era
Q	Quarter (of coin margin, followed by the number 1, 2, 3 or 4)
R	Reverse (used as prefix to die numbers)
Rev.	Reverse
trans.	translator / translated
U	unconfirmed (after a date)
var.	variety
wnr	weight not recorded
WQ	Tsumura *et al*. 2003
wt	weight
YE	Yazdgard Era

Conventional signs:

=	in catalogue descriptions indicates two or more coins are the same piece

PERSIAN AND ARABIC WORDS[1]

(for legends found on coins see the relevant chapters)

A page reference is given to one example of the word being used.

Persian / Arabic	English
ahl al-bayt	member of the household of the Prophet (**p. 22**) (Arabic)
al-burāq	winged horse of the Prophet Muhammad (**p. 371**) (Arabic)
āmārgar	superintendent of finances ('he who draws up the accounts') (**p. 1**) (Middle Persian)
ʿāmil	fiscal officer / agent (**p. 286**) (Arabic)
amīr	governor (also commander) (**p. 21**) (Arabic)
amīr al-muʾminīn	Commander of the Believers / Commander of the Faithful (**p. 19**) (Arabic)
ʿanaza	spear of the Prophet Muhammad (**p. 298**) (Arabic)
ansār	helpers of the Prophet, referring to those who converted to Islam in Medina (**p. 19**) (Arabic)
argbad	chief collector of taxes (**p. 138**) (Middle Persian)
asāwira	elite Sasanian cavalry (**p. 15**) (Arabic)
ashrāf	tribal leaders (singular *sharīf*) (**p. 23**), also meaning descendents of the Prophet Muhammad by his daughter Fatima (**p. 277**)
ʿatā	pay based on the role played by the recipient or his ancestors, later salary for those who served in the army (**p. 33**) (Arabic)
awqiya	equivalent of 40 dirhams (**p. 396**) (Arabic)
baghliyah	full-weight (**p. 278**) (Arabic)
bakhsh	district (modern Iran) (**p. 159**) (Modern Persian)
barsom	bundle of sticks (held by fire altar attendants) (**p. 41**) (Middle Persian)
dādwar	judge (**p. 1**) (Middle Persian)
dānaq	one-sixth of a unit (**p. 397**) (Arabic, derived from Middle Persian)
dawāniq	one-sixth of a unit (plural) (**p. 397**) (Arabic)
deh	village (**p. 2**) (Middle and Modern Persian)
dehgān/ dihqān	head of a village (**p. 2**) (Middle and Modern Persian)
dīwān	administrative body in various senses, including the pension system and register in the Umayyad period (**p. 21**) (Arabic)
driyōšan jādaggōw ud dādwar	defender of the poor and judge (**p. 1**) (Middle Persian)
ērānshahr	Iran and Iraq, the core of the Sasanian empire (p.s 1–2) (Middle Persian)
fals	copper coin (**p. 341**) (Arabic)
fitna	civil war (seduction / temptation) (**p. 22**) (Arabic)
framādār	commander of the regiments (**p. 2**) (Middle Persian)
fulūs	copper coins (**p. 341**) (Arabic)
fuqahā	doctors of the law (**p. 278**) (Arabic)
gōpatshāh	mythical beast: man-faced bull, sometimes crowned (**p. 366**) (Middle Persian)
handarzbed	a provincial functionary (**p. 209**) (Middle Persian)
hērbad	head of a town (teacher-priest) (**p. 140**) (Middle Persian)
hijra	flight, referring to the flight of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) from Mecca to Medina in 622 (**p. 19**) (Arabic)
iʿjām	diacritic marks above or below Arabic letters (**p. 45**) (Arabic)
ispahbād	military chief (**p. 2**) (Middle and Modern Persian)
jihād fi sabil allāh	fighting in God's path (**p. 19**) (Arabic)
jizya	poll tax (**p. 35**) (Arabic)
khalīfa	successor / deputy / leader of the caliphate (**p. 19**) (Arabic)
khalīfat allāh	deputy of God (**p. 19**) (Arabic)
khalīfat rasūl allāh	deputy of the Messenger of God (**pp. 19–20**) (Arabic)
khandaq-ī Shāpūr	moat of Shāpūr (Wall of the Arabs) (**p. 2**) (Arabic / Modern Persian)
kharāj	land tax (**p. 278**) (Arabic)
khatīb	leader of Friday prayers (**p. 92**) (Arabic)

[1] The meanings of words are those used in the text but may have other meanings as well. The exact meaning of some words is uncertain.

khawārij those who had gone out (i.e. the Khārijites) (**p. 23**) (Arabic)
kūra / *kūrah* district or province (**p. 1**) (Arabic)
kust one of the four divisions 'sides' of the Sasanian empire (**p. 2**) (Middle Persian)
kust-i ādurbādagān division of the north (**p. 2**) (Middle Persian)
kust-i nēmrōz division of the south (**p. 2**) (Middle Persian)
kust-i xwarāsān division of the east (**p. 2**) (Middle Persian)
kust-i xwarbārān division of the west (**p. 2**) (Middle Persian)
lā hukm illā lillāh There is no judgment except God's / God is the sole arbitrator (**p. 68**) (Arabic)
markaz provincial capital (modern Iran) (**p. 159**) (Modern Persian)
marz(u)bān provincial military commander (**p. 2**) (Middle Persian)
mashriq east (**p. 65**) (Arabic)
mawlā client of an Arab kin group (**p. 286**) (Arabic)
metqāl/ mithqāl unit of weight (**p. 35**) (Arabic)
mihrāb niche in the wall of a mosque indicating the *qibla* (**p. 298**) (Arabic)
mowbed chief priest and legal supervisor (**pp. 1–2**) (Middle Persian)
muhājirūn the emigrants, the followers of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca who went with him to Medina in 622 (**p. 20**) (Arabic)
muʾminīn believer (**p. 19**) (Arabic)
naxwār provincial official, possibly military (**p. 81**) (Middle Persian)
nō new (**p. 174**) (Middle and Modern Persian)
ōstān province (modern Iran) (**p. 363**) (Middle and Modern Persian)
ōstāndār provincial governor (**p. 363**) (Middle and Modern Persian)
pashīz copper coin (**p. 347**) (Middle Persian)
qanat underground irrigation channel (**p. 2**) (Modern Persian)
qurrāʾ those who had memorised the Qurʾān (**p. 25**) (Arabic)
rad spiritual master (**p. 2**) (Middle Persian)
rāshidūn Rightly Guided ('caliphs') (**p. 19**) (Arabic)
rustags / rustaq / rustas division of a *shahr* (**p. 2**) (Middle and Modern Persian / Arabic)
rasūl allāh Messenger of God (A reference to the Prophet Muhammad, PBUH) (**p. 19**) (Arabic)
sadaqa charity / tax (**p. 397**) (Arabic)
sadd-ī iskandar Barrier of Alexander (Wall of Gorgān) (**p. 2**) (Arabic, Modern Persian)
sāhib ash-shurta person in charge of public order (**p. 298**) (Arabic)
sēnmerv mythical beast, with forepart of a dog and wings and tail of a peacock (*simorgh*) (**p. 369**) (Middle Persian)
shahāda Muslim profession of faith (**p. 59**) (Arabic)
shahr district or province (**p. 1**) (Middle and Modern Persian)
shahrestān capital city of a *shahr* (**p. 2**) (Middle and Modern Persian)
shahrab provincial governor (**p. 1**) (Middle Persian)
shūrā committee (**p. 21**) (Arabic)
shurta police (**p. 277**) (Arabic)
simorgh / *simurgh* mythical beast, with forepart of a dog and wings and tail of a peacock (*sēnmerv*) (**p. 369**) (Modern Persian)
spāhbed military chief of one of the four regions (sides) of the Sasanian empire (**p. 2**) (Middle Persian)
stēr unit worth four drachms (stater) (**p. 35**) (Middle Persian)
sunna traditional portion of Muslim law based on Muhammad's words or acts (**p. 397**) (Arabic)
umma Islamic community (**p. 19**) (Arabic)
zakāt alms-tax (**pp. 396–7**) (Arabic)

FOREWORD

TOURAJ DARYAEE

We are still unclear about the way in which the Arab Muslims were able to conquer the Sasanian empire and bring an end to Persian rule in the Near East. This is because historians have mainly been dependent on literary sources, primarily those of the *futuh* literature, which were written some two centuries after the conquest. These texts provide an after-the-fact narrative in a boastful manner describing how a relatively small number of Arab tribes were able not only to conquer the Sasanians, but also the Eastern Roman empire. The narrative in these texts provides us with a story of what must have happened, i.e., the encounter, the battle and subsequent defeat of the enemy, and the taking over of towns and that of the Iranian Plateau, the Near East, and Egypt. We now know that there are many pitfalls and problems with the uncritical use of these texts and the corroboration of other sources at our disposal are needed to amend the history of the conquest of Sasanian Iran.

While archaeology and epigraphy provide some help, it is really the field of numismatics that presents us with first-hand evidence as to the process of the conquest of each city and its chronology, based on the mints and dates of the Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coinage. The plethora of Arab-Sasanian drahms (silver) and pašīz (copper) offers a provincial, as well as a local view of the political and religious developments which occurred between 650 and 750 AD. The rich and varied slogans, as well as the iconography on these coins, tell us much about the conquests and subsequent encounters and settlements in any given province of the Sasanian empire. The history of some of these provinces, such as Sīstān, is poorly understood. The analysis of Arab-Sasanian coinage helps us shed light on these areas and much more so that we can gain a better understanding of the seventh-century Iranian world.

Arab-Sasanian coinage is a transition coinage, witnessing the passage from the Sasanian empire to the Umayyad caliphate. They represent primary evidence, which includes dates and mints. Hence, we are able to understand elements of continuity and change from Sīstān to Azarbījān and from Khurāsān to Iraq and more. Hodge Mehdi Malek's own work on coinage began in the late 1980s with the study of the early Islamic coinage of Tabaristān. He then began to focus on late Sasanian coins, dealing with seventh-century Sasanian coinage. Since then, he has written more than a dozen important and incisive articles on Sasanian, Tabaristān, and Arab-Sasanian numismatics. In 2004, he published a seminal book on the coins of the Dābūyid Ispahbads of Tabaristān. He has continued to study Sasanian coin hoards, as well as the difficult history of numismatics in Sīstān. Malek has three decades of experience in the study of the late antique coinage of the Iranian world.

This book, written by Hodge Mehdi Malek who is one of the foremost authorities in the field of Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian numismatics, provides us with the most complete survey of such coinage. His study introduces these coins in a manner that can help those interested in the field of Middle Eastern studies better understand the process of conquest and settlement in the region. It provides a guide for others working on the same period. The publication of Hodge Mehdi Malek's study of Arab-Sasanian coinage is a very important step in understanding the history of Iran. Furthermore, the publication of such an important collection, which is perhaps the best in the world, along with his knowledge of Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian numismatics, makes this book an invaluable work.

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PREFACE

A large number of people have assisted with this book. One of the pleasures of numismatics is that it puts you in touch with so many interesting and helpful people, from museum curators to collectors, not to mention serious academics of both history and numismatics. Contributions from such people can be indirect as well as direct.

It is not practicable to specify precisely the contribution of every person who has helped with this work. However, the contribution of a number stands out. Dr Michael Bates (Curator Emeritus of Islamic Coins, American Numismatic Society) has been generous with his time and his own academic research. We have discussed and corresponded on many aspects of Arab-Sasanian coins and there are a number of references to his views in the text. Dr Stuart Sears has seen and noted many of the coins in the Johnson Collection, as well as providing some of his publications. Dr Stephen Album (Santa Rosa) has checked all the attributions in the catalogue, which took weeks of his time and expertise. He has been a constant source of inspiration and friendship since the 1970s.

As one would expect, Iranian numismatists have been key in obtaining details and images of rare and unusual Arab-Sasanian coins as well as information about collections in general. Amin Amini has shared his research and provided images of a number of unusual coins. His own publications are of a high standard and represent an important resource for both Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coinage. Dr Iraj Mochiri (1927–2015), with whom I have corresponded since we met in the 1980s was always ready to venture an opinion on otherwise puzzling coins. He provided copies of many of his publications and made his impressive collection available for research. Mr Shams Eshragh from Isfahān played a similar role. Both are sadly missed.

In the United Kingdom, it is difficult to know where to start. Generations of staff from the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum have been unfailingly helpful and supportive. Nicholas Lowick (1940–86), a towering figure in Islamic numismatics from the 1970s, was an inspiration and always found time to attribute and explain coins to me at a time when Arab-Sasanian coins were more of a mystery to me. Joe Cribb, from the 1990s, was always there to attribute and provide support. The greatest direct assistance has been from Dr Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, who has spent many days helping with this book and supplying images and details of coins from the British Museum collection. Susan Tyler-Smith has had the painstaking task of editing this book which she has done bringing together her skills as a numismatist and editor.

Others have helped check and review individual chapters, albeit any remaining errors are my own. The most significant contribution has been from Prof. Robert Hoyland (Professor of Late Antique and Early Islamic Middle Eastern History at New York University's Institute for the Study of the Ancient World) who read a draft of Chapters 1 to 4 and made numerous useful suggestions and corrections. In a work like the present it is difficult to do more than provide a limited account of the history as a context for the coinage. Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams (Emeritus Professor of Iranian and Central Asian Studies, SOAS University of London), with his unparalleled knowledge of Bactrian, has read many of the Bactrian legends on coins in the Catalogue and also reviewed Chapter 14. Dr Rika Gyselen of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) has corresponded with me for many years and has been of considerable assistance with Arab-Sasanian copper coins in particular, as well as providing copies of her well researched articles. She kindly read Chapter 11 and provided helpful comments and corrections. Johnathan Hardy (University of Minnesota) has created the excellent maps.

Dr Nima Nezafati (Assistant Professor of Economic Geology and Archaeometry, Islamic Azad University, Tehran) has corresponded with me and provided me with direction and literature on the sources of silver in ancient Iran for Chapter 13. Milad Vandaee (Azad Islamic University, Hamadān branch) has shared with

me his articles and photographs of Sasanian monuments, particularly Sasanian fire temples (*Chāhār Tāq*) and given permission to use his excellent photographs. Dr Ayman Ali and Osama A Abdelmaksoud have helped with Arabic linguistics; Dr Azadeh Malek has advised me on Persian linguistics. Ann Kavanagh typed the manuscripts.

Assistance has been given by numerous other people, whether by providing details of coins in other collections, permissions to publish, comments on specific issues, corresponding on points of interest, or providing copies or details of their own publications. In alphabetical order they include Dr Michael Alram (Künsthistorisches Museum, Vienna); Riaz Babar; Dr Zohreh Baseri (Muzeh Iran Bastan, Tehran); Andre de Clermont; Prof. Touraj Daryaee (University of California, Irvine); Tom Eden and Stephen Lloyd (Morton and Eden); François Gurnet; Dr Sebastian Hanstein (Tübingen); Prof. Stefan Heidemann (Professor of Islamic Studies, Universität Hamburg); Paul Hill (Sovereign Rarities); Seyed Mohammad Mojtaba Hosseini (Malek National Library and Museum Institution, Tehran); Dr Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen); Dr Konstantin Kravtsov (Head of the Section of Ancient and Oriental Numismatics, State Hermitage Museum); Georges Lofti, Dr Adrian Popescu (Keeper of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum); Prof. Eberhard Sauer (Professor of Roman Archaeology, University of Edinburgh); Dr Nikolaus Schindel (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for the Study of Ancient Culture); Dr Mamoun Al-Qaseer; Professor Thomas Stöllner (Deutsches Bergbau-Museum); Dr Elena Stolyarik (American Numismatic Society); Prof. Luke Treadwell (Ashmolean Museum and Oriental Institute, Oxford); Mohammad Hussain Yazdi Nejad (Stamps, Banknotes and Coins Museum of Astan Quds-e Razavi, Mashhad).

Thanks are given to the institutions and persons who have provided permissions for illustrations and their copyright is hereby acknowledged. The various coins are listed by collection in the List of Illustrations and in addition others have given permission to use images of buildings and objects: Stephen Album, American Numismatic Society, Amin Amini, Ashmolean Museum, A.H. Baldwin and Sons, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, British Institute of Persian Studies (images of coins in British Museum), Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, Fitzwilliam Museum, Gertrude Bell Archive (Newcastle University), Harvard University, Malek National Library and Museum, State Hermitage Museum, Morton and Eden, Ahmad Saeedi and Shah Firzan collection.

The high quality of the illustrations of the coins from the Johnson and British Museum collections is due to the expertise of Richard Hodges, who did the typesetting, artwork and symbols, and has been a great support throughout the project of compiling this book.

Finally, I would like to pay tribute to my parents Ali Akbar Malek (1919–2003) and Irene Elizabeth Malek (1928–2000). Both encouraged my interest in the ancient coinage and history of Iran. My father and I had many visits to the various historic sites and museums of Iran, not just in Tehran, but in many provinces throughout the country. I am most appreciative to my wife Azadeh, who has been a constant support in so many ways over the years it has taken to complete this book.

Hodge Mehdi Malek
London, 2019

INTRODUCTION

General notes and observations

The term Arab-Sasanian is not universally used in the same way by all numismatists. In its broadest sense it may refer to any post-conquest Sasanian-style coin. This work concentrates on coins struck by the Muslims after the conquest of Iran and Iraq until the 80sH. This includes coins struck by the Umayyads and their opponents such as the Zubayrids and Khārijites. The term Arab-Sasanian also includes the coinages of Tabaristān and Bukhārā. The coins of the former are covered briefly in this work, but those of Bukhārā are not discussed at all.[1] The term, Arab-Sasanian, can also cover coins struck by non-Muslims, some of which are included in this work. These include issues attributed to the Hephthalites with a mixture of Pahlavi and Bactrian legends and Zābulistān issues which again have no Arabic. On the latter the legends are primarily in Pahlavi but sometimes including Brāhmī script.[2]

The study of numismatics, as part of the historical picture, is a worthwhile endeavour. For the historian, though, Arab-Sasanian coins present certain problems which mean that caution needs to be exercised in their use.

Dates. These can be difficult to read. In addition, at least three different eras were used:

1. Hijrī (H): a lunar system commencing in AD622 when Muhammad fled from Medina to Mecca
2. Yazdgard Era (YE): a solar calendar based on the date when Yazdgard III ascended the throne in 632
3. Post Yazdgard Era (PYE): a solar calendar beginning in the year following Yazdgard III's death in 651

In some cases the dates cannot be real dates as coins with the same date appear for a number of rulers who could not have ruled at that time, or at least not concurrently (e.g. years 26, 30 and 43).

Mints. The attribution of a number of mint signatures is uncertain. Some numismatists have put forward firm attributions for certain mint signatures even though there is insufficient material to support such identifications.

Mis-identifications. The problem of mis-described coins, even by experienced numismatists, is so great that one should not rely on an attribution unless the coin has been seen or illustrated. This applies to modern auction catalogues and sales lists, including those from reputable auction houses and dealers.

Excavation provenances. Few Arab-Sasanian coins have been found in a properly excavated context. Most coins on the market have no established provenance.

Forgery. Contemporary forgeries exist which are apt to confuse modern scholars if not identified as such. Modern forgeries are currently less of a problem, but high quality forgeries are beginning to appear on the market, as has been the case with Sasanian coins. A modern forgery, unless identified as such, can easily lead historians and numismatists into error.

Publications of collections. No major collection has been published in full since 1941 when Walker produced his excellent, but now somewhat dated, catalogue of the coins in the British Museum.[3] More recently some very useful catalogues have been published such as that of the Ashmolean and Shamma collections.[4]

[1] The coins of Tabaristān are discussed in detail in Malek 2004. The so-called Arab-Bukhārān coinage, while covered by Walker in his 1941 work, was struck over an extended time from the ʿAbbāsid period onwards.

[2] For the Hephthalite and other issues with Bactrian legends, see Chapter 14. For Zābulistān issues, see Chapter 7 under mint signatures **ZAWL** and **ZAWLSTAN**.

[3] New varieties have come to light since Walker's work, not just date and mint variations, but at least a dozen new officials have been identified. The Bibliothèque nationale de France collection was published in 1953 by Guillou, a work replete with errors. The current collections of Paris, Berlin and Vienna are being published as part of the *SNS* series.

[4] *SICA* 1.

Historical sources. The historical picture is often confusing. Sources may be biased and contradictory, whether Arabic, Persian, Greek or Syriac.[5] All should be used, when relevant, without over-reliance on any one source. Much of the history of the Umayyad period is based on written compilations of the ninth and tenth centuries AD and judgment is required to determine the accuracy of each source. As has been noted:[6]

> 'If our goal is to comprehend the way in which Muslims of the late 8th and 9th centuries understood the origins of their society, then we are very well off indeed. But if our aim is to find out what really happened … then we are in trouble.'

Modern works. Study of the series is to some extent hampered by the varying quality of books and articles on the subject. Some of these have a tendency to present speculation as fact. It is far better to acknowledge that certain words or legends are currently not fully understood, than to assert meanings or interpretations which ultimately lack any proper foundation.

This work will not be free of imperfections and scholars will in some cases have their own, differing, readings of the coin legends. Nevertheless, it will hopefully put Arab-Sasanian numismatics on a sounder footing. Where there is more than one reading of a name, mint signature or date, this has usually been noted. The tables are intended to assist readers to correctly identify coins.

The catalogue is based on the Johnson collection, built up since the 1960s. The Arab-Sasanian series is so vast that no one collection can possibly hope to be complete. The discussion of each mint is intended to give an idea of the official / mint / date combinations known, but even that does not purport to be exhaustive. The text, where appropriate, notes how rare or scarce a particular issue or mint / date combination is. These are imprecise terms and to a certain extent subjective. Study of the series over many years gives one a sense of what is very rare (only one or two known examples), rare (few known examples), or scarce (more than five examples known, but not 10s). Coins which may have once been rare may no longer be so now, particularly when a hoard has appeared on the market. For example, coins of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad from Sīstān (**SK**) were rare in the 1980s, but are no longer so regarded.

Coins of Arab-Sasanian type reflect the administration of Iran and Iraq in the period after the fall of the Sasanians. In the heartlands of the former Sasanian empire, there must have been considerable continuity in administration. Thus the silver drachms of the Arab-Sasanian type were struck on thin flans in the style of late Sasanian drachms and to a similar weight standard. The population of Iran under the Umayyads largely retained their religion and conversion to Islam must have been gradual. Indeed mass conversion of the conquered populations in Iran and Iraq was discouraged by the Umayyads.[7] Even though Islamic phrases were added in the margin of coins (initially *bism allāh* or *lillāh*), the coins remained primarily of a Zoroastrian type with a fire altar with attendants on the reverse.

[5] For the Arabic and Persian sources, the prime extant histories can be divided into general histories, and local histories. The main general histories cited here include the monumental work of al-Tabarī (d. 310H) in Arabic and the Persian work written from about two decades later by Balʿamī, which was notionally a translation of al-Tabarī's work but with many differences and additions. The local histories tend to be less reliable, especially when covering events occurring long before they were written down, and they are a mixture of fact, legend, myth and even dreams. These include *Tārīkh-ī Tabaristān* (written by ibn Isfandiyār *c*.613H); *Tārīkh-ī Qum* (initially written in Arabic by Qummī *c*.378H, since lost, but translated into Persian *c*.805–6H); and *Tārīkh-ī Sīstān* (anonymous history initially written *c*.448H).

[6] Humphreys 1992, p. 69; see also Wood 2013, p. 6. For problems with the sources on the early conquests of Byzantine and Sasanian territories, see Donner 2010, pp. 90–2.

[7] Conversions did of course take place and the issue of conversion is a complex one. Some peasants tried to escape paying taxes by enrolling in the army, where conversion was the norm. However, many Arabs did not want such recruits in the army. In Central Asia some late Umayyad governors encouraged conversion. This would have led to a fall in tax revenues and such decisions to encourage conversion were often reversed. On the rate of conversion see Hanaka 2016, p. 36 who states that Persia became a majority Muslim country around 390H, but the timing is controversial.

Most legends on Arab-Sasanian coins use the Pahlavi script and the Middle Persian language, both of which had been retained by the administration after the Arab conquest. The first Islamic dirhams (usually referred to by numismatists as Post-Reform dirhams) with purely Arabic legends were struck in 78H. Around the same time coins of the Arab-Sasanian type were introduced with name legends of officials in Arabic. Some issues also had the mint and date in Arabic. This reflects the decision to use Arabic as the language of administration, when al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf was governor of Iraq and Iran. By 86H the Umayyads had stopped striking Arab-Sasanian coins with Zoroastrian motifs, with the notable exception of Sīstān. The production of crude coins of Arab-Sasanian type continued in Sīstān until the early ʿAbbāsid period. The use of Arabic, and the abandonment of Sasanian-style coin types, was part of a move to impose Arab domination over the administration of the conquered lands. This was also the case in areas previously under Byzantine control, where Byzantine style coinage was replaced by post-reform Islamic coins.[8]

One can often place Arab-Sasanian coins in context from the literary sources. A governor's name, and the mints striking for him, may match the areas under his control as recorded in the written sources. On the other hand Arab-Sasanian coins can help elucidate the often sparse and confusing historical literature. There are numerous examples of coins, though, where the named official is either unknown in the histories or his rule over the area implied by his coins is omitted from them.

History of the Johnson Collection

The Johnson collection, comprising British, European, Persian and Islamic coins, dates back to the 1840s. The core of the collection, housed in a large Spink and Sons mahogany cabinet, was inherited in 1972. The Arab-Sasanian part of the collection was put together from the late 1960s.

The sources for the collection are diverse. Apart from gifts from friends and relatives, much of the collection was bought from coin dealers in England, Germany, Switzerland, Pakistan and the USA. A significant proportion of the collection was acquired from a relatively small core of specialist dealers in Islamic coins, in particular Stephen Album (Santa Rosa, USA), William B. Warden (New Hope, USA), Omar Hamidi (Persic Gallery, Torrence, USA), Andre de Clermont (London), Robert Senior (Glastonbury), Manzoor Mirza (Islamabad, Pakistan), Riaz Babar (London and Pakistan) and Najaf Coins and Collectibles (Vancouver). Most of the large numismatic houses also provided material for the collection, in particular Spink, Baldwin's, Seaby (which merged with Classical Numismatic Group (CNG)) and Münzen und Medaillen AG (Basle). As can be seen from the catalogue itself, many coins have been bought at auction, albeit not all the coins purchased at auction prior to 1982 have been specifically so attributed. In England coins were bought from auctions at Baldwin's, Christie's, Glendining's, Morton and Eden, Sotheby's, Spink, and Wilkes and Curtis. In Europe, Münz Zentrum in Cologne was a fruitful source of coins (through which the Consul Meyer collection was sold). A comparatively small proportion of coins were acquired from auctions in the USA, including Stephen Album and CNG.

Purchases and exchanges with collectors have been another source of coins for the collection. Some coins were acquired at coin fairs, but given the specialist nature of the series, Arab-Sasanian coins are not often found at shows.

The Catalogue of over 1,600 coins is the largest collection yet to be published, representing most of the known types. Such a large amount of material allows one to draw conclusions about the series.

[8] Khanbaghi 2009, p. 203.

Structure of this work

Part 1 (chapters 1 to 4) provides a historical survey of the period ranging from the late Sasanian period to the Arab conquest and the early caliphs. The survey is intended to be an overview rather than an in depth commentary and analysis of a period where the sources are far from reliable and tend to be biased. This section is intended to provide some context for the more detailed consideration of each of the mint places listed in Chapter 7 and the persons named on coins listed in Chapter 9.

Part II (chapters 5 to 16) deals with the coinage. The legends are considered in Chapter 6 which should be consulted in conjunction with Part IV, Tables 3 to 5. Chapter 7 discusses every known mint signature and provides a list of all mint and date combinations by reference to the main publications, the Johnson Collection and other sources. All mint signatures are listed in Part IV, Table 6. Dates are discussed in Chapter 8, including the three main date eras employed on the coinage (YE, PYE and Hijrī). Date conversation charts are provided in Part IV, Table 2. Date legends are listed in Part IV, Table 7. The Arab-Sasanian series is marked by a significant number of persons named on coins. Each name is considered along with historical sources in Chapter 9 and the name legends are set out in Part IV, Table 9. Copper coinage merits separate consideration in Chapter 11, but the coin types are also listed under the relevant mint signatures in Chapter 7.

Countermarks are often found on Arab-Sasanian coins, particularly those from Khurāsān. Countermarks are discussed in Chapter 12, which includes a table of the main types.

Hephthalite issues are dealt with in Chapter 14, which principally concerns coins with Pahlavi legends which also have Bactrian legends or countermarks.

Late Sīstān Arab-Sasanian issues were struck during the ʿAbbāsid period. These issues are included in the Catalogue but only covered in summary form in Chapter 16.

Part III is the Catalogue of the Johnson collection, which is followed by the Tables in Part IV. The Tables aim to assist the identification of coins and the reading of legends.

Basic type and attribution guide

Figure 1 (over page) is an Arab-Sasanian drachm, with the typical features of the basic type, in the name of the Umayyad governor Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān from Bīshāpūr (mint signature / abbreviation **BYŠ**) dated 52H (**Pl. 26, 297**). The numbers relate to each of the main features and the key gives the cross-reference to where each feature is dealt with.

Figure 1a. Obverse (1.5x)

Key

Obverse

1. Crown with wings: Chapter 5, Obverse, section (5).
2. Name legend to the right of the bust: Chapter 6, Part A and Part IV, Table 3 for a list of name legends. On this coin the Pahlavi legend is **zyy't** / **'bwswp'n** for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān.
3. Legend left of bust, usually **GDH 'pzwt'** (*xvarrah abzūd*, ('the royal glory has been increased'): Chapter 6, Part B, and Part IV, Table 4A.
4. Obverse margin. For obverse marginal legends, see Chapter 6, Part C and Part IV, Table 4C for a list of marginal legends. On this coin the Arabic legend is *bism allāh* / *rabbī* ('In the name of God, my Lord').
5. Crescent (☾) / star (✸): at 3, 6 and 9h of obverse margin, symbols for moon and sun: Chapter 5, Obverse, Section (8).
6. Obverse bust: usually modelled on the bust on coins of the Sasanian king Khusrau II (590–628): Chapter 5, Obverse, Section (3).
7. Breast ornament: usually three pellets (∴) (jewels), many variants exist: Chapter 5, Obverse, Section (6), and Part IV, Table 8 for a list of varieties.
8. Earrings: usually three pellets (∴) (jewels or pearls), many variants exist: Chapter 5, Obverse, Section (5), and Part IV, Table 8 for list of varieties.
9. Crescent above right shoulder (often omitted): Chapter 5, Obverse, Section (4).
10. Fillets: left and usually right of bust: Chapter 5, Obverse, Section (4).

Figure 1b. Reverse (1.5x)

Key

Reverse

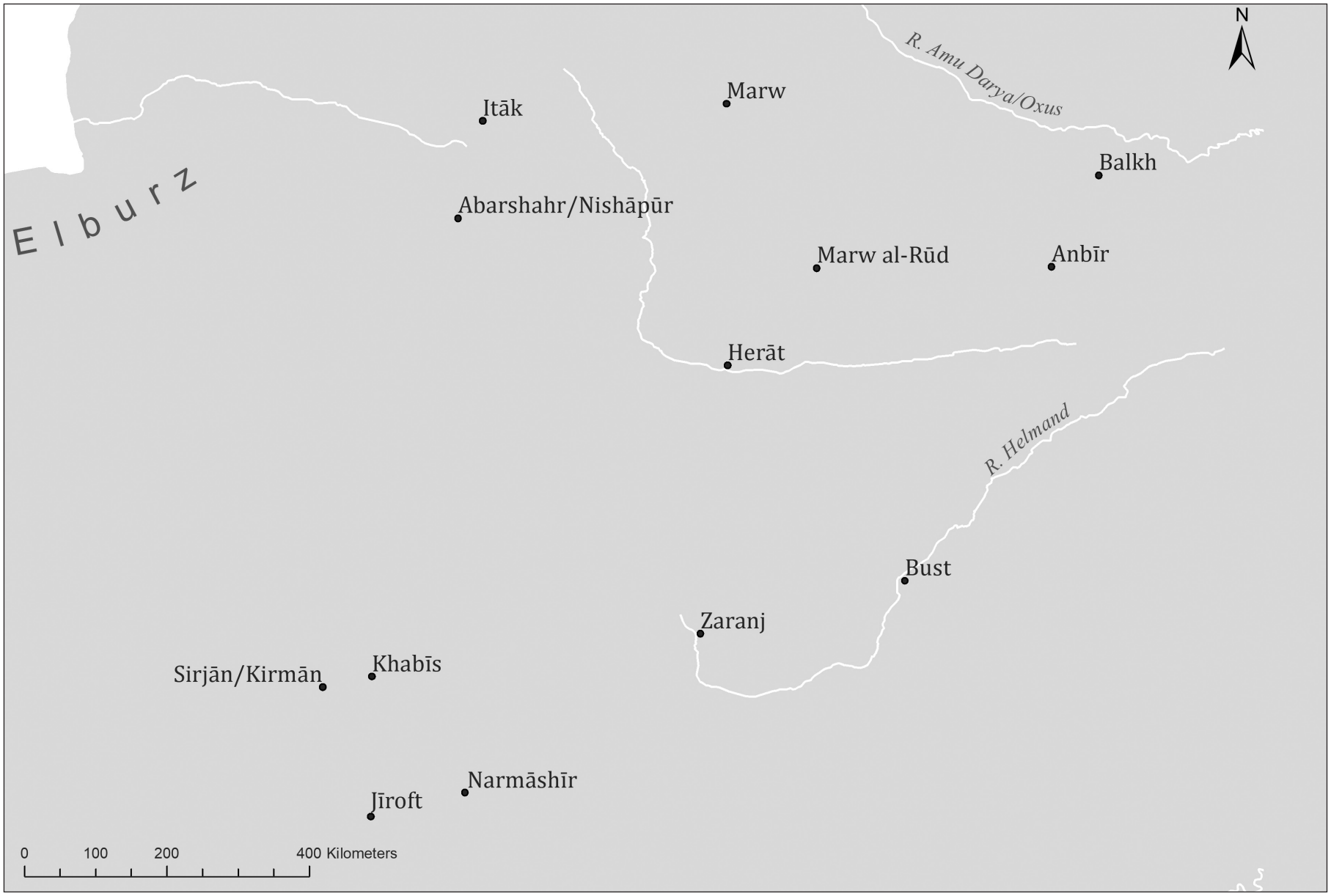
1. Fire altar with flames: Chapter 6, Reverse, Section (1).
2. Symbols either side of flames, usually star (✸) and crescent (◡), but variants exist and often omitted on late Sīstān issues: Chapter 6, Reverse, Section (2).
3. Attendants either side of fire altar: Chapter 6, Reverse, Section (1).
4. Mint signature to right of right attendant: Chapter 7, and Part IV, Table 6 for a list of mint signatures. On this coin are the Pahlavi letters **BYŠ**, an abbreviation for Bīshāpūr in Fārs.
5. Date to left of left attendant, generally in accordance with one of three eras (YE, PYE and Hijrī): Chapter 8, and Part IV, Table 1 (Comparative Eras), Table 2 (YE, PYE and H conversion charts), Table 7 (Date legends). On this coin the Pahlavi date legend is **dwpnč'** for 52 Hijrī.
6. Outer circle of pellets: usually three but occasionally a fourth added outside the crescent (◡) / star (✸) symbols: Chapter 6, Reverse, Section (3).
7. Crescent (◡) / star (✸): at 3, 6, 9 and 12h of outer margin: Chapter 6, Reverse, Section (3).
8. Reverse margin: usually no legend but occasionally a letter or rarely a group of letters or words. On this coin, in line with Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān's coinage, there is no marginal legend on the reverse.

Names

Those interested in Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian numismatics are faced with a plethora of spellings for personal and place names including Pahlavi (Middle Persian), modern Persian and Arabic. It is hard to be consistent while trying to use spellings which are at least familiar to readers. Where a place name has more than one spelling, the main alternatives are generally noted in Chapter 7. In the case of countries (e.g. Iran and Iraq) macrons are omitted entirely.

Map 1. Mint towns and provinces

Map 2. Mints striking Arab-Sasanian coins (western region)



Map 3. Mints striking Arab-Sasanian coins (eastern region)

CHAPTER 1

THE LATE SASANIAN PERIOD

1.1 *Khusrau II (AD 590–628) and the Byzantine Wars*

The vast majority of Arab-Sasanian drachms are based on the style of coins of the last great Sasanian king, Khusrau II (AD 590–628).[1] For this reason it is sensible to begin the historical narrative with his reign.[2]

At the beginning of the seventh century AD there were two great powers in the Middle East: the Byzantines who had inherited the eastern part of the Roman empire, and the Sasanians who had succeeded the Parthians. The Sasanians controlled the area between the River Euphrates in the west to the River Oxus (Amu Darya) in the north east, the core of which was modern Iran and Iraq. This area was called *Ērānshahr* (Iranshahr) though at times the Sasanian empire reached well beyond it.

The relationship between the Romans (and later the Byzantines) and the Sasanians was not one of permanent conflict. Wars were interspersed with long periods of peace. Neither power could finally defeat the other. The two empires were too large, entrenched and powerful to crush the other totally, albeit both suffered defeats in the hands of the other.

Both the strength and weakness of absolute monarchy is the concentration of power in one individual. A strong and long lived monarch could radically transform the reach and stability of the empire. A weak monarch or a series of short lived monarchs could be catastrophic. The Sasanians had their fair share of powerful and competent kings. The king needed the support of the nobility who, at times of war, could help with the provision of troops and other aid. A monarch who ruled without the support, even tacit, of the nobility was at risk.

At the time of Khusrau II's reign the Sasanians had a sophisticated and functioning administrative system. The state was strong and efficient with administrative structures and officials operating throughout the empire.[3] Officials of the civil administration included, among many others, the *āmārgar* (superintendent of finances), *shahrab* or *ōstāndār* (governor) and even a *driyōšan jādaggōw ud dādwar* (defender of the poor and judge, a post created from the ranks of the *mowbeds* / chief priests to help the poor and downtrodden).[4] Coins are an important guide to understanding the developed nature of Sasanian society and government. Coins were struck in high quality silver, in vast numbers, at numerous mints throughout the empire. They followed standardised formats in terms of style, imagery, size and weight. Taxation would be assessed and the bulk was probably collected in coins. As well as Iran and all of what is now modern Iraq, some areas of the Arabian peninsula on the southern shores of the Persian Gulf and Yemen were controlled by the Sasanians or at least their allies. The late Sasanian state was split into four administrative divisions, each with its own military commander. Each quarter was further subdivided into provinces which were then divided into *shahr* (districts, known as *kūra* after the fall of the Sasanians) each with its own capital city

[1] In Part I (Chapters 1 to 4), the dates given are in accordance with the Christian era (AD) calendar, unless otherwise indicated.

[2] Studies of specific aspects of Sasanian history have advanced considerably since the 1980s though there is still a great more to be discovered and analysed. For a discussion on Sasanian studies, see Daryaee 2016a. Numismatics is one of a number of disciplines which assists in building up a coherent picture of Sasanian history and culture.

[3] As Howard-Johnston 2014, p. 145 has explained, the notion that the Sasanians had a loosely-structured feudal state is 'surely absurd' once one examines the evidence.

[4] Much of this is reflected in the sigillographic evidence, so well analysed by Gyselen in her publications. Many Sasanian seals on the market are modern forgeries, hence the importance if at all practicable to work from clay bullae or seals with an established provenance or from an excavation. For a group of 800 confiscated clay sealings, now in the Bandar Abbas Museum, see Niknami and Naderi 2016, which also refers to groups found in an archaeological context, pp. 8–9.

known as a *shahrestān*.[5] The *shahr* or district was divided into *rustags* / *rustas* (*rustaq* in Arabic), of which the smallest unit was the *deh* or village, headed by a *dihqān* (*dehgān*).

The state's four military regions were under the overall responsibility of *spāhbeds* (*Ispahbāds*),[6] and *framādār*, who commanded the regiments. The *spāhbeds* had authority over the *marzbān* who mostly dealt with the military affairs on a provincial level. Similarly, the empire was split into four for administrative and religious purposes, where the *kust* (one of the four divisions) was under the control of a *rad* (spiritual master), who in turn ranked above the *mowbed* who supervised the legal apparatus in each province. The king had the ability to bring together a large army as and when needed. The aristocracy was powerful and could both support and oppose the king. The great families, such as the Suren family in Sīstān, the Mihrān family from Rayy and the Kāren family of Media, all had their own followers and military capacity. The lesser aristocracy, the *dihqāns*, lived in all parts of the empire and formed a backbone of support for the monarchy.

It is easy to understate the enormity of the Sasanian empire, its administration and achievements. Over the previous centuries the Sasanians had constructed major infrastructure projects, not just in Fārs, but also the hinterlands. In the north a series of defensive walls and fortifications had been constructed. The Darband Wall, irrigation systems and fortifications had been constructed on the western shore of the Caspian Sea.[7] The Darband Wall was 40 kilometres long, with 27 towers, traversing mountains and woodlands. It was a barrier which protected both the Sasanians and Romans, who at times paid a subsidy for its upkeep. Further to the east, were the Gorgān and Tammisheh Walls. The Wall of Gorgān, known as *Sadd-ī Iskandar* ('Barrier of Alexander') ran about 195 kilometres across the Turkmen steppe from the Caspian Sea to the Alborz mountains. It operated as a defensive wall against incursions from the northeast by the Hephthalites and others.[8] The Tammisheh Wall ran from the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea into the lower regions of the Alborz mountain range. The Sasanian cultivated lands in Mesopotamia were protected from Arab invasion by the Wall of the Arabs (*Khandaq-ī Shāpūr*, 'the Moat of Shāpūr'). Even in eastern Arabia, the Sasanians maintained a military presence in the late Sasanian period.[9] Across the empire there were large fortified cities. In many places of the *Ērānshahr* agriculture flourished with the aid of canals, as in Iraq, and the widespread use of *qanats* (underground irrigation channels). These major infrastructure projects required labour, organisation and finance. Only a strong and highly developed administration would have had the ability to build such structures. Currency was used to pay for such infrastructure projects, their development and maintenance.

In Sīstān in eastern Iran, control was not always maintained and there were fewer fortified cities and other fortifications built by the Sasanians. The Arabs in the south and on the other side of the Persian Gulf were not regarded as a major threat and by and large caused little trouble. The Lakhmid kings (Nasrids) centred in Hīra were in effect vassals of the Sasanians and acted as a buffer between the Sasanians and the Arabian peninsula.[10] This protection was eroded when Khusrau II killed the last Lakhmid king, Nuʿmān, and replaced him with a Sasanian governor. In a similar manner the Byzantines allied themselves with the Ghassānids (Jafnid clan), who were a tribal confederation in Syria, Palestine and northern Arabia.

[5] Daryaee 2009, pp. 30, 124. Gyselen, who is at the forefront of modern studies in Sasanian administrative divisions, prefers to reserve the term 'region' for the main divisions, such as Fārs or Kirmān. The *shahr* (or later *Kūra*) are better categorised as provinces, with the sub-divisions of provinces being cantons.

[6] Gyselen 2001, analyses *spāhbed* bullae from an archive that had been discovered in Iran. Bullae analysed by Gyselen have confirmed the division into four quarters, each with its own military chief: *kust-i nēmrōz* (south), *kust-i xwarbārān* (west), *kust-i ādurbādagān* (north), and *kust-i xwarāsān* (east). The sources do not agree on the areas included within the quarters: Jackson Bonner 2015, p. 96.

[7] Alizadeh 2014; Howard-Johnston 2014; Daryaee 2016b, p. 80.

[8] This vast structure was second only to the Great Wall of China in length. It was six to ten metres wide and there was a series of over 30 fortresses, at intervals of between ten and 50 kilometres.

[9] This is evidenced by the small military fort, Fulayi recently excavated in Oman: Jahwarj, Kennet, Priestman and Sauer 2018.

[10] For a detailed study on the relationship between the Sasanians and their allies, see Fisher and Wood 2016.

Fig. 1.1. Great Wall of Gorgān
(photography courtesy of Professor Eberhard Sauer, University of Edinburgh)

The Sasanians had a developed culture which is reflected in the many forms of Sasanian art: rock reliefs, stucco on buildings, silverware (ornamental plates and bowls), seals and coins. The quality of much Sasanian art is elaborate and of outstanding quality. The trade networks and routes of the Sasanians were extensive. They had outposts in India, China and elsewhere in the east. They controlled the silk trade with the Mediterranean which travelled from China along the Silk Route. Their production of carpets and textiles as well as their gathering of pearls from the Persian Gulf was famous across the civilised world. Their coinage was accepted over a vast area and Sasanian coins are found from western Europe to China.

The Sasanians had a developed legal system with access to courts and justice for all, from the nobles to the impoverished. This is reflected in the *Dēnkard* and the *Mādayān ī hazār dādestān* (‘the Book of a Thousand Judgments’). The latter was probably compiled shortly before the fall of the Sasanians as the last king mentioned is Khusrau II. Contracts would be prepared by notaries and approved by judges (*dādwar*), and copies kept in archives.

The religion of the empire was Zoroastrian. Other religious communities were allowed to co-exist, generally peacefully, though there were periods of persecution of both Christians (primarily Nestorians) and Jews. Fire temples were the focal points for Zoroastrian worship and these were administered by the priestly caste, the Magi, who also exercised administrative functions.

During the reign of Khusrau II’s father, Hormizd IV (579–90), there was war on more than one front. On the western front the Sasanians fought the Byzantines under Tiberius II (578–82) and Maurice (582–602) with inconclusive results. Hormizd IV also had to contend with the Turks or Hephthalites in the north east of the empire. His general Bahrām Chūbin (later Vahrān VI) was able to build up a power base through the prestige gained by defeating the Hephthalites.

Fig. 1.2. Maurice Tiberius (582–602), gold solidus, Constantinople mint, with emperor holding cross and on reverse angel, 4.45g, 22mm (Johnson 0783-0003)[11]

Fig. 1.3. Maurice Tiberius (582–602), bronze decanummium (10 nummi), Theoupolis (Antioch) mint, regnal year 5 (586–7), with facing bust of emperor on obverse, 3.29g (Johnson 0783-0004)

Fig. 1.4. Maurice Tiberius (582–602), bronze follis (40 nummi), Theoupolis (Antioch) mint, regnal year 14 (595–6), with facing bust of emperor on obverse, 11.54g (Johnson 0785-0010)

After his defeat of the Hephthalites Bahrām Chūbin was sent to Georgia, an area where the Byzantines and Sasanians vied for control. Hormizd IV was said to be jealous of Bahrām Chūbin and removed him from office. This led to open rebellion by Bahrām Chūbin in 590.[12] He was supported by other nobles who had felt the effects of an earlier purge by Hormizd IV, ranging from the powerful families (such as Shāpūr son of Khorbondād of the Spāhbad clan murdered by Hormizd) to local dynasts, the military elite and court nobility.[13] Al-Yaʿqūbī records that during the rebellion, Bahrām Chūbin struck many drachms in the name of Khusrau, supposedly to sow dissention between father and son.[14]

Hormizd IV was deposed by the nobility in the thirteenth year of his reign. Khusrau II was probably complicit in his father's murder in 590.[15] Khusrau II's authority was soon challenged and for some months Khusrau lost his throne to Bahrām Chūbin (Vahrān VI) and fled to Syria, to the protection of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice. These events are reflected on Khusrau's coinage. Late Sasanian coins were dated by regnal year. A king's second regnal year started on the New Year's Day following his accession. When a king was deposed and later restored, he would have a new crown which is shown on his coinage. Coins of Khusrau's first type, with a crown topped with a crescent and globe, are known for regnal years 1 and 2. They are followed by coins dated years 2 to 39 (those of year 39 are posthumous issues) showing a crown flanked by two wings representing Verethraghna, the god of war and victory.

[11] Unlike the Sasanians whose principal denomination was the silver drachm, the principal denominations of the Byzantines were the gold solidus and various denominations in bronze. The coins are full of Christian motifs.

[12] The written sources have differing accounts of Bahrām Chūbin's rebellion and short reign. Some of these are analysed in Maristo 2016, covering the accounts of the Armenian Sebeos (mid-seventh century AD), Simocatta writing in Greek not long after Khusrau II's death, al-Tabarī writing in Arabic (d. 310H) and the Persian Balʿamī (d. 327H). This reflects the complexity of piecing together a more or less reliable record of events. For the account of al-Yaʿqūbī (History) (d. *c.*298H), 1287-94; (trans.), vol. 2, pp. 463-70.

[13] Banaji 2016, pp. 182–4, 192.

[14] Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 1290, (trans.), vol. 2, p. 465

[15] The written sources are conflicting. Dīnawarī absolves Khusrau of any blame in his father's murder: Jackson Bonner 2015, p. 119. Most accounts place his material uncles, Bendoy and Bistām, at the centre of the killing.

Fig. 1.5. Khusrau II, drachm, first type and crown, mint **WYHC**, year 1 (590–1), 4.13g (Johnson 550499)

Fig. 1.6. Khusrau II, drachm, second crown, mint **PL**, year 15 (604–5), 4.07g (Johnson 770241)

In 591, with the assistance of Maurice, Khusrau II returned to power but had to concede Armenia and most of Georgia to the Byzantine sphere of influence. Bahrām Chūbin was defeated at the battle of Blarathon and fled to the east where he was later assassinated. The extent of Bahrām's rebellion is reflected in the fact that he was able to strike coins from at least eleven mints, dated years 1 and 2, from places as far apart as Khūzistān (**AW** for Hormizd-Ardashīr, now Ahwāz) and Khurāsān (**ML** for Merv / Marw).

Fig. 1.7. Vahrān VI (Bahrām Chūbin), drachm, mint **MY**, year 1, 4.10g (Johnson 030029)

Fig. 1.8. Visthām (Bistām), drachm, mint **LD**, year 3, 4.08g (Johnson 0790-0087)

About five years after he became king, Khusrau II made his move against his maternal uncles Bendoy (Bindoe, Bindūya) and Bistām (Vistāhm) who had helped defeat Bahrām, but who had also been among those who had overthrown Hormizd IV. Bendoy was soon killed in Ctesiphon, reportedly by drowning. Bistām fled to Gilān, where he raised an army and held out for some years with the assistance Bahrām's former allies. Bistām's rebellion lasted from about 595 to 602.[16] He took Ray (Rayy) in about 596, and struck coins there with the mint signature **LD**. Bistām was killed either by the Hephthalites or Turks, who had previously been his allies. Khusrau II's empire was now unified, with no internal threat and no major external conflicts. This position did not last and Khusrau II soon embarked on a costly and ultimately

[16] Jackson Bonner 2015, p. 127 places Bistām's death in 600.

destructive war with the Byzantines.[17] The trigger, or pretext, for the war was the murder of the Emperor Maurice and five of his sons by the general Phocas in 602. Maurice's eldest son, Theodosius, escaped to Sasanian territory and called on the assistance of Khusrau. Before setting out against Phocas in 604, Khusrau II made what in hindsight was a major strategic error. He deposed Nuʿmān III, the Nestorian king of the Lakhmid Arab buffer state, who had his capital at Hīra. With the status quo changed the Arab tribes were able to attack Iraq. The Bakr tribe and its allies defeated the Sasanians at Dhū Qār in around 611, showing that the Sasanians were not invincible.[18] The empire was now susceptible to attack from at least three fronts: the Arabs to the south who could attack Iraq / Mesopotamia, the Byzantines to the west, and the Hephthalites or Turks who could attack from the north east, into Khurāsān and Sīstān.

During his reign, particularly from year 21 to year 38 of his reign (610–27) drachms were struck in massive and increasing quantities from a large number of mints. This reflected the wealth and administration of the Sasanians, but also the need to fund Khusrau II's wars. It is striking that hoards of late Sasanian drachms, which are dominated by coins of Khusrau II, contain a large number of different mints and dates (often with few die matches, another indication of vast output and wide circulation).[19] This indicates that coins circulated quickly. This trend indicates that coins had become an important medium of exchange, means of payment of taxes and for the payment of troops, administrators, allies and tribute. While on one level it can be said that the primary purposes of coins under Khusrau II was the raising of taxes for the payment of troops and the administration during his wars, this seems rather simplistic. There must have been a substantial economy not limited to the agrarian sector but also trade and commerce, in order to raise such sums by way of taxes. The large output of drachms shows that, by the late Sasanian period, the economy was substantially monetised.

The usual type of silver drachm (the predominant denomination) in this period has the profile bust of the king on the obverse and a fire altar with attendants on the reverse. There is one rare type with a facing bust of Khusrau on the obverse and a nimbate facing bust of a deity on the reverse, who may either be Anāhitā or Adur.[20] A related issue was struck in gold. Long after the fall of Khusrau II this type inspired Arab-Sasanian issues in both silver[21] and copper.[22]

Fig. 1.9. Khusrau II, gold dinar, Anāhitā type, year 21 (610–11), 4.59g (Johnson 555517)

[17] There are numerous and often conflicting and unreliable sources on the Persian-Byzantine war under Khusrau II. Yarshater 1983, vol. 3(1), chapter 4 (Frye), pp. 165–70 provides a useful summary used here. See also Malek 2002 (which discusses history and special Anāhitā type coinage); Frye 1984, p. 336; Rawlinson 1885, chapter 24; Shahid 1972; Greatrex and Lieu 2002, which provides extracts from primary written sources. For a helpful translation of primary sources covering this period (Theophanes d. 818), Agapius from 940s, Michael the Syrian d. 1199, and anonymous author (from 1230s) see Hoyland 2011, pp. 46–85. For a summary of the successes of Khusrau II and his armies in a numismatic context, see Howard-Johnston 2015. For a monograph on Khusrau II's reign generally, see Baca-Winters 2018.

[18] This was probably not a major battle. Its importance has been exaggerated in the Arabic sources in the light of subsequent events. Many different dates have been given for this event.

[19] Malek 2015, p. 310.

[20] For a discussion of this and other similar issues and their context of the war with the Byzantines, see Malek 2002, Howard-Johnston 2014, pp. 168–71; Howard-Johnston 2015, pp. 14–15.

[21] These are from Khurāsān and Zābulistān struck independently of the Arabs with no Arabic legends. For examples see Vondrovec 2014, vol. 2, p. 669, type 216 Mardān Shāh-Spur from Zābulistān (**Pl. 114, 1339**); p. 656, type 208 Tegin, king of Khurāsān (**Pl. 115, 1352**).

[22] Gyselen 2009, types 65 in the name of Khusrau (**Pl. 124, 1486**); 110 with **KWAT** (7.59) mint signature (**Pl. 119, 1419**); 51 with **ZĀWLSTĀN** (7.119) mint signature.

Fig. 1.10. Khusrau II, drachm, Anāhitā type, year 36 (625–6), 3.93g (Johnson 555511)

For much of his reign Khusrau II had considerable success in his war against the Byzantines. In 604 he took Edessa and the next year Dārā,[23] and defeated a Byzantine army at Arzamon. Successes in Armenia, Cappadocia and further south followed and by 610 all the Byzantine cities east of the Euphrates had been captured.[24] In 610 Phocas was deposed by Heraclius (610–41) but he was unable to stem the Sasanian advance and he sent an embassy seeking peace. This was rebuffed and the Sasanian advance continued. By 614, the Sasanians, led by Shahrbarāz, was able to overrun Palestine and take Jerusalem.[25] In 615 the Sasanian army in the north reached Chalcedon, on the Bosphoros opposite Constantinople.[26] Shahrbarāz continued southwards, taking Alexandria and by 619 Egypt was under Sasanian occupation. The Sasanians held Alexandria for the next decade during which time they struck 12 nummi (and smaller denomination) bronze coins in Byzantine style. The Sasanians also appear to have permitted Byzantine-type coins to be struck in Syria during their occupation.[27]

Fig. 1.11. Phocas (602–10), gold solidus, Constantinople mint, regnal year 8 (609–10), with emperor holding cross and further cross on head, and on reverse an angel, 4.44g, 20mm (Johnson 0783-0005)

Fig. 1.12. Phocas (602–10), bronze decanunnum (10 nummi), Theoupolis (Antioch) mint, regnal year 6 (607–8), 2.94g (Johnson 0783-0006). The obverse shows Phocas and Leontia standing holding globus cruciger and cruciform sceptre respectively with a cross above between them

Fig. 1.13. Heraclius (610–41), bronze follis, Cyzicus mint, regnal year 3 (612–3, with facing bust of emperor on obverse, 11.08g, 31mm (Johnson 0784-0003)

[23] Theophanes, trans. Mango and Scott 1997, p. 402. Some sources place this in the summer of 604.

[24] Theophanes, p. 428 (a hostile and not wholly reliable source).

[25] Schick 1995, chapter 2.

[26] *Chronicon Paschale*, pp. 159–62.

[27] Pottier 2004 and 2010, lists various types he considers were struck during the Sasanian occupation.

Fig. 1.14. Khusrau II, bronze dodecanummium (12 nummi), with facing bust and cross above head, distinctive star left and crescent right of bust, Alexandria mints, Göbl type VII/8, 4.37g (Johnson 550254)

Fig. 1.15. Khusrau II, bronze dodecanummium (12 nummi), with crescent and cross above facing bust, Alexandria mint, Göbl type VIII/9, 12.92g (Johnson 550260)

In the 620s Heraclius began to have some successes.[28] Faced with a critical situation he reorganised the army, declared a holy war and persuaded the Church to contribute towards his counterattack. Although Heraclius had successes in Armenia and Anatolia the Sasanians remained in control of Palestine, Egypt and Syria. The turning point for Heraclius came in 627 when he formed an alliance with the Turks. In January 628 he plundered the royal palace at Dastagird, and Khusrau II fled to Ctesiphon. After taking enormous treasures from Dastagird, Heraclius and his army withdrew.[29] A revolt of some of the nobles resulted in Khusrau II's imprisonment. At the end of February 628 Khusrau II was murdered and in his place his son Shiroe was proclaimed king as Kavād II.[30]

Fig. 1.16. Heraclius (610–41), with Heraclius Constantine on obverse, bronze dodecanummium (12 nummi), 6.87g, 18mm (Johnson 0784-0004)

Fig. 1.17. Heraclius (610–41), with Heraclius Constantine, gold solidus, Constantinople mint, undated, 4.46g (Johnson 0780-0002)

1.2 *Monarchy in turmoil AD 628–32*

1.2.1 *Kavād II (AD 628)*[31]

The death of Khusrau led to a succession of short reigned kings and queens over the following four years. Most are represented on the coinage, but the sequence of rulers, length of their reigns and even the identities

[28] Norwich 1990, pp. 286–301; Isaac 1995, pp. 132–7; al-Tabarī, I, 1001-5, al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 5, pp. 317–24 (a later, inaccurate and biased account).

[29] For Heraclius' campaigns against the Sasanians, see Howard-Johnston 2006, chapter 4 ('The Official History of Heraclius' Persian Campaigns') and chapter 8 ('Heraclius' Persian campaigns and the revival of the Eastern Roman Empire').

[30] Wood 2013, pp. 215–7 for a discussion of the varying accounts in sources as to the murder of Khusrau II; Howard-Johnston 2006, chapter 9 ('Pride and fall: Khusrau II and his regime, 626–628'); Hoyland 2018, p. 127 (al-Yaʿqūbī).

[31] Malek 1995b; Malek 2013, p. 486.

of those who held the crown is often uncertain. All the main textual sources agree that the first two rulers after Khusrau II were his son Kavād II and grandson Ardashīr III.[32]

Kavād II, anxious to eliminate potential rivals and to preserve his own position, had all his brothers and half-brothers murdered. He made peace with Heraclius which led to Sasanian troops withdrawing to the pre-war boundaries, and ultimately to the return of the True Cross which had been taken from Jerusalem.[33]

Kavād II struck silver drachms only, all dated year 2, at least 25 different mints, reflecting his maintenance of central control over a wide area.[34] His reign was short, probably less than a year.

Fig. 1.18. Kavād II, drachm, mint **AYL**, year 2, 4.07g (Johnson 771077)

1.2.2 *Ardashīr III (AD 628–9)*[35]

In September 628, Ardashīr III, no more than a young boy, succeeded his father. He struck drachms only, dated regnal years 1 and 2, at over 30 different mints, again showing that the central administration had not broken down.[36] His earliest coins, dated year 1, show him wearing his first crown with a crescent on top. Coins dated years 1 and 2 show his winged crown.[37] Ardashīr's youth is reflected in the absence of a beard in his portrait on the coins.

Fig. 1.19. Ardashīr III, drachm, first type and crown, mint **WYH**, year 1, 4.16g (Johnson 0710-0061)

Fig. 1.20. Ardashīr III, drachm, second type and crown, mint **NY** year 2, 4.13g (Johnson 0770-0120)

[32] Daryaee 2010b, p. 45 for a list.

[33] Heraclius arrived in Jerusalem with the True Cross in 630 (it had been taken by the Sasanians in 614).

[34] Malek 2014.

[35] Malek 2013, pp. 486–7. For two parcels of Ardashīr III drachms, see Heidemann 2013 and Heidemann 2014.

[36] Bronze coins were also struck under Ardashīr III, but are usually not identified as such as they are usually found in poor condition: Badiyi 2017, p. 53.

[37] The existence of two crowns indicates that he must have been deposed for a time in his first regnal year and re-crowned when his power was restored. His second year would have started in June 629.

Ardashīr is said to have ruled one year and six months. Accounts vary but he was probably murdered, possibly by Shahrbarāz or Khusrau Pērōz (Kavād's minister). Thaʿālibī refers to the general state of decline of the empire and general anarchy under Ardashīr III.[38] Shahrbarāz is said to have proclaimed himself king in April 629 at the instigation of Heraclius, but his reign lasted only two months before he too was murdered.[39] The Sasanian-occupied territories in Egypt and Syria were formally evacuated in June 629.

1.2.3 *Khusrau III (AD 629–30)*[40]

Most written sources make no reference to a king Khusrau immediately succeeding Shahrbarāz. Ibn Balkhī and Masʿūdi refer to a Khusrau before Bōrān. After the death of Ardashīr III a faction sought to make Khusrau III, from Khurāsān, king. He was still a child, the son of Kavād, brother of Khusrau II and was soon killed by the brother of the governor of Khurāsān. The existence of such a figure is supported by late Sasanian drachms showing an unbearded bust with the name of Khusrau. These are all dated regnal year 2, apart from a rare issue of year 3 with mint signature **WYHC**.

Fig. 1.21. Khusrau III, drachm, mint **WYHC**, year 2, 3.77g (Johnson 500477)

1.2.4 *Bōrān (629/30–31)*[41]

Bōrān (Būrān) succeeded as queen after the death of Shahrbarāz, according to most textual sources. Her authority may have been challenged by supporters of a rival, Khusrau III. The significant number of mint signatures (at least 14) for Bōrān for regnal years 1 and 2 indicate that she was in control of large areas. **SK** (Sīstān) is a relatively common mint signature for regnal years 2 and 3. Unlike the previous post-Khusrau II kings she struck bronze and gold coins as well as silver. The gold is known from only one genuine example.[42] The succession of a queen to the throne was taken as a sign of weakness by some.[43]

[38] Daryaee 2010b, p. 47.

[39] Yarshater 1983, pp. 170–1 (Frye); Hoyland 2011, pp. 81–3 (with translations of various sources). Heraclius requested that Shahrbarāz return the True Cross which had been taken in 614 from Jerusalem. It was returned in a ceremony placed in March 630. Thus Shahrbarāz's death can be placed no later than mid-630. No coins are known to have been struck in the name of Shahrbarāz. See Banaji 2015 for the suggestion that Shahrbarāz may have been the same person as Shahrālānyōzān named in papyri from Egypt.

[40] Malek 2013, pp. 488–9.

[41] Malek and Curtis 1998, Malek 2013, pp. 489–91; Panaino 2006. The sources are not consistent about when Bōrān became queen, the first to rule in her own right, but it was no earlier than the summer of 629 and not later than 630. Some sources say her reign lasted one year four months.

[42] Since 2015 a number of high quality modern forgeries of the gold dinar have appeared on the market. They may have been produced by the same workshop which produced the well known forgeries of Khusrau II dinars dated regnal year 36.

[43] Dīnawarī (d.281–2H) says: 'When sovereignty came to Bōrān, the daughter of Kisrā b. Hurmuz [Khusrau II], it got out in all corners of the world that the land of Persia no longer had a king', Savant 2013, p. 95. Also, there is the *hadith* which records the Prophet's reaction to this. In Bukhārī's version, it is recorded: 'When it reached the Messenger of God that the Persians had made a daughter of Kisrā [Khusrau] their king, he said 'No people shall prosper if a woman rules over them',' Savant 2013, p. 191.

Fig. 1.22. Bōrān, drachm, mint **WLC**, year 1, 3.83g (Johnson 600002)

1.2.5 *Āzarmidokht (631)*[44]

Most sources say Bōrān's sister Āzarmidokht succeeded her for a short time, though others refer to a king named Pērōz coming after Bōrān.[45] Her reign is evidenced by drachms in her name dated regnal year 1 for mint signatures **WYHC** (Ctesiphon) and **ŠY** (Shīrāz). Her coins show a male bust similar to that of Khusrau II, even including a beard.

Fig. 1.23. Āzarmidokht, drachm, mint **WYHC**, year 1, 4.10g (Johnson 500479)

Āzarmidokht had a troubled relationship with Farrukh Hormizd of Azerbaijān, one of the great nobles, who had fought for Khusrau II and been a governor of Khurāsān. She had him killed, a move which may have precipitated her own end as his son Rustam returned to Ctesiphon and eliminated her.[46]

1.2.6 *Khusrau IV (631–7?)*[47]

It is difficult to know when to place the other Khusrau named on coins in the period after Khusrau II. In contrast with those with no beard attributed to Khusrau III, there are bearded types in the name of Khusrau for four mint signatures with regnal year 2. Other drachms of a similar type bearing regnal years 3 to 10 may simply be mules using Khusrau II dies, as the attendants on the reverse have bonnets as on the earlier types of Khusrau II.

Fig. 1.24. Khusrau IV, drachm, mint **AYLAN**, year 2, 4.38g (Johnson 500481)

[44] Malek 2013, p. 491; Daryaee 2014.

[45] According to Masʿūdī Āzarmidokht succeeded Pērōz II and ruled for one year and four months. Gignoux 1990, pp. 136–7, argues against the suggestion that the coins are in fact of a king. Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 1297-8; (trans.), vol. 2, pp. 473-4 states that Āzarmidokht ruled for only six months; Hoyland 2018, p.129.

[46] Banaji 2016, pp. 185, 194.

[47] Malek 2013, pp. 491–3.

The textual sources, as opposed to the coins, offer scant evidence for there being two Khusraus. Sebēos places a Khusrau after Bōrān and Ibn Balkhī refers to two Khusraus in the period.[48] Al-Tabarī is even more confusing. He refers to a Khusrau after Āzarmidokht who was killed a few days after his accession. He also refers to a report that it was Khurrazādh Khusrau who ruled for only a few days after Āzarmidokht. Al-Tabarī then refers to reports of two other rulers before the accession of Yazdgard III, namely Fayrūz (Pērōz II) and Farrukhzād Khusrau.[49] Al-Yaʿqūbī refers to three short reigned kings prior to accession of the last Sasanian king, Yazdgard III; Khusrau b. Mihr Jushnas (who lasted less than a month), Firūz (who was killed by nobles following his coronation), and finally Farrukhzād Khusrau (who reigned for a year).[50]

1.2.7 *Hormizd V or VI (631–2)*[51]

Sebēos records Hormizd as the last king before Yazdgard III. Others, such as al-Tabarī and Masʿūdī, refer to Farrukhzād. Hormizd (or Farrukh-Hormizd) was probably a grandson of Khusrau II and was murdered after a year on the throne. Drachms in the name of Hormizd VI are known for at least 16 mint signatures for regnal year 2 and about five for regnal year 3. There may have been a Hormizd whose rule overlapped with the early years of Yazdgard III's reign. Yazdgard's drachms are not known for wide areas of the Sasanian lands. In contrast, there are drachms struck in those areas in the name of Hormizd.

Fig. 1.25. Hormizd V, drachm, mint **ST**, year 2, 4.07g (Johnson 740062)

[48] Daryaee 2010b, pp. 48–9.

[49] Al-Tabarī, I, 1065–7; al-Tabarī (trans.) vol. 5, pp. 407–9.

[50] al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 1298; (trans.) vol. 2, p. 474; Hoyland 2018, pp. 129–30.

[51] Malek 2013, pp. 493–5.

CHAPTER 2

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SASANIAN EMPIRE AND THE ARAB CONQUESTS

Introduction

A great deal has been written about the collapse of the Sasanian empire and the Arab or Islamic conquest.[1] The causes are complex, multi-faceted and still not thoroughly understood. Great empires do not last forever.[2] Both the Sasanian and Byzantine empires, tired and weakened by the long wars, were perhaps ripe for conquest by the Arabs, strengthened by Islam, though the Byzantine empire survived.[3]The destabilisation of the Sasanians following their defeat by Heraclius in 628 opened the lands that the Sasanians had temporarily ruled in Syria and Palestine to Arab conquest.[4] By 632 the bonds, which had bound the regional nobility of the Sasanian empire to the Sasanian dynasty under Khusrau II, were loosened. The aristocracy was badly fragmented in its support for the various kings and queens who reigned in the period from 628 to 632. The populace was not united either. The empire was made up of many races, with different languages and religions.[5] Zoroastrian must have appeared aloof and distant to parts of the population. The Sasanian and Byzantine empires had been weakened by recurrent epidemics of plague, as well as by their wars.[6] There were no natural barriers between Ctesiphon, the Sasanian capital, and Arabs forces coming from the south. This made it much easier for the Arabs to take than the distant Byzantine capital, Constantinople.[7]

Yazdgard III, said to be a grandson of Khusrau II his father being Shahryār, came to the throne as a sixteen year old after a period of four tumultuous years (see chapter 1). As well as military factors, the empire was suffering from inertia, weak leadership, overburdening and unpopular taxation, and social discontent.[8]

Al-Tabarī tells us Yazdgard was crowned, as a young boy with the support of the aristocratic elite, at Ardashīr's fire temple at Istakhr (Fārs). The people of Madā'in (Ctesiphon) rebelled against the rival Farrukhzād Khusrau who had ruled there for about a year, and he was killed. This enabled Yazdgārd to assume the royal power, except that compared with the power of his forebears 'his power was like a phantom of the imagination and a vision in a dream.'[9]

Yazdgard III must have lost his throne for a while relatively early on during his reign judging by the numismatic evidence. His coins show two crown types. Both crowns have a pair of wings with a crescent between them. The first crown has a globe in the crescent and the bust is beardless, reflecting Yazdgard's youth. This type is known for about 10 mints for regnal years 1 to 3 (and in the case of 7.87 **SK** for

[1] Pourshariati 2008 for a detailed analysis of the collapse and its causes. Her central argument, that the Parthian withdrawal from the Sasanian-Parthian confederacy towards the end of the reign of Khusrau II fundamentally weakened the ability of the Sasanians to fight wars, is radical. Whether it is accurate to call the conquest 'Arab' is debatable. Those who conquered Byzantine and Sasanian territory in the early period, up to Umayyad rule, were not unified by some concept of Arab identity. Instead, they were unified by being Believers who accepted Allāh's rule: Donner 2010, p. 90. Islam as a concept developed over time and it has been questioned as to whether it is accurate to call the early movement Islam: Donner 2010, pp. 194–5.

[2] Yarshater 2009, p. 6, noted that the underlying cause of the conditions that prevailed at the end of Sasanian period was indicative of an aged state. cf. Hoyland 2015, pp. 62–4.

[3] Hoyland 2015, p. 27.

[4] Bowersock 2012, pp. 71, 76.

[5] This in itself would not necessarily lead to a lack of unity. It is a hallmark of empires that they have populations which are ethically and culturally diverse.

[6] Hoyland 2015, p. 28.

[7] Hoyland 2015, p. 127.

[8] Choksy 1997, p. 14, for list of factors.

[9] Al-Tabarī, I, 1067; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 5, p. 410.

Sīstān, years 1 to 10). The mints in Fārs predominate: Ardashīr-Khurra (7.11 **ART**), Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**), Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA**), Istakhr (7.89 **ST**), Shīrāz (7.10**1 ŠY**). The only other known and identified mints in these early years are Sīstān (7.87 **SK**) in the east and two mints in Khūzistān in the south west: Rām-Hormizd (7.61 **LAM**) and Rēv-Ardashīr (7.65 **LYW**). Some mints on his coins still have not been identified. No mints in Khurāsān, Kirmān, central Iraq, or Media / Jibāl are known to have struck coins at this time. This is a strong indication that central control and administration had been disrupted and Yazdgard III did not have full authority in these areas. Khurāsān was practically independent under *marzbāns*, whereas Tabaristān had its own *ispahbads*. These local nobles neither accepted central authority nor were they willing to unite in the face of an enemy.[10] To fall from about 30 active mints under Ardashīr III to about 10 in the early years of Yazdgard III is striking.

2.1 *The move against Byzantine territories*

The first incursions into the Byzantines' area of Arab influence was in 630 when the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) led a campaign as far north as Ayla (ʿAqaba).[11] The Prophet Muhammad died in 632, the same year in which Yazdgard III ascended the throne. His successors, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, continued the attacks on the Byzantines and, after a series of relatively minor battles, soundly defeated the Byzantines at the Battle of Yarmūk (Yarmouk) in 636 (15H).[12] The main cities fell relatively quickly, usually after agreeing terms with the invaders, as in the case of Damascus and Hims (Homs). Effectively, Palestine and Syria were now under the control of the Arabs. In 638, Jerusalem was taken by the Arabs. Caesarea on the Mediterranean coast sought to hold out and was besieged for a number of months before falling in 641. The commander of the Arab armies in Syria, Muʿāwiya, killed all the Byzantine troops in Caesarea, as an example of what could happen if they resisted. The Byzantine empire did not collapse completely, not least because it managed to retain its capital and powerbase at Constantinople and the Arabs were never able to conquer Anatolia.

2.2 *The conquest of Iraq and Iran*

Within a few years of Muʿāwiya's accession as caliph, Arab incursions into Sasanian territory increased. The initial attacks were in Iraq,[13] when Khālid b. al-Walīd campaigned to the west of the Euphrates. After the capitulation of Hīra in 633–4 (12–13H), Khālid left for Syria which was regarded as the priority. Hīra was left under the control of al-Muthannā b. Hāritha. At this stage there had been no major battle with the Sasanians. In 634 (13H), Abū Bakr died and was succeeded as caliph by ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb, under whom the conquest of the Sasanian lands in Iran began in earnest.[14]

ʿUmar sent an army mostly comprised of *ansār* of Medina under Abū ʿUbayd, a member of the Thaqafīs from Tāʾif, to join al-Muthannā in Iraq. In their first engagement with a sizeable Sasanian army they were beaten at the Battle of the Bridge. Abū ʿUbayd was killed and al-Muthannā was lucky to escape with this life. The Sasanians did not follow up this victory, probably because of rivalries within the elite in Ctesiphon.

ʿUmar then sent a much larger army under a Qurayshī, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās. He defeated a Sasanian army at the battle of Qādisiyya (near Hīra) in around 636–8 (15–16H). The Sasanian general Rustam (Rustam-i Farrukhzād) was killed in this battle.[15] This was the first major defeat of a Sasanian army since the final

[10] Yarshater 1983, p. 172 (Frye).

[11] Hoyland 2015, p. 39.

[12] Kaegi 1992, chapter 6 for a discussion of this battle and its significance; Hoyland 2015, pp. 45–7. The Yarmūk river flows between the borders of modern day Syria and Jordan into the sea of Galilee.

[13] For the conquest of Iraq, see Donner 1981, chapter 4, Kennedy 2007, chapter 3. For an alternative chronology, see Pourshariati 2008, which places the Arab conquest of Iraq somewhat earlier, in the period 628–32. For a more useful and conventional summary of the conquest of Iraq and Iran, see Choksy 1997, chapter 1.

[14] For the conquest of Iran, see Kennedy 2007, chapter 5.

[15] Some accounts place this in 637 (16H) and an Armenian source on 6 January 638: Kennedy 2007, pp. 108–16; Hoyland 2015, p. 52. Many of the dates are uncertain as dates given by different sources can vary by up to three years for the same event.

year of Khusrau II during the war with the Byzantines. Fighting for both God and wealth may have been a strong rallying cry for the conquerors.[16]

Saʿd followed this up by taking control of central and northern Iraq. In about 637 (16H) the capital Ctesiphon (al-Madāʾin) was occupied and sacked, by which point some at least of the elite Sasanian cavalry (*Asāwira*) had switched allegiance and fought with the Arabs.[17] Ctesiphon's treasures were sent to the Caliph ʿUmar, who reportedly displayed Khusrau II's crown in the Kaʿba of Mecca. The Sasanians regrouped and went on the offensive, but a force led by Khurrazād, the brother of Rustam was defeated at Jalūlāʾ, located in the Diyala River basin, a few months later.

Fig. 2.1. The ruins of the palace complex at Ctesiphon. Khusrau II fled here after his defeat by the Byzantines in 627. Ten years later it was sacked by the Arabs. (Photograph taken in April 1909 by Gertrude Bell, and reproduced here courtesy of Gertrude Bell Archive, Newcastle University; image K227)

The conquest of southern Iraq and Khūzistān was less dramatic. There were no major battles with Sasanian forces which can be described as a turning point though the conquest was not all one sided. The initial force under Shurayh b. ʿĀmir was beaten by a Sasanian garrison at Dāris near Ahwāz in Khūzistān. ʿUmar sent another force under ʿUtba b. Ghazwān which took the towns of Furāt and Maysān, and the districts of Abarqubādh (Apar-Kavād) and Dasht-i Maysān. The Sasanians established a base of operations in Ahwāz and from there raided the districts in southern Iraq occupied by the Arabs. The important cities of Gondeshāpūr (Junday Sābūr) and Karka submitted to the Arab forces. The sequence of events in Khūzistān is unclear with the same places changing hands on more than one occasion. The Sasanians fell back on Manādhīr, Tustar (Shūstar), Susa (Shūsh; al-Sūs) and Rām-Hormizd (Rāmhurmuz). Although the Sasanian general, Hormizdān, who had been appointed military governor of Khūzistān and Fārs,[18] put up a vigorous defence of Susa and Shūstar, these towns and the others all eventually fell to the Arabs.[19] Although the sequence of events is confusing in the sources, one can place the conquest of southern Iraq and Khūzistān in the period 635–42.

[16] Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās is recorded by al-Tabarī as stating to his troops prior to the battle of Qādisīyya: 'This land is your inheritance, which God has promised you and you have been tasting it and eating from it, and killing its people, collecting taxes from them and taking them prisoner until today …', so it was crucial that they fought to maintain that situation. Hoyland 2015, p. 64; al-Tabarī, I, 2289.

[17] Qādi 2016, p. 94.

[18] Banaji 2016, pp. 186–7.

[19] Some, such as Tustar, had to be retaken by the Arabs who then killed the inhabitants without mercy. Hoyland 2015, pp. 83–4.

After the loss of Ctesiphon Yazdgard III initially went to Hulwān (Media / Jibāl). When Jalūlāʾ was taken, he went to the Iranian plateau. In 640, Yazdgard continued to move, seeking to regroup and build up an army. From the mountains he went to Ispahān (Isfahān) and then to Istakhr, the capital of the region of Fārs.[20] The final blow for the Sasanian army was their defeat at the battle of Nēhāvand (Nihāwand in Arabic; Media / Jibāl) in 642, which left much of western Iran vulnerable. After this defeat the Sasanians could not assemble a major army to face the Arabs. Local resistance remained and some towns which revolted against Arab rule had to be retaken. The loss of the fertile areas of Iraq, the agricultural lands of the Iranian plateau, as well as the capital at Ctesiphon, so weakened the Sasanian empire that it was not able to stop the conquest of the Iranian plateau.

Over the next two years or so, Arab troops from Kūfa attacked cities in the Jibāl (Media), including Qum, Ispahān, Hamadān, Qazvīn and Rayy[21] and even went north to attack Ardabīl in Azerbaijān in 22H (643).[22] Truces were agreed with various places along the way. These often provided for co-operation by way of military assistance. In those years where a people were called upon to fight, it was sometimes stipulated that there would be an exemption from paying tax in the form of *jizya*.[23] Ardabīl, for example, agreed to pay annual taxes and in return the *marzbān* was permitted to remain in place, the inhabitants kept their liberty and their fire temples were allowed to continue. Such truces enabled the Arabs to keep fewer forces in areas like Azerbaijān. If the people stopped paying tribute a force would be sent to re-impose compliance with the treaty.

Fārs, where loyalty to the Sasanians was greatest, was much more difficult to subdue. Forces from Basra under Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī campaigned in the region for five years from 24H (645).[24] The attack on the coastal regions of Fārs was co-ordinated by ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀs who took Tawwaj in 16–17H (637–8) or shortly after. It required a major onslaught launched by the governor of Basra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (see 9.1 and 9.2), to advance much further.[25] Istakhr had to be taken twice by the Arabs. The second time, in 29H (650), it was badly damaged after fierce resistance. Even then there was an uprising during the caliphate of ʿAlī.

Other regions and provinces took even longer to conquer permanently. The Arabs had considerable difficulty in the mountainous areas in the north of Iran, where local rulers had been relatively autonomous even under the Sasanians. After the conquest of Azerbaijān in 22H, the rulers of Tabaristān, Gorgan and Dunbāvand (Damāvand) agreed a truce under which they would pay tribute annually, but not be required to render assistance to the Arabs. They soon fell into arrears and in 30H (651) during the caliphate of ʿUthmān the governor of Kūfa, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀs, led an expedition to the north of the Iranian plateau. He had to withdraw after meeting fierce resistance.[26] Gorgān was not permanently taken until 98H (716) by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (see 9.58). Attempts to conquer Tabaristān under Muʿāwiya were unsuccessful and it was not taken until about 143H (760).[27]

[20] Hoyland 2015, p. 53.

[21] It should not be assumed that all those in the conquering armies were Arab, or even Muslims: Hoyland 2015, pp. 56–61.

[22] After the Byzantine attack on Azerbaijān (Ādharbayjān) in 627, Sasanian control over the north western regions was at best tenuous with their defences there badly eroded. No Sasanian coins are known for mint signature 7.15 **AT** (probably Ādharbayjān) after Ardashīr III (628–30). See Ghodrat-Dizaji 2011.

[23] Such was the case of al-Bāb (22H), Armenia (22H, those who could not fight with the Muslims had to pay the *jizya*); Jurjān and Dahistān (18H); Ādharbayjān (18H); Marw al-Rūdh (32H; those who converted to Islam would receive stipends, ʻatāʼ); Isfahān (21H); al-Rayy (21H): see Qādi 2016, pp. 96–7. The assistance was not always in the form of fighting, but could take the form of providing supplies to the Muslims.

[24] For that conquest of individual provinces and towns, see Chapter 7 under each respective mint signature. On the difficulties in piecing together the chronology of Fārs based on Islamic sources written significantly later, see Rossi 2018.

[25] Hoyland 2015, pp. 85–6, which puts the capture of Tawwaj in 640.

[26] Al-Tabarī, i, pp. 2836–9; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 15, pp. 41–5. Al-Balādhurī (trans.), ii, 39–40 places this raid in 29H and exaggerates in stating that he conquered the plains of Tabaristān, Rūyān and Dunbāvand.

[27] Malek 2004, pp. 8–14.

The armies from Basra had more success along the southern fringes of the Iranian desert. Yazdgard III was pursued to Kirmān, Sīstān and finally Khurāsān. Kirmān and Sīstān were taken, but they had always been difficult to control under the Sasanians and the Arabs also encountered problems. Kirmān was sparsely populated and the main cities were far apart. The Arabs took (and sometimes had to re-take) the main cities such as Bam. After being attacked in 31H (651) by a force led by Rabiʿ b. Ziyād al-Hārithī, various local pacts were agreed in Sīstān. These were not adhered to and in the following years Sīstān was repeatedly the subject of Arab expeditions to bring it back into their control.[28]

Herāt was taken in around 30H which enabled forces to enter Khurāsān from the south.[29] ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir's forces arrived in the important city of Nīshāpūr in the north-eastern province of Khurāsān in 31H (651). The local rulers agreed to pay tribute before he returned to Basra leaving a small force in Marw (Merv). To call this a conquest would be an exaggeration, it was a raiding expedition designed to secure the payment of tribute. It was left to the local rulers, such as the *marzbān* and *dihqāns* to collect the taxes from the populace. The extent of Arab settlement in the former Sasanian territories in Iran was very limited, in contrast with the position in Iraq.

Yazdgard III, in Khurāsān, found himself isolated and lacking support. The *marzbān* of Marw did not welcome him and wanted to seize him. According to the most prevalent account of his death it is recounted that Yazdgard fled to Marw and hid in a mill where he was murdered in 651. North-east Khurāsān had been subject to Hephthalite influence and attack for some time. The Arabs held Gōzgān (Jūzjān) and coins were struck in both Anbīr and Marw in the 60sH in the name of a local ruler, Zhulād Gōzgān (see 9.61; 14.4).[30]

2.3 *The numismatic evidence and the conquest*

The numismatic evidence is not easy to fit in with the historical sources whose reliability has been much discussed. Some or all of the issues in the name of Yazdgard with regnal year 20 may not have been struck under him. Apart from a few isolated issues, the general pattern is that the latest issues of Yazdgard's first type (with a globe in the crescent) bear regnal year 3 (apart from 7.87 **SK** for Sīstān which go up to year 10). This suggests he may have lost his crown for the first time in around 635. His second crown is topped by a star within a crescent. This type is known for regnal years 4 to 20, though minting was intermittent at each mint. The coinage of Fārs reflects this complexity. Immediately after the battle of Nēhāvand in 642, regnal year 11, one would not have expected any coinage to be struck by Yazdgard in Fārs or Media / Jibāl if those areas had been subjugated. Coins from these areas are, in fact, known dated year 11 onwards: e.g. Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**, years 12, 16), Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA**, years 4, 20), Istakhr (7.84 **ST**, years 11, 12, 14, 15, 17). This might be because Fārs and Media / Jibāl had not been taken or, at times, fell back into Sasanian control. This would fit in with the literary sources which tell us that some cities in Fārs had to be taken more than once, including Istakhr which fell for a second time in 650 (regnal year 19). This suggests the Sasanian authorities were trying to maintain a semblance of their rule during this chaotic time.

In Kirmān no coins for the first type are known during the early years of Yazdgard III's reign for any mint in the province.[31] This indicates that at the beginning of his reign Yazdgard had difficulty in maintaining control over Kirmān (as well as other) provinces. The mints of Kirmān province are well represented by Yazdgard's second coinage, indicating that Kirmān remained loyal.[32] Indeed, well into the Umayyad period the province was a source of rebellion and unrest.[33] Sīstān remained loyal to the Sasanians for some time. The Arabs repeatedly needed to send forces there and even then it remained more or less autonomous,

[28] Malek 2017a for the numismatic evidence.

[29] Donner 2010, p. 130.

[30] The era used on these coins is uncertain. If it is the YE they would date between 75H and 81H, see p. 403.

[31] There is an isolated issue dated year 12 of the first type from Narmāshīr (NAL), but this is out of sequence as generally the first type ended in year 3. It may be the result of the use of an old die.

[32] 7.30 **BN**, years 14–20; 7.45 **GLM**, years 10, 14, 16, 19–20; 7.72 **NAL**, years 4, 6–7, 10–15, 17, 20.

[33] Malek 2019 for the numismatic evidence.

being held by the opponents of the Umayyads, for much of the time. The most commonly encountered coins of Yazdgard are the drachms of Sīstān (7.87 **SK**), regnal years 3 to 20.

Fig. 2.2. Yazdgard III, first type drachm, mint **PS**, year 1, 4.14 grams (Johnson 500632)

Fig. 2.3. Yazdgard III, second type drachm, mint **SK**, year 19, 3.88 grams (Johnson 0740-0043)

2.4 *Conclusions*

The Sasanian empire did not collapse suddenly. Resistance continued even after Iraq, including the capital Ctesiphon, had fallen to the Arabs. Sasanian or local rulers who were independent of the Arabs continued to hold power in some areas. Opponents and allies of the Arabs fought for a number of reasons, not only religious. On the Sasanian side even once the tide had turned against Yazdgard III, some were still prepared to fight against the invaders. Others, out of self-interest and preservation, sided with the Arabs, some did not fight or reached local truces with the invaders.[34] Some Christian Arab tribes or individuals initially fought for the Sasanians but later changed sides.[35] Some local nobles found it expedient to reach agreement with the Arabs so they could retain their positions and lands, rather than risk losing all in battle.[36] These agreements were convenient for the Arabs as they were spared long sieges and gained territory and resources, often including additional troops.

The invaders' motives would have been mixed. For many, Islam would have been the cause or focal point but economic considerations, prestige and adventure had an important role to play. The Arabs were not totally alien to the Byzantines and Sasanians. For many years Arabs had been used as troops by both empires and those in Syria and Iraq had been subjects of the Byzantine and Sasanian empires respectively. The invaders would have prized the Sasanian lands, wealth, revenues and administration. The numismatic evidence, in the form of the Sasanian style coinage struck after the Islamic conquest, shows that the Arabs made use of Sasanian administration. Coins were struck to the same style, weight standard and from many of the mint places formerly operating under the Sasanians.

[34] Those who did not faced massacre. In the case of Tustar (Shūstar) in Khūzistān, the city was besieged and once in the invaders spilled 'blood as though it was water': Hoyland 2015, p. 85 citing the *Khūzistān Chronicle*.

[35] Qādi 2016.

[36] Banaji 2016, pp. 203–16, although many of the Sasanian elite, that is, the senior aristocracy from the leading families, fought and were killed, the local nobility capitulated and remained in place in villages and towns.

CHAPTER 3

THE RIGHTLY GUIDED CALIPHS

The Prophet Muhammad, the Messenger of God (*rasūl allāh*), was the inspiration for the unification of the Arabs and the subsequent conquest of much of the Byzantine world in the Middle East and Sasanian empire. Muhammad was born in 570 into the clan of Hāshim of the Quraysh tribe of Mecca. In 622 he fled from Mecca to Medina, in what is known as the *hijra* which became the first year of the Hijrī calendar. In 628 (8H), he reached agreement with the populace of Mecca thus opening up his ability to spread the message of Islam. Muhammad forged alliances with various tribes in the Arabian peninsula. He created the *umma* ('community') dedicated to *jihād fi sabil allāh* ('fighting in God's path'). In 630 he brought a third town into his coalition, Taʿīf, an oasis dominated by the Thaqīf tribe (Banū Thaqīf). The earlier a person or his ancestors converted to Islam the more distinguished they were in its cause. Those who converted in Mecca and went with Muhammad to Medina were known as the *muhājirūn* ('Emigrants'). Those who converted in Medina were the *ansār* ('Helpers').[1] His religious message was an attractive one. Acceptance of Allāh as the only God and Muhammad's position as the Messenger of God enabled persons of any tribe, caste or social position, however poor, to be a Believer (*muʾminīn*) and join the *umma* ('community'). This universality of Islam accounts for a substantial element of the dynamism of the community.[2] What the Arabs had previously lacked was a sense of cohesion or administration other than on a local level. Arab tribes lived in many parts of the Middle East from the Arabian peninsula, to Iraq and Syria. What the religious movement which became Islam did was to provide a banner and focus for unity, even though at the time of their conquest of Iraq and Iran there was no unified political identity.[3] At the time of the Islamic conquests, most Arab men had some military training and experience.[4] This turned them into a formidable force. They filled the vacuum left by the fall of the local rulers who had previously been backed by the Byzantines (Ghassānids in Syria) and the Sasanians (Lakhmids with their capital at Hīra who had managed the trade routes for much of eastern and central Arabia).[5]

The first four caliphs, known as the Rightly Guided (*rāshidūn*), had all been companions of the Prophet Muhammad, who had died in 11H (632): Abū Bakr, ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffrān and ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib.[6] The term 'caliph' is used here to describe the *rāshidūn*; the title is not found in written sources until later in the Umayyad period. In various written sources (but not the Qurʾān) and on coins the standard term used for those who claimed to be the leaders of the community was *amīr al-muʾminīn* ('Commander of the Believers' or 'Commander of the Faithful'[7]. The title *khalīfa* does not appear in the written record until 75H, when it is used on a coin struck under ʿAbd al-Malik,[8] with the title *khalīfat allāh*, 'Deputy of God'.[9]

[1] Those who pretended to be Muslims were labelled the *munāfiqūn* ('Hypocrites').

[2] Kennedy 2004, p. 47.

[3] Donner 2010, p. 218.

[4] Kennedy 2004, p. 18. Those who joined conquest armies early on were paid higher rates than those who joined later, and their descendants could claim the same privilege: Robinson 2005, p. 11.

[5] Kennedy 2004, p. 17.

[6] For a traditional account of this period, see Madelung 1997.

[7] Marsham 2018, p. 8.

[8] Donner 2010, pp. 98–9.

[9] For references in the literature to the title of *khalīfa* as pertaining to the Umayyads from ʿUthmān onwards, see Crane and Hinds 1986, pp. 6–11. For the coin, see Chapter 9, section 62, p. 336 Crone and Hinds provide an analysis of the title, favouring the interpretation that *khalīfa* stood for *khalīfat allāh* ('God's Deputy') rather than *khalīfat rasūl allāh* ('the Deputy of the Messenger of God'). See also, Marsham 2018, p. 28, who considers that the title *khalīfat allāh* would have been used prior to it being adopted on coins in 75H, not least because the inscription on coins would have been futile if it did not resonate with existing ideas.

3.1 *Abū Bakr (11–13H, 632–4)*

The death of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina left open the question of who was to lead the *umma* or Muslim community. While the *ansar* of Medina have wanted one of their own, they were unable to select anyone in time. The *muhājirūn* (the followers of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca who went with him to Medina in 622) were able to appoint Abū Bakr, the father of the Prophet Muhammad's wife ʿĀ'isha, and one of the first converts to Islam. He is said to have taken the title *khalīfat rasūl allāh* ('the Deputy of the Messenger of God', anglicised as caliph).[10]

The Prophet Muhammad's control over the Hijāz was firm. After his death, though, there were still many people in the Arabian peninsula who did not submit to Islam either by converting or paying tax or tribute. One of Abū Bakr's most pressing tasks was to consolidate his authority over the peninsula. Fortunately, the tribes outside the Hijāz were not united and by a series of attacks or agreements he was able to secure a wide area. This was also helped by the collapse of Sasanian authority in the areas it had controlled (Bahrain, ʿUmān and Yemen) and the absence of the Lakhmids. Many found joining the Muslim community very attractive, for it provided an opportunity to abandon the Bedouin way of life and join in the excitement of being part of an expanding community.[11]

As noted in Chapter 2, the initial incursions into Sasanian Iraq were made under Abū Bakr, but little progress was made as the focus was to establish power in the Arabian peninsula. Abū Bakr was already old when he assumed the title of caliph and after two years in power he died.

3.2 *ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb (13–23H; 634–44)*

Abū Bakr nominated ʿUmar, another of the *muhājirūn*, as his successor. Like Abū Bakr, ʿUmar was an able but uncompromising ruler. He organised military campaigns designed to expand the territories of Islam and provide an outlet for the peoples of the Arabian peninsula. During his rule Iraq was taken, and limited incursions were made into the Sasanian heartlands in Iran. He also took much Byzantine territory, conquering Syria, Palestine and Egypt. These conquests meant wealth and land became available to Arab settlers. It also meant that Arab tribes could focus on other lands, rather than fighting amongst themselves.

ʿUmar did not personally lead the conquering forces. He placed Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarāh in charge of the forces in Syria, and by about 16H (637) most of Palestine and Syria had been taken following the Battle of Yarmūk. ʿUmar himself triumphantly entered Jerusalem in about 17H (638), where he was welcomed by the Christian Patriarch Sophronius who made a treaty guaranteeing security in Palestine in return for banishing Jews from Jerusalem.[12] Damascus became the capital of Syria. The conquest of Syria was followed by the taking of Jazīra ('the island'), the area between the Tigris and Euphrates, under forces led by ʿIyād b. Ghanm. Once the capital, Edessa, fell the rest crumbled fairly quickly, so that by 20H (641) the invasion was complete.

Egypt was taken by a force led by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs between 18 and 21H (639–42) in a series of military campaigns and truces.[13] The area had only recently come back into Byzantine control following the defeat of Khusrau II. Heraclius' appointment of Cyrus as patriarch of Alexandria in charge of Egypt did not help matters. Most of the population were Coptic Monophysites and Cyrus sought to enforce the Orthodox Christian faith, thus alienating many. ʿAmr defeated a Byzantine army at Heriopolis in 19H (640), took Babylon in 20H (641) shortly after Heraclius's death, and finally Alexandria fell in 21H (642) as part of an agreement brokered by Cyrus. A new capital was established at Fustāt near Babylon, with small garrisons

[10] McHugo 2017, pp. 92–3.

[11] Kennedy 2004, pp. 50–7.

[12] Bowersock 2012, pp. 72–4. The fall of Jerusalem for a second time was seen as apocalyptic by the Byzantines, e.g. Theophanes: trans. Mango and Scott 1997, p. 471.

[13] Hoyland 2015, pp. 68–76.

placed in Alexandria and other towns. The conquest of Iraq and Iran which took place during ʿUmar's caliphate is discussed in Chapter 2.

The domination of the Meccan tribe of Quraysh continued under ʿUmar's rule. The elite also included the tribesmen of Medina (with the *ansar*, the Helpers of the Prophet) and the Thaqīf of al-Tāʾīf. Under ʿUmar the main qualification for membership of the elite was being among the earliest to convert to Islam. Thus ʿUmar appointed Abū ʿUbayda and Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās to command in Syria and Iraq respectively and sent al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwān to Egypt. These were all members of the Meccan *muhājirūn*. He also favoured more recently converted Muslims such as members of the Umayyad family, Yazīd and Muʿāwiya (sons of Abū Sufyān). Abū Bakr had promoted some members of the *ansār* of Medina, such as Khālid b. al-Walīd and ʿIkrima b. Abī Jahl, but under ʿUmar their status and power was eroded.[14] As a result of ʿUmar's policy those who had power before the establishment of Islam would often find themselves sidelined, forming a source of resentment.

ʿUmar established a well organised administration which, in the case of the former Sasanian territories, used much of what was already in place. His system of settlement set the pattern for the future of the Islamic state. The conquerors were paid pensions under the *dīwān* system, under which those named on the pension list would be provided with an annuity out of government funds, rather than being given land.

After Ctesiphon (al-Madāʾin) was occupied, ʿUmar directed Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās and al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba to set up new garrison towns where Muslims could be settled. The two most important were Kūfa, a camp outside Ctesiphon, which became the key administrative centre in central Iraq and Basra, in the south. These two towns were the administrative capitals for Iraq and Iran. Their population was swelled by migrating Arabs and they became staging posts for campaigns further north and east. The idea was to form sufficiently strong military centres to withstand attack and to solve the problem of governing nomads.

Under the governors of Kūfa and Basra a system of provincial governors and sub-governors was established. The system was still in its infancy but ʿUmar's governors (*amīr*) tended to be those who had participated in the conquests and had stayed on to administer the areas taken. Thus Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās was governor of Kūfa; Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī remained in Basra as governor; Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān succeeded his brother Yazīd in Syria; and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs retained Egypt. These governors had a great deal of autonomy from central government and they ensured that most of the local revenues were not remitted to Medina.[15]

3.3 *ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (23–35H; 644–56)*[16]

ʿUmar set up a committee (*shūrā*) made up of *muhājirūn* to select his successor. The choice was between ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān of the Umayya clan of Mecca. ʿAlī was offered the leadership but the terms were not acceptable to him, for it was conditional on his agreement to continue the policies of ʿUmar. ʿUthmān became the third of the Rightly Guided Caliphs.

ʿUthmān made ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (see 9.2) governor of Basra and from here ʿAbd Allāh began his Iranian campaigns, continuing ʿUmar's policy of conquest. He made significant inroads into Sasanian Iran, securing agreements to pay tribute. In the more remote areas of Sīstān and Khurāsān, local rulers or princes were left in place to continue administration, collect taxes and pay tribute to the Arabs. Yazdgard III was murdered near Marw in 31H (651), the twentieth year of his reign. The first Arab-Sasanian coins with Arabic inscriptions in the margin were struck in the name of Yazdgard III. They are dated year 20 of the Yazdgard era (31H) and come from a number of mints. Most have the additional word *bism allāh* in the second quarter margin on the obverse, but some have *jayyid* instead. These were predominantly struck at mints in Kirmān and Sīstān. This type, modelled on drachms of the Sasanian kings Khusrau II, Yazdgard

[14] Kennedy 2004, p. 57.

[15] Kennedy 2004, p. 70.

[16] Kennedy 2004, pp. 69–75.

III and to a lesser and localised extent Hormizd IV, became the standard coinage for the whole of the former Sasanian territories in Iraq and Iran. The coinage used regal and Zoroastrian motifs with a crowned bust on the obverse and a fire altar on the reverse. The addition of Arabic words such as *bism allāh* ('in the name of God') distinguish these coins from those issued by the Sasanians.

The Islamic state continued to expand, becoming an empire. Expeditions reached Nubia and North Africa, a naval power was built up in Mediterranean, Cyprus agreed to pay tribute and the Byzantines were defeated at sea in the Battle of the Masts off the Lycian shores in 34H (655). ʿUthmān relied on governors to rule Iraq, Iran and Egypt and these he drew mainly from his own kinsmen or allies of the Umayyad clan in order to be confident of their loyalty. Muʿāwiya, who was retained as governor in Syria, was given a significant degree of autonomy enabling him to build up an effective army and a secure political base.[17]

ʿUthmān became increasingly unpopular. His desire for a strong central administration, the remitting of taxes and tributes from the provincial governors to Medina, and bias in favour of the Quraysh, alienated those excluded. Discontent was particularly acute in Kūfa, Medina and Egypt. Like his predecessor ʿUthmān was murdered in his own house in Medina, in 35H (656).[18]

3.4 *ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib (35–40H; 656–61)*[19]

ʿAlī was both the cousin of the Prophet Muhammad as well as his son-in-law, being married to Fātima, the daughter of Khadīja (the first wife of the Prophet Muhammad). ʿAlī was thus a member of the household of the Prophet, *ahl al-bayt*. Fātima is venerated as being a great supporter of her father. ʿAlī and Fātima had two sons, Hasan and Husayn (Hussein). ʿAlī had not supported the assassination of ʿUthmān, but those who were involved tended to be supporters of ʿAlī. ʿAlī was soon appointed caliph although there were other candidates for the position. This was a very difficult time with rival factions and different power bases across the empire.[20]

ʿĀ'isha, the Prophet Muhammad's widow, and a faction within the Quraysh led by al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and Talha b. ʿUbayd Allāh ʿAlī opposed ʿAlī. They wanted to preserve the dominance of the Quraysh, whereas ʿAlī sought to be more inclusive and appoint members of the *ansār* of Medina to senior positions. Al-Zubayr and his faction moved from Medina to Basra in Iraq, hoping to rally enough support there to build up a force to oppose ʿAlī. This led to the First Civil War or *fitna* ('seduction' or 'temptation').[21] ʿAlī knew that if he stayed in Medina he would meet to the same fate as the previous two caliphs. He went to Kūfa where there was substantial support for him. The two armies met near Basra and, at the Battle of the Camel in 36H (636), ʿAlī's forces were victorious. Al-Zubayr and Talha were both killed and ʿĀ'isha ceased her activity against ʿAlī.

ʿAlī started to remove ʿUthmān's appointees from senior positions. In Egypt he made Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, one of the *ansār* of Medina, governor. Qays was later replaced by Muhammad b. Abī Bakr.[22] ʿĀlī had no control over Syria where Muʿāwiya, who had been ʿUthmān's close relative and the governor, openly refused to acknowledge his authority. Muʿāwiya resented the fact that ʿAlī did not move against those who had killed ʿUthmān. In Basra ʿAlī replaced the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir with Ibn ʿAbbās. In Kūfa, though, ʿAlī depended on the support of those who had opposed ʿUthmān, including Mālik al-Ashtar.

[17] Humphreys 2006, pp. 48–9.

[18] Al-Yaʿqūbī (Book of Adaption of Men) (trans.), p.34 records he died leaving vast wealth, having left with his treasurer 150,000 dinars and 1,000,000 dirhams.

[19] Kennedy 2004, pp. 75–81.

[20] Sunnīs regard ʿAlī as the fourth of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (*Rāshidūn*), whereas for the Shīʿah, he is the first Imām after the Prophet Muhammad, and he and his descendants are the rightful successors to the Prophet Muhammad as members of the *ahl al-bayt*.

[21] Wellhausen 1927, chapter 2. *Fitna* is translated by some as 'strife' but it is probably better to equate it with 'seduction' or 'temptation', in the sense used in the Qur'ān.

[22] Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), p. 358, which paints a more complex picture.

At this time the province of Sīstān was only intermittently under Arab control. Under ʿUthmān, ʿAbd al-Rahmān had been sent to Sīstān, but on the death of ʿUthmān he went over to support Muʿāwiya. ʿAlī sent ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Jazʾ to take over as governor, but his tenure was short.[23]

Kūfan society was not unified. There was a tension between the *qurrāʾ* led by Mālik al-Ashtar (who had been among the earliest settlers) and the *ashrāf* (tribal leaders). There were many inequalities in Kūfa and ʿAlī sought to appeal to all, especially the underprivileged. ʿAlī gathered a substantial force with which to confront Muʿāwiya. The two armies met at Siffīn (near Raqqa), where for some time there was a stand-off. When the battle began in earnest in 37H (657) it appeared that ʿAlī's forces would prevail. ʿAlī did not want a massacre between believers and felt compelled to agree to a truce on the basis that the disputes be put to arbitration. This was a strategic mistake as it perpetuated the rebellion of Muʿāwiya.[24] Support for ʿAlī split and dwindled. On hearing of the truce and proposed arbitration, some combatants left ʿAlī's ranks shouting *lā hukm illā lillāh* ('There is no judgment except God's' or 'God is the sole arbitrator'), led by ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī, and established themselves near Kūfa. This slogan is found on some coins of those who later opposed the Umayyads.[25] The arbitration itself did not lead to agreement, but Muʿāwiya was able to consolidate his power. He kept Syria and also gained the backing of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs, who took Egypt in 38H (658) and was acting as governor. In Iraq, ʿAlī faced the defection of a substantial element of the *qurrāʾ* who, rejecting any compromise, formed the Khārijites (*khawārij*, 'those who had gone out'). This group became a devout religious movement and opposed all government.[26] ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb and many others were killed by ʿAlī's forces at Nahrawān (Nahravān) in the Sawād in 38H but those who survived fled and continued their opposition. In 39 and 40H ʿAlī continued to fight the Khārijites.

Muʿāwiya was open in his claim to the leadership and began to make arrangements with tribal leaders. ʿAlī was murdered in Kūfa in 40H (661) by a member of the Khārijites, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muljam al-Murādi. Muʿāwiya assembled his forces from Syria to take the position of caliph for himself. There were a number of skirmishes with those supporting ʿAlī's son Hasan, who had succeeded his father in Kūfa. Wishing to avoid bloodshed, Hasan did not pursue a claim to be caliph and that position was taken by Muʿāwiya under a truce whereby Hasan was said to have been given five million dirhams from the treasury in Kūfa and he retired to Medina.[27] He was subsequently poisoned there in 50H, an act in which Muʿāwiya may have been complicit.[28] This ended the era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (*rāshidūn*) and the First Civil War. It was a triumph for the Quraysh, Muʿāwiya and his Syrian followers, but it also sowed the seeds for trouble later. ʿAlī is remembered for his devotion to the Prophet Muhammad and Islam, his attempts at reconciliation, humanity, and equal treatment of Muslims. In the long run the much later split between Sunnis and Shīʾah centre around his personality. For the Shīʾah, the Umayyads who followed him were never legitimate caliphs.

The Rightly Guided Caliphs did not strike any coins in their own names. In the former Sasanian lands much of the Sasanian administration must have continued, including the mint organisation. The drachms were still anonymous being either in the name of Yazdgard or Khusrau. Drachms were not struck in the name of governors and officials until the Umayyads. Muʿāwiya was the first caliph to have his name on a coin. The extent to which the Arabs integrated into the local population in Iran was limited as the Arabs

[23] Bosworth 1968, pp. 18–19.

[24] For a good summary of the struggle between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, see McHugo 2017, pp. 56–65.

[25] Mochiri 1987, pp. 59–60. For example, the coins of the Khārijite Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa have this refrain in the obverse margin for mints in Fārs and Kirmān provinces between 75 and 77H. There are also anonymous issues from Ardashīr Khursa (7.14 **ART**) for 75 and 76H.

[26] The Khārijites came to not only reject the Umayyads, but also the caliphal office that they represented: Crone and Hinds 1986, p. 57.

[27] There are differing accounts of the conflict and subsequent truce between Muʿāwiya and Hasan: Welhausen 1927, pp. 104–11. In Khalifa b. Khayyat's account, Hasan was caliph for seven months and seven days before surrendering the office to Muʿāwiya in 41H and Hasan died in 49H: Khalifa, p. 234; Khalifa (trans.), p. 53.

[28] The sources are not consistent on Hasan's death: Humphreys 2006, p. 85 (disputes poisoning version).

were garrisoned in cities such as Basra and Kūfa. In former Sasanian cities they were predominantly kept separate in their own barracks. For many cities and regions, local nobles were allowed to maintain their positions as part of local agreements.

There may be various reasons for the absence of the name of any caliph, governor or other local official on coins during the period of the Rightly Guided Caliphs. The Arabs left local administration including the striking of coins in the hands of those who had done so under the Sasanians; their control over the local populations may have not been secure; they did not want to provoke the inhabitants; using the names of Yazdgard and Khusrau on coins may have guaranteed their acceptability.

CHAPTER 4

THE UMAYYADS[1]

4.1 *Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (41–60H; 661–80)*[2]

The Umayyad dynasty of hereditary caliphs was founded by Muʿāwiya.[3] Their administrative capital was Damascus, the power base of Muʿāwiya ever since he had been appointed governor by the Caliph ʿUmar. Muʿāwiya had the backing of the Syrian army, an effective military force, which he used to subdue opposition to his rule and to fight the Byzantines.

Muʿāwiya became caliph against the backdrop of the First Civil War and the resentment of those who had supported ʿAlī. Muʿāwiya supported the provincial governors, rather than relying on military force, to maintain his control. These were given a degree of local autonomy as long as they remained loyal to the caliph. The administrative practices and institutions which were still in place, including the retention of Zoroastrian officials in the East, continued.[4] Each region, province or district maintained its own written records in the region's traditional language: Greek in Syria, Palestine and Egypt and Pahlavi in Iranian lands.

Iraq was a difficult region to rule: it was the base for ʿAlī's support, there were differences between the *ashrāf* and the *qurraʾ* (traditionally considered to be those who had memorised the Qurʾān), and the Khārijites never accepted Umayyad rule.

The two principal centres of administration for the Eastern Caliphate (Iraq and Iran) were Kūfa and Basra. Muʿāwiya appointed al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba al-Thaqafī, whose family hailed from Tāʿif, as governor of Kūfa. Al-Mughīra had been governor of Basra and later Kūfa under ʿUmar. He had acted as a moderator between Muʿāwiya and ʿAlī, advising the latter to recognise the former in Syria. When ʿAlī rejected this advice, al-Mughīra openly joined Muʿāwiya. Al-Mughīra held the position of governor of Kūfa from 41H until his death in 50H. He kept the peace by turning a blind eye to minor transgressions, not provoking the Kūfans who had supported ʿAlī and his cause, and ensuring the Kūfans were well paid. They were allowed to keep the revenues from Māh al-Kūfa, an area in the Zagros Mountains. No coins were struck in Kūfa during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya.

Muʿāwiya reappointed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir as governor of Basra. ʿAbd Allāh had been active under the *rāshidūn* in moving against the former Sasanian territories, but had lost his position under ʿAlī. As governor of Basra under Muʿāwiya, ʿAbd Allāh continued his campaigns in the East and in 41H he was put in charge of military matters in Sīstān and Khurāsān. He must have been given a great deal of autonomy as the first Arab-Sasanian drachm issues to bear the name of any person are in his name (see 9.1–2). Between 41 and 44H drachms were struck in ʿAbd Allāh's name for a large number of mints, primarily in the provinces of Fārs and to a lesser extent Kirmān. Even though he had more than demonstrated his ability as a military commander, he was regarded as too easy-going in his administration of Basra. In 44H he was dismissed from office in view of his failure to maintain order in Basra itself. His position of governor of Basra and the eastern regions of Khurāsān and Sīstān was given to Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān in 45H. Ziyād was also known

[1] Umayyads, whose names are found on coinage, are considered in more detail along with their coinage in Chapter 9.

[2] Humphreys 2006 (for a detailed account of his rule); Foss 2010; Kennedy 2004, pp. 82–8; Wellhausen 1927, chapter 3.

[3] The Umayyad clan was descended from Abū Sufyān's grandfather, Umayya and Abū Sufyān had led the Meccan resistance to the Prophet Muhammad. The third of the *rāshidūn*, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (23–35H), had been the first caliph from the Umayya clan of Mecca.

[4] Humphreys 2006, p. 97, who notes that Muʿāwiya never tried to Arabise the financial system.

as Ziyād b. Abīhi (meaning of his father, referring to the fact it was not clear who his father was). Ziyād, like al-Mughīra, was of the Thaqīf tribe from Tāʿif. Ziyād had been a supporter of ʿAlī and had opposed Muʿāwiya. It was not until 42H that he made peace with Muʿāwiya and went to Kūfa. In 44H, Muʿāwiya adopted Ziyād as his brother, hence the name Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, which is used on Ziyād's coinage (see 9.59). He was a strong leader and soon suppressed any dissent and disorder in Basra.

In 49 or 50H, the governorship of Kūfa was granted to Ziyād on the death of the incumbent, al-Mughīra. This was the first time a governor had held both garrison cities of the east at the same time, effectively making Ziyād viceroy of the caliphate in the east. He spent six months at a time in each city and when absent delegated the administration to a deputy. He is recorded as being in charge of Basra, Kūfa, the East, Sīstān, Sind and Hind in 50H. In the same year Ziyād appointed the brutal Samura b. Jundab (see 9.47) as his deputy in Basra, when he was in Kūfa. Ziyād appointed the governors in other areas, showing a degree of autonomy from Muʿāwiya and Damascus. In 51H he sent about 50,000 Arabs from Basra and Kūfa to settle in Marw in Khurāsān, which could them be used as a forward base for expansion. He also sent ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra (see 9.52) to Sīstān with an instruction to kill the Zoroastrian priest, an order which Muʿāwiya sensibly countermanded.[5] He appointed his own son, Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Hārithī over Khurāsān. In Kūfa itself, Ziyād organised the city into four districts, each headed by an official answerable to himself. He thus kept tight control over Kūfa, as he had done in Basra.

Ziyād strengthened the administration of Iraq and Iran, adopting many Sasanian practices. He used official seals, established a regular chancery for records, restored state control over former Sasanian royal lands and improved tax collection using Persians as financial secretaries. A large proportion of the revenues went to pay for troops, mainly based in Basra and Kūfa, but some of the taxes funded public works, such as building mosques and fortifications. A share went to the treasury in Damascus.[6]

Drachms were struck for a large number of mints in the name of Ziyād (see 9.59) mostly dated from 50 to 54H. These include the first issues struck in Basra (7.27 **BCLA**) in 53H. His coinage mainly centred on Iraq, Fārs, the Jibāl and Kirmān. His coinage before 50H is limited, but includes a drachm issue of Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**) dated 47H. The written sources place his death in 53H but, as coins were struck in his name by eight mints in 54H, and at Basra in 55H, he may have died in 54H. Muʿāwiya confirmed Samura b. Jundab as governor of Basra for six or 18 months (the sources are not clear) after Ziyād's death. This governorship is reflected in drachms in the name of Samura b. Jundab from two mints within the Dārābgerd district (7.36 **DA** and 7.38 **DAP** mint signatures) with the frozen date 43, though they may have been struck from 53 to 54H (see 9.47).

After his death, the sons of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān were given governorships of areas where he had held authority. In 54H, Muʿāwiya appointed ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād as governor of Khurāsān (see 9.50, 9.53). In turn ʿUbayd Allāh made his brother ʿAbbād governor of Sīstān. In 54H Muʿāwiya removed Samura and made ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ghaylān governor of Basra. ʿAbd Allāh was dismissed in 55H in favour of ʿUbayd Allāh, who in effect succeeded to his father's offices in Iraq, holding the governorships of both Kūfa and Basra. ʿUbayd Allāh remained governor of Basra for the remainder of Muʿāwīya's reign, apart from a short period in 59H.

The transfer of power from Ziyād to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād is reflected in the coinage. Drachms dated 54H are known for both governors. ʿUbayd Allāh's earliest issues are from **NY** (7.75 possibly Nēhāvand in Media / Jibāl) dated 54H, though issues prior to 56H are scarce. Drachms in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād are known with over 40 mint signatures, but those from Basra (7.27 **BCLA**) struck from 56 to 64H predominate.

During Muʿāwiya's reign Arab settlement in Iraq and Iran was limited. The main Arab population was in the garrison towns of Basra and Kūfa, though a substantial number of Arabs had been settled in Marw

[5] Bosworth 1968, p. 24.

[6] Foss 2010, pp. 78–80.

in Khurāsān. Outside these areas, the local rulers were often left in place so long as they acknowledged Muʿāwiya and collected taxes or paid tribute. At times the Umayyads probably had little or no authority over more remote places, such as Sīstān. Even Kirmān, closer to central Iran, was a turbulent region. The written sources shed little light on the difficulties encountered in Kirmān, but the numismatic evidence reflects weak control from 51 to 58H. No coins are known in the name of Ziyād for 51H for any mint in Kirmān, but they are known for various mints in that region from 52 to 54H. Coins in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh were not struck in Kirmān until 58H. Coins were struck, though, in the name of two otherwise unknown people. Drachms in ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd's name were struck by at least six mints within the region from 52 to 54H (see 9.18). Eight mints struck in the name of al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs from 53 to 58H (see 9.26). The written sources make no reference to any appointment of either personage over Kirmān. It is possible that they were governors or sub-governors, but they may well have been rebels, even Khārijites.[7]

Muʿāwiya's control over the western parts of his realm was more secure. He ruled Damascus and Syria directly with the help of an inner circle of leaders from various tribes, not just from the Quraysh, including Yamānī tribes. In Egypt, his appointed governors were loyal: ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs (until his death in 43H) and later Maslama b. Mukhallād al-Ansārī from 47H (a rare example of a high ranking official from the *Ansār* under Muʿāwiya). The Byzantine system of financial administration continued, run by the local Christians. From Syria Muʿāwiya attacked the Byzantines with some success. The islands of Rhodes and Crete were taken in 52 and 54H respectively, but attacks on Constantinople were repulsed, the second attack in 54H with heavy Arab losses.[8]

Muʿāwiya was the first caliph to have his name on the coins (see 9.35). There are Arab-Sasanian type drachms in his name dated year 43 for two mints within the district of Dārābgerd in Fārs: **DA** (7.36) for Dārābgerd itself and **DAP** (7.38) for Fasā. The date is a frozen year and these drachms were probably struck around 54–5H. On these coins his name and title are in Pahlavi in a legend meaning 'Commander of the believers' (equivalent to the Arabic title *amīr al-muʿminīn*).

The *Maronite Chronicle* records that Muʿāwiya minted gold and silver coins, but they were not accepted because they had no crosses on them. The identity of these coins and the reliability of the account are disputed.[9] Assuming that the reference to Muʿāwiya is correct,[10] as regards the gold this may be a reference to a coinage struck in the former Byzantine territories, most probably from his capital in Damascus, comprising copies of Byzantine style solidi which have the cross-bars of all crosses removed.[11] As regards the silver this may well be a reference to Arab-Sasanian drachms, and it is noteworthy the earliest caliph named on silver coins is Muʿāwiya on issues struck in Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA**) and Fasā (7.38 **DAP**).

Muʿāwiya wanted to establish his own dynasty and appointed his son, Yazīd, as his successor in 56H. This appointment was not universally accepted, in particular by those who had supported ʿAlī. Yazīd appears to have been a poor choice given his devotion to wine, music, dancing girls and his pet monkey.[12] The sons of some of the most prominent companions of the Prophet Muhammad voiced their opposition to Yazīd, including Husayn b. ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Bakr.[13] Nevertheless, Muʿāwiya was able to impose his will and Yazīd became the next caliph.

[7] Malek 2018, for the coinage of Kirmān reflecting changes in control.

[8] Howard-Johnston 2010a, pp. 493–4.

[9] Palmer, Brock and Hoyland 1993, p. 32. Cf. Foss 2002, p. 362 and Phillips 2015, pp. 58 and 67–8.

[10] An alternative explanation is that the reference to Muʿāwiya is erroneous, and the chronicle is merely referring to the Post-Reform coinage which was introduced under ʿAbd al-Malik.

[11] Goodwin and Gyselen 2015, p. 8.

[12] Humphreys 2006, p. 99; Al-Yaʿqūbī (Book of Adaption of Men) (trans.), p. 39.

[13] Wellhausen 1927, p. 142.

4.2 *Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (60–4H; 680–3)*[14]

Upon his accession, Yazīd sought pledges of allegiance from those who had opposed his succession. At the time of Muʿāwiya's death in 60H, Yazīd asked the governor of Medina, Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān to secure pledges from Husayn b. ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and others. Husayn and ʿAbd Allāh managed to escape from Medina to Mecca without pledging their allegiance and openly took a stand against Yazīd, thus starting the Second Civil War (*fitna*). Yazīd confirmed many of the appointments made by Muʿāwiya including ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād as governor of Basra. Although al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr was made governor of Kūfa he was soon replaced by ʿUbayd Allāh. The latter was thus restored to his position as the governor of both Basra and Kūfa, with responsibility over Iraq and Iran. ʿUbayd Allāh had difficulty in gaining the support of the people of Kūfa, who supported the ʿAlid cause.

Yazīd appointed Salm b. Ziyād (see 9.46) governor of Khurāsān in 61H. His brother, Yazīd b. Ziyād, was appointed governor of Sīstān but was defeated and killed in a campaign against the region of Zamīndāwar and Kābul. Salm b. Ziyād then appointed Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.49) over Sīstān. This is dated to 62H in the histories but coins in his name are only known for 64 to 66H.

Husayn, the favoured grandson of the Prophet Muhammad and third Imām (following his father ʿAlī and brother Hasan) had withdrawn from active political life to Mecca. In 61H the people of Kūfa rallied to support him and encouraged him to journey there. On arriving in Iraq the anticipated support did not materialise and he and 72 of his followers were massacred at Karbalāʾ by a large force of ʿUbayd Allāh's men on 10th muharram 61H. Their severed heads were taken to ʿUbayd Allāh in Kūfa, who sent them on to Yazīd in Syria. The killing of a beloved grandson of the Prophet Muhammad had long term ramifications for Islam for centuries to come.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (see 9.9), a member of the ʿAbd al-ʿUzza clan of the Quraysh, spoke out against the massacre of Husayn and his followers and in 61H revolted.[15] ʿAbd Allāh had excellent credentials.[16] His father had been a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad, and his mother, Asmaʾ, was a daughter of Abū Bakr and sister of ʿĀʾisha. Whereas ʿAbd al-Malik was a supporter of the Caliph ʿUthmān, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr had opposed him. In due course ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr set up a rival caliphate and, until his death in 73H, there was a continuous struggle between the Umayyads and the Zubayrids. ʿAbd Allāh entrenched himself in Mecca and had support in Medina as well. In 63H, the Umayyads were ejected from Medina, but a Syrian force led by Husayn b. Numayr defeated the Medinese at the battle of Harra and ransacked Medina, an event for which the inhabitants harboured a long-standing hatred of the Umayyads. In 64H, the Syrians besieged Mecca and the Kaʿba was damaged by fire. Before the Syrians could take Mecca, news of the death of Yazīd arrived, which led to the end of the Syrian attack.

It is unclear how far ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayrid's authority extended during Yazīd's reign. The numismatic evidence indicates that from 61 to 62H he had support in Fārs and Kirmān as a small number of mints there struck drachms in his name.[17] In 63H coins in ʿAbd Allāh's name are known for a wide number of mints though, according to the written sources, he was not proclaimed caliph until 64H. His proclamation may have taken place in the previous year as a coin with the name ʿAbd Allāh and the caliphal title ('Commander of the Believers') is known dated 63H (mint signature 7.58.17 **KLMAN-BNBN**).

In 63 or 64H, the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, Salm b. Ziyād was unable to control that province and left. His place was taken by ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, who went over to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr's cause.

[14] Hawting 2000, pp. 44–8; Kennedy 2004, pp. 88–90; Wellhausen 1927, pp. 145–69.

[15] His hatred of Yazīd was reflected in a sermon he reportedly gave in Mecca where he referred to him in the following terms: *Yazīd of liquors, Yazīd of whoring, Yazīd of panthers, Yazīd of wine-swoons, Yazīd of barren deserts*, Balādhurī, cited in Donner 2010, pp. 180, 253.

[16] Lynch 2015, pp. 256 and 265: his kinship to the Prophet Muhammad no doubt was a significant factor which gained him much support.

[17] There is a drachm from Istakr (7.89 **ST**) dated 61H in the name of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mādūr (see 9.12), who is not identifiable from the written sources.

From 63H drachms were struck in Marw in ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim's name. Khurāsān continued to be fought over for a number of years as evidenced by drachms from Marw (7.68 **MLW**) in the name of Salm b. Ziyād dated 62 to 70H.

4.3 *Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd (64H; 683–4)*

Yazīd's young son Muʿāwiya succeeded his father but was not in good health and died within a few months. He was the last of the Sufyānid caliphs. His reign represented one of the low points of Umayyad power, which was only secure in Syria with Muʿāwiya installed in Damascus. Muʿāwiya did not want conflict and declared a truce. He sought to reach an accommodation with ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, but was rebuffed. He refused to preside over civil war and, according to one account, he abdicated shortly before he died.[18]

After ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr was proclaimed caliph in Mecca and Medina, Kūfa and Basra went over to him. In Iran the Khārijites opposed the Umayyads. Salm b. Ziyād is said to have abandoned Khurāsān in favour of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (see 9.7) in 64H (but this may have happened in 63H).

4.4 *Marwān b. Hakam (64–5H; 684–5)*

The death of Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd was followed by a period of chaos. He had no children and his brothers were too young to succeed him. When ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād arrived in Syria after fleeing Basra he found the elite divided over the succession. Although some were willing to accept ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, ʿUbayd Allāh persuaded Marwān b. Hakam to become caliph. Marwān was a cousin of the Caliph ʿUthmān and had at one time led the Umayyad community in the Hijāz until ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr seized control. Marwān had been Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's governor in Medina.

Although the *ashraf* from the Yamānī tribes, convened in Jābiya (east of Lake Tiberias) by Hassān b. Mālik b. Bahdal al-Kalbī, elected Marwān as caliph, this was opposed by the leaders of the Qaysīs tribes (Banū Qays) in north Syria. The two sides met at the bloody battle of Marj Rāhit (near Damascus) at which the Yamānīs defeated the Qaysīs led by al-Dahhāk b. Qays, whose severed head was presented to Marwān b. Hakam.[19] This allowed Marwān to be acknowledged in Damascus as the new caliph. The defeat of the Qays left a long-standing sore between the Qaysīs and the Yamānīs in Syria and elsewhere.

Marwān, with the assistance of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and the Kalbī leader Ibn Bahdal, began consolidating his power outside Syria. ʿUbayd Allāh was given the task of retaking Iraq, but made little progress during Marwān's reign. Marwān sent his son Muhammad to the Euphrates to deal with the Qaysīs there. An attack on Medina was repulsed, enabling ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr to retain his position as rival caliph with authority in the Arabian peninsula, Iraq and Iran. Closer to Syria a force led by Marwān, including Ibn Bahdal and Marwān's son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, took Egypt. An attack on Palestine by Musʿab b. al-Zubayr was repulsed.

Marwān sought to consolidate his position by marrying Fākhita, the widow of Yazīd, a move which has been described as 'the seizure of an inheritance'.[20] Yazīd's son, Khālid, had expected to succeed Marwān, but his hopes were crushed when Marwān appointed his own son ʿAbd al-Malik as his successor. Fākhita avenged Marwān's actions by smothering him in bed in 65H.

The coinage reflects these changes in control in Iraq and Iran. Until 64H coins were struck in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād at a wide range of mints (see 9.53). No coins in his name are known for 65 and 66H, reflecting his loss of power over Iraq and Iran. In contrast coins were struck in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, particularly in Fārs and Kirmān provinces, during this period (see 9.9). In Khurāsān, coins were struck in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim at a number of mints (see 9.7). For Basra itself, as well as Kirmān,

[18] Wellhausen 1927, p. 169, who doubts that he actually abdicated. Rather, this was a story to conceal the fact that the older branch of the Umayyad dynasty, the Sufyānids had been wrongfully supplanted by the younger Marwānid branch.

[19] Wellhausen 1927, pp. 171–80; al-Tabarī, ii, 643; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 3.

[20] Wellhausen 1927, p. 183.

coins were struck in the name of the Zubayrid supporter ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh dated 65H (see 9.54). The picture in Sīstān is less clear with an overlap of issues and dates in this period. Coins with mint signature **SK** for Sīstān are known for Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh dated 64 to 66H (Talha having been appointed by the Umayyads) (see 9.49); Mālik b. Aws for 65 and 66H (an appointee/ delegate of Talha) (see 9.33); and, ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārith or ʿAlī for 65 and 66H (likely to have been an opponent of the Umayyads) (see 9.4 and 9.6).

4.5 *ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65–86H; 685–705)*[21]

ʿAbd al-Malik swiftly succeeded his father as caliph in Syria where he had the support of the Yamānīs. Egypt was safely under Umayyad control. In Iraq, Iran and the Arabian peninsula the main power was in the hands of the rival caliph, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, but even in those areas there were substantial countervailing parties and rivalries.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr's position in Iraq and Iran was under threat from at least three directions. First, in Kūfa, Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd a supporter of the Alid cause took control in 65H. Mukhtār was a Thaqafī from Tā'if. He sought support by proclaiming Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya as the Mahdī ('the rightly guided'),[22] and declared himself the protector of the poor and oppressed. His rebellion lasted until 67H when he was defeated and killed in a battle with an army led by Musʾab b. al-Zubayr.

Second, ʿAbd al-Malik sent ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād to reclaim Iraq. This threat proved ineffective when in 67H ʿUbayd Allāh was killed in battle on the River Khāzir (near Mosul) by forces led by Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al Ashtar who had been sent at the head of a Kūfan army by Mukhtār.[23] As noted above, it was the forces of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr that defeated Mukhtār, not ʿAbd al-Malik.

Third, ʿAbd Allāh had to deal with the Khārijites who comprised two main groups. The Azāriqa based around Ahwāz and in Fārs and caused considerable disruption to the Zubayrids, even though Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (see 9.41) and the Azdī leader al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (see 9.36) had some success in suppressing the movement. The Najdiyya branch of the Khārijites was based in Yemen (Yamāna) and by 68H controlled much of Yemen and Oman (ʿUmān). After 72H the Najdiyya's power waned in the midst of internal differences. There was a further sub-sect, the ʿAtawīya based in Kirmān region led by ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad al-Hanafī, whose presence and control over the province is reflected in his coinage from a large number of mints within Kirmān from 70 to 77H (see 9.22). The Khārijites opposed dynastic rule, considering the Commander of the Believers should be the person most competent to give effect to God's will as set out in the Qurʾān and practiced by of Muhammad.[24]

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr remained in control of Iraq and Iran until 72H. He appointed governors over the various regions and provinces. His main governor was his brother Musʿab, who was placed in charge of Medina in 66H. From 66 to 72H Musʿab also held the important position of governor of Basra, apart from a short period in 67H. He was also governor of Kūfa. Coins were struck in his name for various mints including Basra (66H) and mints in Kirmān province up to 72H (see 9.41). In turn Musʿab appointed governors or commanders in Iran. In 68H Musʿab sent ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh to take command over Fārs and this is reflected in coinage from a number of mints in Fārs from 67 to 72H (see 9.54). ʿUmar also appears to have had some authority over Kirmān as there is a drachm issue of Kirmān dated 65H.

In Khurāsān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (see 9.7) governed for ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr until 72H. Drachms were struck in his name from 63 to 73H at a number of different mints (including dates which overlap with those in the name of Salm b. Ziyād). The position in Sīstān is more confused with a plethora of often overlapping issues, with rival officials, either supporters of the Marwānids or Zubayrids (and occasionally neither), as illustrated in Table 4.1.

[21] Robinson 2005.

[22] Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya was a third son of ʿAlī by a wife other than Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad.

[23] c.f. Khalifa (trans.), pp. 121–2 places the death of ʿUbayd Allāh in 66H.

[24] Hoyland 2015, p. 139.

Table 4.1. Coins of Sīstān (**SK**) dated 64 to 72H

Person / *Date (H)*	*64*	*65*	*66*	*67*	*68*	*69*	*70*	*71*	*72*
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh[25] (9.10)			✓			✓			✓
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (Hārith) (9.6)		✓	✓						
Mālik b. Aws (9.33)			✓						
Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh (9.49)	✓	✓	✓						

After the defeat of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād in 67H, ʿAbd al-Malik bided his time before going against ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubyar's forces in Iraq. In 70H, the Qaysī tribe (Banū Sulaym) supporting ʿAbd Allāh and his brother Musʿab was defeated by the pro-Umayyad Taghlib tribe at the Tharthēr village of al-Hashshak (near Takrit in northern Iraq) and the head of the slain leader of the Banū Sulaym was sent to ʿAbd al-Malik. In 71H ʿAbd al-Malik sent Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh to Basra, but he withdrew in fear of Musʿab's forces. In the same year another Qaysī supporter of Musʿab, Zufar b. al-Hārith, was defeated at Qarqīsiyā (Circesium, in Syria by the Euphrates) and made peace with ʿAbd al-Malik. In the next year Musʿab was killed at Dayr al-Jāthalīq by ʿAbd al-Malik's forces, effectively bringing an end to Zubayrid control of Iraq. In 72H the Zubayrid, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, was killed at the battle of Marw.

ʿAbd al-Malik sent the ruthless but effective commander al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (see 9.25)[25] to Medina where he put ʿAbd Allāh to death in 73H, thus ending Zubayrid power and the Second Civil War. In 74H al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf was rewarded with the governorship of Mecca and Medina.[26]

ʿAbd al-Malik placed members of his family in important positions. In 72H Bishr b. Marwān was appointed governor of Kūfa after the defeat of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr. In 73 or 74H he left Kūfa to become governor in Basra as well, replacing Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh. In 74 or perhaps 75H he died in Basra. These positions are reflected in drachms of the Arab-Sasanian type. Coins in the name of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.30) are known dated 73H for Basra (7.27 **BCLA**); Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**) and Arrajān (7.110 **WYHC**), 74 for Bīshāpūr, and 75H for Basra again. Bishr b. Marwān's position as governor of Kūfa and Basra is evidenced by drachms in his name for Kūfa (7.4 **AKWLA**) dated 73 to 75H, Jayy (7.44 **GD**) for 74H and Basra (7.27 **BCLA**) for 75H (see 9.24). In 75H ʿAbd al-Malik appointed al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf governor of Basra and Kūfa and the lands administered from them. This is reflected in drachms with Arabic legends for Basra dated 75H and Madāʾin (Ctesiphon) dated 76H. No other Arab-Sasanian style drachms were struck in al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf's name in Iraq though there are issues from Iran.

The Khārijites proved a problem for the Marwānids just as they had for Zubayrids. In 74H the sub-governor in Fārs region, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.11) was defeated by a Khārijite force led by the leader of the Azāriqah branch Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa (see 9.45). Thus the only coins known in the name of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz are dated 74H for three mints in Fārs province (Ardashīr-Khurra, 7.14 **ART;** Istakhr, 7.89 **ST**; Tawwaj, 7.103 **TART**). Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (see 9.36), who had switched his allegiance from Musʿab b. al-Zubayr after the latter's death in 72H, was sent to fight the Azāriqah. In 75 and 76H the regions of Fārs and Kirmān were fought over and both al-Muhallab and Qatarī struck coins from various mints in Fārs region. Kirmān was even harder to subjugate and there is an issue in Qatarī's name as late as 77H, the year in which Qatarī died and the Azāriqah destroyed on a number of fronts. Qatarī was not the only Khārijite leader. In 76 and 77H a separate force led by Shabīb b. Yazīd caused havoc in the upper basin of the Tigris, at one point going as far as to take and plunder Kūfa. Shabīb fought the

[25] Al-Yaʿqūbī (Book of Adaption of Men) (trans.), p. 40 records that ʿAbd al-Malik himself had a panchant for shedding blood and acting in haste, and his govenors, including al-Hajjāj were of similar charcter.

[26] In 75H ʿAbd al-Malik led the pilgrimage to Mecca for the first time during which he is recorded as having given a sermon in which he stated: 'The caliphs who preceded me used to consume this wealth and let others consume it. I shall not cure the diseases of the Community except by means of the sword. I am not a weak caliph – meaning ʿUthmān – and I am not a devious caliph – meaning Muʿāwiya. People! We will endure all the troubles for you, as long as there is no flag-raising or attacking the pulpit. This man, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, had his rights and his family. He said one thing with his head, but we said another with our sword', Khalifa (trans.), p. 134.

forces of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf which had been reinforced from Syria. He was drowned in the River Dujayl (in Iraq) in 77H en route to Kirmān.[27] Further, the ʿAtawīya, ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad, must have dominated Kirmān from 70H until 77H, the last year known for his coinage. Al-Hajjāj appointed al-Muhallab as governor of Khurāsān in 78H, where he remained until his death in 82H. Kirmān was a mountainous region, used as a refuge and base for opponents of the Umayyads. It was often controlled by Khārijites who were able to operate within Kirmān and use it as a place to withdraw to safety.[28]

Over time, al-Hajjāj consolidated and extended his power. In 78H ʿAbd al-Malik recalled Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.56) from Khurāsān where he had been governor since the defeat of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim. ʿAbd al-Malik then placed both Khurāsān and Sīstān under the jurisdiction of al-Hajjāj. In 79H al-Hajjāj's nominee, al-Muhallab, arrived in Khurāsān. On the death of al-Muhallab in 82H, al-Hajjāj confirmed his son Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (see 9.58) as governor. Despite his success in dealing with rebels, Yazīd was dismissed in 85H. Al-Hajjāj did not like the al-Muhallabs, who had the support of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, and after the caliph's death he removed them from office.

Al-Hajjāj had greater difficulty asserting control over Sīstān. He sent ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra to Sīstān with instructions to destroy the local ruler the Zunbīl (Rutbīl)[29] and his forces. The overstretched ʿUbayd Allāh was outmanoeuvred by the Zunbīl and forced to make peace. He died soon after, either in 79H or possibly as late as 81H, as drachms in his name from Sīstān (7.87 **SK**) are known only for 79, 80 and rarely for 81H. In 80H al-Hajjāj sent ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (often referred to as Ibn al-Ashʿath) to Sīstān to restore Umayyad authority over the province. This backfired when Ibn al-Ashʿath rebelled and took control over much of Iran. Ibn al-ʿAshʿath entered Kirmān, then Fārs and finally Basra in 81H. He was welcomed in Kūfa, whose populace had turned against the harsh and tyrannical rule of al-Hajjāj. Al-Hajjāj managed to turn the situation round in 83H when his Syrian army defeated the Kūfan and Basran forces of Ibn al-Ashʿath at Dayr al-Jamājim near Kufa. Ibn al-Ashʿath fled to Sīstān where he died. Ibn al-ʿAshʿath's control of Fārs and Kirmān enabled him to strike coins there from 81 to 83H (see 9.17). For Sīstān drachms were struck in his name for each year from 80 to 84H. Upon the defeat of Ibn al-Ashʿath, al-Hajjāj appointed ʿUmāra b. Tamīm governor of Sīstān and drachms are known in his name dated 84 and 85H (see 9.55). The appointment was revoked in 85H at the insistence of the Zunbīl, a reflection of how tenuous Umayyad control was over Sīstān. Al-Hajjāj appointed Mismaʿ b. Mālik b. Mismaʿ as governor for Sīstān and drachms were struck in the name of that governor dated 85 and 86H (see 9.34).

By 72H ʿAbd al-Malik's authority was in its ascendancy.[30] He built the Dome of the Rock (al-Quds mosque) on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. It carries the date 72H but whether this was the year in which it was started or completed is uncertain.[31] Until Musʿab b. al-Zubayr was defeated in Iraq in 72H and his brother killed in 73H ʿAbd al-Malik had very little authority outside Syria, Palestine and Egypt. For many ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who had ruled as caliph from Medina for some years, remained the true caliph until his final defeat.

From 72 to 77H drachms were struck in the name of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (see 9.14). These were all of the standard Arab-Sasanian type with Pahlavi legends (apart from the obverse margin) and a fire altar with attendants on the reverse. These were struck in Fārs province, apart from an isolated issue from Marw (7.68 **MLW**) dated 75H.

[27] Khalifa (trans.), pp. 137–8.

[28] Mochiri 1987, pp. 37–9; Malek 2019.

[29] Bosworth 1968, pp. 34–5, for the debate on what is in fact the actual name of the hereditary title of the ruler of the region and scholars are divided on which of the two alternatives are correct.

[30] ʿAbd al-Malik's position had been so weak that in 69H he had agreed a 10 year truce with the Byzantine Emperor Constantine under which he was to make substantial payments.

[31] One view is that ʿAbd al-Malik commenced its construction earlier at a time when he could not be confident that he would be able to defeat ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr who had control over Medina and the place of pilgrimage, Mecca. Thus it was part of a strategy to shift religious focus to Jerusalem, near to his capital Damascus: see, for example Stetkevych 2016, pp. 131–2. Robinson 2005, pp. 4–7. For the Qur'ānic verses found within the Dome, see Bacharach 2010, p. 7.

We thus have a relatively clear picture of caliphal control from the numismatic evidence: from 64 to 72H coins struck in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and his governors predominate, with relatively few issues struck by the supporters of ʿAbd al-Malik. From 72H issues in the name of ʿAbd al-Malik and his subordinates predominate. Taking account of ʿAbd Allāh's control of the Arabian peninsula, this shows that ʿAbd Allāh was the caliph in control until 72H. It is only after 72/3H that ʿAbd al-Malik was able to assert his position of caliph outside Syria and Palestine.

As their control over Iraq and Iran increased ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf moved away from an administration which used Pahlavi to one which used Arabic. Experimental coins types were introduced from 72H. Drachms struck in Damascus used Arabic for the mint and date.[32] ʿAbd al-Malik's brother, Bishr, had coins struck in his own name with a fundamentally different reverse type, from 73 to 75H (see 9.24). Instead of the fire altar and attendants there is a standing figure with outstretched arms, who may have been the *khalīb* (leader of Friday prayers). Traditionally numismatists have identified this figure as the caliph, hence the coins are known as the 'Caliph Orans' type.[33] Drachms were first struck in al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf's name in 76H and continued until 83H (see 9.25). All show the fire altar with attendants on the reverse. They were mostly struck at mints in Fārs region. Al-Hajjāj's name is in Arabic, save for issues from Fasā (7.38 **DAP**) and Jayy (7.44 **GD**) in the Jibāl where his name is in Pahlavi. In Syria and Palestine gold dinars (based on the Byzantine gold solidus) and bronze fals issues[34] were struck from about 72H. They show the standing caliph with a sword on the obverse, an image of a confident and stern warrior.[35]

ʿAbd al-Malik's administration focused on strong central control. Al-Hajjāj imposed military control in Iraq by establishing a garrison of Syrian troops at Wāsit, a new base between Basra and Kūfa. The Syrian military became the ruling elite in place of the Iraqis. Al-Hajjāj swept away many of the privileges of the earlier settlers in Iraq. *ʿAtā*, pay based on the role played by the recipient or his ancestors, was henceforth a salary for those who served in the army.

ʿAbd al-Malik died in Damascus in 86H. Al-Hajjāj remained in power under the following caliphs until his own death in 95H. The Umayyad caliphs continued in power until they were overthrown by the ʿAbbāsids in 132H but the fortunes of these later Umayyad caliphs is outside the scope of this work. After ʿAbd al-Malik's death the Umayyads did not strike drachms of Arab-Sasanian type.[36]

Even by the end of Umayyad rule the majority of the population of the former Sasanian area of Iranshahr had not converted to Islam. Most retained their Zoroastrian faith and there were significant numbers of Christians, especially in Armenia and Mesopotamia and further west.[37]

[32] For the development of ʿAbd al-Malik's coinage, see Bacharach 2010, p. 9.

[33] For an example, see Chapter 9, section 24, p. 276, fig. 9.24.1.

[34] There is some controversy as to when these were struck. It is possible that they started being struck a couple of years before the gold issues: c.f. *SICA* 1, pp. 99–107. The plural of *fals* is *fulūs*.

[35] Mintless gold dinars, presumably struck at Damascus (Dimashq) were produced each year from 74 to 77H, the year when the first post-reform coins were issued. The reverse shows a 'modified cross on steps'.

[36] Arab-Sasanian style drachms of a crude type continued to be struck in Sīstān. These anonymous issues continue until the ʿAbbāsid period. See Chapter 16.

[37] Estimates vary as to when Iran became majority muslim, but it would not have been before late fourth century Hijrī: see Hanaoka 2016, p. 36 for references.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL FEATURES OF ARAB-SASANIAN COINAGE

This chapter considers the general features of the usual Arab-Sasanian drachms. Post-reform Islamic coins and Arab-Sasanian copper issues are considered separately in Chapters 10 and 11.

5.1 *Output and Circulation*

The output of drachms in the later Sasanian period from Kavād I (484–531) to Khusrau II (590–628) was vast. The (much later) account by al-Tabarī says that Khusrau II collected huge sums in taxation. The figures recorded cannot all be taken as realistic but the Arab invaders were obviously impressed by the Sasanian kings' wealth. There are reports of 420 million *mithqāls* in weight of silver, amounting to 600 million dirhams, being collected in year 18 of his reign (607–8). The treasury is said to have held 200,000 bags (800 million *mithqāls*, assumed to be drachms) in regnal year 13 (602–3), which increased to 400,000 bags (1.6 billion *mithqāls* by regnal year 30 (619–20).[1] Some of this would have come from taxation and plunder from the occupied former Byzantine territories. These quantities of drachms could only have been achieved by a high level of mint output as well as high taxes on agriculture and commerce.[2]

The literature gives an indication of how much a drachm was actually worth in Sasanian times. One Middle Persian source (the Pahlavi *Vīdēvdād*) refers to one sheep costing three *stēr* (a unit worth four drachms, i.e. 12 drachms), a cow 12, 14 or 30 *stēr* according to quality, and a man 125 *stēr* (i.e. 500 drachms). Another refers to a slave selling for 500 drachms and a sheep for 10 drachms, and the value of a good piece of land as 500 drachms (*mādayān ī hazār*).[3] Balʿamī, writing some centuries after the events, records that at the time of Khusrau I (531–79), the maximum annual salary for a mounted horseman and foot soldier was 1000 and 100 drachms respectively.[4] Poll tax levels may be another indication of value. Khusrau I imposed an annual poll tax on all males between 20 and 50 years of age (with various exceptions for the elite) at rates of four, six, eight or 12 drachms depending upon their status. Most paid at the lower rate. This practice continued under his successors.[5] In addition to poll tax (called *jizya* in the later Arabic sources) there was land tax which, under Khusrau I's reforms, had to be paid in coin rather than in kind. According to Dīnawarī the amount of the levy depended on the degree of cultivation, what was grown and the proximity of cities.[6]

In the Sasanian heartlands, the principal currency was the silver drachm, with copper coinage having a lesser role, primarily for smaller transactions on a local level. Gold coinage rarely had a large production. Under Khusrau II gold dinars were struck, possibly to pay for the military campaigns against the Byzantines, but given the relatively few known examples (implying a low or modest output) and their special design, their predominant role may have been ceremonial. No Arab-Sasanian gold coinage was struck by the Umayyads.[7]

[1] Malek 2013, pp. 466–8 (the figures are from al-Tabarī); al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 5, pp. 377, 393-4. The account of al-Tabarī in respect of year 18 is analysed in detail by Rubin 2017, who concludes that the amount equivalent to 600 million drachms is not completely fanciful. The figure for year 30 does seem to be rather overstated.

[2] Banaji 2016, pp. 119–20.

[3] P. Gignoux and M. Bates, 'Dirham', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* vol. 7, fasc.4, pp. 424–8 and http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dirham (consulted 27 April 2018).

[4] Balʿamī (ed. Bahar), p. 1049.

[5] Morony 1984, p. 107.

[6] Jackson Bonner 2015, p. 93.

[7] There are modern forgeries in gold, see Chapter 16, p. 422.

Coinage played an important role in the early Islamic period. The basic functions of coinage were the same as under the late Sasanian kings: for the payment of taxes and tribute, for the payment of troops and financing of campaigns, and as a medium of exchange for trade. But they also had a propaganda value as shown by their designs.

The vast majority of the coinage under the Umayyads was spent on troops. The policy of setting up garrison towns for Arabs to settle in, such as in Basra, Kūfa, Mawsil and Wāsit in Iraq, had a price. The settlers needed to be paid and under ʿUmar or his successors a system was devised whereby they would be paid stipends from the tax collected from the subject populations. The payments were known as *ʿatā* and were payable to those whose names were included in a list (*diwān*). The amount payable to a person in the early period was dependent on when the individual joined the armies of conquest. Initially, the payments were pensions for having fought in the conquests. Over time there was a need to pay those currently serving, and ultimately the system evolved into salaries paid to those in a standing army, rather than pensions. In turn the recipients of the pensions and salaries used their receipts in order to pay for goods and services, bringing the coinage into wider circulation.[8] In addition, it would appear that vast sums were spent on land acquisition and development.[9]

The relative numbers of late Sasanian drachms (particularly of Kavād I, Khusrau I, Hormizd IV and Khusrau II) and Arab-Sasanian drachms found in excavations and museums in Iran, as well as on the market, suggest production was significantly lower during the Umayyad period than under Khusrau II. This is significant, but what can be concluded from it is not so clear. With the collapse of the Sasanian empire and the impact of war, there would have been at least some adverse effect on the economy, tax collection and revenues in the period from 628. How long this effect lasted after the conquest is uncertain but it may have contributed to a lower output of drachms during the Umayyad period. Further, the Umayyads faced rebellion, internal strife and at times lost control of vast swathes of the former Sasanian lands. There is another important factor which may explain the apparent lower output of Arab-Sasanian drachms. During the conquest the Arabs would have taken control of the contents of the royal treasuries. In addition there was already a very large number of late Sasanian drachms in circulation. Thus there may have been no need to strike large numbers of drachms. The late Sasanian coinage continued to circulate widely, at least until the introduction of the post-reform coinage in the late 70s Hijrī. The histories refer to massive taxes collected by the Umayyads in Iraq, Fārs and the Jibāl,[10] and this may have been collected in the form of Sasanian as well as Arab-Sasanian drachms.

Few hoards of Arab-Sasanian drachms have been published but some hoards and hoard groups contain both late Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms.[11] Sasanian drachms are often found clipped down, including to the lower weight standard of Umayyad post-reform dirhams, which shows that even after the new coinage was introduced Sasanian drachms continued to 'circulate'.[12]

5.2 *Design and General Features*

Most Arab-Sasanian silver drachms follow closely the design of those of the great Sasanian king Khusrau II (590–628). This was no doubt in part because mint officials from the late Sasanian period would have remained in office and also because such coins would be readily accepted in the former Sasanian lands. The very first issues were in the name of Yazdgard (the last Sasanian king), followed almost immediately by those in the name of Khusrau. The latter remained the basic type for nearly three decades.

[8] Kennedy 2002 (military pay).

[9] Banaji 2016, pp. 212–15.

[10] Banaji 2016, pp. 216–9.

[11] Malek 1993c, pp. 243–50. See also Chapter 16, section 2, pp. 419-20.

[12] There is no consistent pattern to the weight Sasanian coins were clipped down to, but a proportion at least were clipped down to a weight approximately that of dirhams.

Before dealing with the details and variants found on Arab-Sasanian drachms, it may be useful to summarise the basic features of the earlier Arab-Sasanian issues in the names of Yazdgard and Khusrau. The coin has a thin flan, usually of high quality silver, with a diameter in the range of 30 to 33 millimetres and a weight of about 4.1 grams.

The obverse. The design shows a bust facing right, wearing a winged crown. To the right of the bust is the name of the former king, Yazdgard or Khusrau, on the earlier issues. Over time this was replaced by the name of an official or governor, occasionally the caliph. The name is in Pahlavi, save that during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik it is sometimes in Kufic Arabic. To the left of the bust on almost all issues is the Pahlavi legend **GDH ʾpzwt** (*xvarrah abzūd*; 'the royal glory has been increased'). The bust is bearded and usually has an earring. On earlier types this is formed by a triangle of three pellets, but on the later drachms (not of the Yazdgard or Khusrau types) there is a variety of earring styles. Below the neck is a row of pearls and, on the earlier issues, a breast ornament consisting of a triangle of three pellets (again there are a number of varieties on the later issues). Most drachms show a crescent (☽) and star (✸) on each shoulder. There is usually a fillet (ribbon) above the left shoulder and, on the earlier issues in the name of Yazdgard and Khusrau, a fillet above the right shoulder also. On later issues with the longer legend of an official's name to the right of the bust, there is insufficient room for a fillet above the right shoulder. Above the right shoulder is a crescent, which is often omitted on issues with an official's name. All these features are surrounded by two pelleted circles, which are broken at the top either side of the wings of the crown. There is a crescent and star outside the outer circles, in the margin, at 3, 6 and 9h. In the second quarter of the margin there is usually an Arabic legend, most commonly *bism allāh* ('in the name of God'). After the Khusrau types were superseded by those in the names of officials, different marginal legends appear, sometimes in all four quarters of the obverse margin.

The reverse. The design shows a Zoroastrian fire altar topped by flames and an attendant either side. Beside the flames there is a star on the left and a crescent on the right, albeit these features vary. To the left of the left attendant is the date and to the right of the right attendant is the mint signature. This design is enclosed within three circles. In the margin is a crescent and star at 3, 6, 9 and 12h. Occasionally pellets and short legends or abbreviations are added in the margin.

5.2.1 *Obverse*

The general features on the obverse of drachms break down into nine elements: 1. Crown; 2. Symbols left and right of crown; 3. Bust; 4. Crescent above right shoulder and fillets; 5. Earrings; 6. Breast ornaments; 7. Shoulder ornaments; 8. Rim and outer margin; 9. Legends.

All these features are subject to variables, usually intentional, but occasionally a feature is omitted or altered by what may simply be a die cutter's error. The relatively high degree of uniformity reflects that mints were expected to follow strict guidelines for types and there would have been a degree of centralisation of the die cutting process. In some areas, dies may have been cut locally and this is almost certainly the case in Sīstān and probably Khurāsān as well. Coins from certain regions or provinces show a very high degree of consistency and uniformity such as those from the Kirmān region. Within Fārs those from the various Dārābgerd *shahrestān*, look as though they have been cut in one workshop and then distributed to the individual mint places.

5.2.1.1 *Crown*

The basic crown consists of three elements which persist throughout the series. First, there are two horizontal bands which represent the bottom of the crown and were originally part of a fillet / diadem. Stumps at the back indicate shortened fillet / diadem ties. These are sometimes missing and sometimes detached, or almost detached, and indicated by three pellets. The fillet is tied around a cap which can usually be seen.

At the back and in the middle of the crown are small turrets or raised areas out of which rise two open symmetrical wings. Between the curving feathers an almost v-shaped crescent and six pointed star is placed. The pair of feathered wings is a symbol of the god of war and victory, Verethraghna.

There is a tradition recorded by al-Wāsitī to the effect that during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik the crown of *Kisrā* (Khusrau II) was brought to Jerusalem and hung from a chain under the dome of the Dome of the Rock (built *c*.72H). In the spandrels of the inner octagon and most of all in the drum, one can still see several bejewelled vases with plants which carry a pair of wings at their apex. These reflect the crowns found on the coins of Khusrau II and Arab-Sasanian drachms.[13]

5.2.1.2 *Symbols left and right of crown*

To the left of the crown there is usually a star (sometimes omitted or reduced to a pellet).[14] To the right of the crown is a crescent and six pointed star, but this too is occasionally omitted.[15]

5.2.1.3 *Bust*

The design of a crowned bearded bust facing right is reasonably uniform across the Arab-Sasanian series. The person depicted wears an earring and there is a fillet or ribbon rising from the shoulder on the left (sometimes on the right also), probably symbolising divine glory (*xvarrah*). A necklace with a pendant is worn on the breast. A double v-shaped row of small pellets indicates the elaborately decorated neckline of the upper garment. Shoulder symbols (see no. 7 below) are placed either side of the neckline. Usually there is a crescent above the shoulder on the right. The bust is generally modelled on the bust of the Sasanian king Khusrau II (590–628). It does not purport to represent the portrait of any of the officials named on Arab-Sasanian drachms. This image represents continuity and it was both sensible and diplomatic to copy the coinage of Khusrau II which had gained acceptance in Sasanian territories and beyond. Thus the Arabs left the portrait of a Sasanian king on Arab-Sasanian issues and at least initially kept the name of the king, either Yazdgard or Khusrau, in the obverse right field. It was not until ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (41H), that names of governors or other claimants to authority replaced the royal name.[16] Minor varieties can be noted. For example, occasionally a pellet is added on the neck or cheek.[17]

5.2.1.4 *Fillets and crescent above right shoulder*

Fillets. Khusrau II and Yazdgard III's drachms always showed a fillet above each shoulder. This feature also appears on the early anonymous Arab-Sasanian drachms in the names of Yazdgard and Khusrau. The fillets continue to appear on drachms of the early governor, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, and on some issues in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān up to the early 50sH. It is also found on coins in various officials' names struck at mints in the Dārābgerd district including, in particular, on those using the frozen year 43, but again in the 50sH this feature disappears.

Crescent. A consistent feature of Khusrau II and Yazdgard III's coinage was a crescent above the right shoulder. This also appears on the anonymous Arab-Sasanian coinage in the names of Yazdgard and Khusrau but is often omitted on issues in the names of officials. Indeed, for many mint and date combinations examples are known both with and without a crescent. The reason for this inconsistency is not clear. Did the feature simply become optional or was a deliberate decision made to make a distinction between

[13] George 2018, pp. 40–3.

[14] *SICA* 1, pl. 8, no. 109. Anonymous Khusrau type, **BŠ** (7.32), year 29 (no star).

[15] *SICA* 1, pl. 17, no. 252, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, **DA** (7.36), year 50 (no star and crescent).

[16] Phillips 2015, pp. 64–6.

[17] ʿAbdl Allāh b. al-Zubayr, **DA** (7.36) year 53 (YE = 60H), pellet on cheek (**Pl. 37, 431**); Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, **DAP** (7.38), year 43 (*c*.50–3H), pellet on neck (**Pl. 42, 485**).

issues?[18] On some issues, instead of a simple crescent above the right shoulder, there is a crescent and pellet or pellet alone.[19]

5.2.1.5 *Earrings*

One of the features which varied from monarch to monarch on late Sasanian coins is the earrings. On coins of Khusrau II and Yazdgard III they are shown as a triangle of three pellets (pearls) hanging below the ear.[20] For the kings and queens who ruled in the period after Khusrau II's death in 628 and before Yazdgard III acceded to the throne the earring varies. Khusrau III, Khusrau IV, Āzarmidokht and Hormizd V all have this form of earring but Kavād II for example has a crescent above the triangle of 3 pellets,[21] and Ardashīr III has a crescent above one large hanging jewel.

The early Arab-Sasanian drachms maintained the pattern of a triangle of three pellets used on Khusrau II's drachms and it is used on the anonymous drachms in the names of Yazdgard and Khusrau. On the issues in the names of officials there are different types of earrings, although the three pellet type predominates. 19 variants are noted in the catalogue but anything other than the usual three pellets should be regarded as scarce.[22]

5.2.1.6 *Breast ornaments*

The breast ornament (pendant) varied from monarch to monarch on late Sasanian coins. Khusrau II's pendant was formed by a triangle of three pellets (representing jewels or pearls). The rulers in the four years after his death had various types of breast ornament, though Khusrau III, Khusrau IV, Āzarmidokht and Hormizd V all had the same type as Khusrau II. Yazdgard III is shown wearing more than one type of breast ornament, though most of his issues had the Khusrau II type. Arab-Sasanian anonymous issues in the name of Yazdgard and Khusrau continued to use the three pellet variety. Later drachms in the names of officials show a number of different breast ornaments, albeit the three pellet type predominates. In the catalogue 24 variants are noted, including where there is no pendant at all.[23] ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād's coinage is noteworthy by the number of different earrings and breast ornaments employed.[24] On one very rare issue there is a Pahlavi legend, in place of the breast ornament, which appears to read **ny**ʾ (albeit other readings are possible such as **ngy**ʾ, **wgy** or **wgy**ʾ).[25]

5.2.1.7 *Shoulder ornaments*

On the vast majority of Arab-Sasanian drachms, the shoulder ornaments are a crescent and six-pointed star on both shoulders. On some coins these are omitted entirely and this is particularly the case for late Sīstān issues in the name of Khusrau.

[18] This inconsistency is also found on coins of Kavād I where drachms of the later type not infrequently omit the crescent, whereas with Khusrau II the crescent above the right shoulder is almost invariably present.

[19] E.g. ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh, **BYŠ** (7.34), year 69(H), pellet (**Pl. 27, 314**); Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, **DA** (7.36), year 43 (*c*.50–3H), crescent with pellet (**Pl. 33, 387**).

[20] Some of Yazdgard III's earlier coinage has a single large 'pearl' earring instead of the three pellets: e.g. Yazdgard III drachm, **PS**, year 1 (Johnson 500632); chap. 2, fig. 2.2, p. 18. Malek 2013, p. 496, fig. 28.

[21] Malek 2014, p. 258, fig. 5 (Johnson 0750-0012) is unusual for a drachm of Kavād II (7.70 **MY**, year 2) in that it has a long jewel.

[22] See Part IV, Table 8, for a list of earring types, each assigned a number pre-fixed by the letter E for the purposes of the catalogue.

[23] See Part IV, Table 8, for a list of breast ornament types, each assigned a number pre-fixed by the letter B for the purposes of the catalogue.

[24] Mochiri 1987, pp. 45–6.

[25] ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, **KLMAN-GY** (7.58.19), 61H (**Pl. 59, 695A**). The same word is found on a drachm of the same governor, **KLMAN-SLC'** (7.58.32), 63H, in Q3 obverse margin (**Pl. 69, 803**).

There are some exceptions to this pattern. Examples are found in the catalogue:

1. Salm b. Ziyād, **HLA** (7.34), year 63(H): no shoulder ornaments (**Pl. 53, 613**)
2. Salm b. Ziyād, **MLW** (7.68), year 67(H): shoulder ornaments a small circle (**Pl. 73, 858**)
3. Anonymous Khusrau type, **SK** (7.87), year 23 or 63 (YE = 34H? or later): no shoulder ornaments (**Pl. 65, 1108**)
4. Musʿab b. al-Zubayr, **KLMAN-NAL** (7.58.23), year 71(H): no symbols on left shoulder (**Pl. 64, 752**)
5. ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad, **KLMAN-NAL**, year 73(H): no symbols on right shoulder (**Pl. 65, 758**)
6. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra, **SK**, year 79(H): no shoulder ornaments (**Pl. 87, 1017**). Also year 80(H) (**Pl. 87, 1025**)
7. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, **ST** (7.89), year 80(H): no shoulder ornaments (**Pl. 104, 1214**)
8. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad, **SK**, year 82(H): no shoulder ornaments (**Pl. 90, 1050**). Also year 84(H) (**Pl. 91, 1062**)
9. ʿUmāra b. Tamīm, **SK**, year 84(H): no shoulder ornaments (**Pl. 91, 1067**)

5.2.1.8 *Rim and outer margin*

The moon and sun symbols of crescents and stars appear in the obverse margin at 3, 6 and 9h. This pattern, on late Sasanian coins from Hormizd IV to Yazdgard III, suggested that the king of *Ērānshahr* was the ruler of the four corners of the world.[26] Arabic legends, occasionally with Pahlavi words or letters added, appear in the margin.

5.2.1.9 *Legends*

Legends are considered in some detail in the following chapter. In summary, to the left of the bust is the Pahlavi **GDH ʾpzwt** (*xvarrah abzūd*; 'the royal glory has been increased'). To the right of the bust is usually a name, either that of a former Sasanian king, Yazdgard or Khusrau, or of an official. This is generally in Pahlavi, albeit during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik names in Arabic were introduced. Marginal legends were added, initially simply *bism allāh* ('in the name of God').

5.2.2 *Reverse*

Most features on the reverse remained fairly static for Arab-Sasanian drachms. The general features on the reverse break down into five elements: 1. Fire altar and attendants; 2. Symbols left and right of flames; 3. Rim and outer margin; 4. Legends; 5. Special issues without fire altar.

5.2.2.1 *Fire altar and attendants*

Fire and fire altars were central to the Zoroastrian religion which was the state religion of the Sasanians, and continued to be the religion of much of the local population under the Umayyads. They are depicted in various forms on seals and coins.

[26] Daryaee and Rezakhani 2016, p. 55.

Fig. 5.1. Impression from a Sasanian seal depicting a priest before the altar holding a *barsom* (bundle of sticks), probably as part of the sacrificial rite, the *yazna* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Brunner 1978, p. 65, no. 125)

Fig. 5.2. Impression from a Sasanian seal depicting worshippers either side of a fire altar with the Pahlavi legend ʾ**twr mtlth** [**my**], Ādur-Mihr-Tah [m?] (BnF, Paris, 1972.1317.16; Gignoux 1978, p. 37, pl. 11, no. 4.39)

Fig. 5.3. Impression from a Sasanian seal depicting two persons either side of a fire altar, holding what appears to be a *barsom* each with a crescent and star above, similar to that found on Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins, and Pahlavi legend ʾ**spgwn**, Asp-gōn (?) (BnF, Paris, 1971.512; Gignoux 1978, p. 37, pl. 11, no. 4.40)

Fig. 5.4. Sasanian seal with fire altar and Pahlavi legend, about fourth century AD (Johnson collection) (1.5x)

Fig. 5.5. Fire temple complex at Rohni (Photo Vandaee)

Fig. 5.6. Fire temple at Siah Kal, Elam province (Photo Vandaee)

Except for special issues, the reverse of all Arab-Sasanian drachms shows a Zoroastrian fire altar with an attendant either side. This basic type is derived from the issues of Khusrau II for regnal years 12 to 39. The attendants are identical, with the same headdress which appears to be a crown topped by a crescent. The arms of the attendants are crossed. A ribbon or diadem or fillet, similar to that above the shoulders of the person on the obverse, points upwards from the outside shoulder of each attendant. Each attendant holds a stave. The altar is comprised of a number of segments on top of each other. Usually there are three segments at the bottom becoming narrower in size, before they reach the middle of the altar shaft, at which point there are two ribbons going upwards (one either side) from the middle of the shaft. Then there are three further segments below the altar surface itself, on top of which are the flames in the shape of a triangle. Usually there is a pellet either side of the top altar plate. This should be regarded as a pellet above the inner shoulder of each attendant. There can be deviations or additions from this basic pattern. In particular:

1. Pellets added either side of the lower part of the altar shaft: e.g. al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs, **ANWAT** (7.7), 57(H) (**Pl. 3, 26**); ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh, **BYŠ** (7.34), 67–9(H) (**Pl. 27, 309-310, 316**); ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh, **WYHC** (7.110), 68 (**Pl. 110, 1294**).
2. Pellets added either side of the lower part of altar shaft and on first segment of altar shaft: ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, **BH** (7.28), 60, 61 and 63 (**Pl. 18-19, 208-212**).
3. No pellets above inner shoulders: e.g. (in alphabetical order by mint signature) Anonymous Khusrau type, **BYŠ**, 50 (**Pl. 25, 291**); Muʿāwiya, **DAP** (7.38), frozen year 43 (*c*.54–5H) (**Pl. 43, 498**); Samura b. Jundab, **DAP**, frozen year 43 (*c*.53–4H) (**Pl. 42, 493**); ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, **GLM-KLMAN** (7.46), 69(H) (**Pl. 51, 592**); ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, **KLMAN-AN** (7.58.3), 69 (**Pl. 56, 659**); ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, **KLMAN-BNBN** (7.58.15), 61(H) (**Pl. 59, 688**); ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad, **KLMAN-NAL** (7.58.23), 72(H) (**Pl. 65, 756**); ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad, **KLMAN-NAL**, 75(H) (**Pl. 65, 762**); ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad, **KLMAN-SLC'** (7.58.32), 75(H) (**Pl. 69, 813**); anonymous Yazdgard type, **NAL** (7.72), 20 (YE = 31H) (**Pl. 77, 902**). The pellets are often omitted on issues from Sīstān (**SK**, 7.87).

5.2.2.2 *Symbols left and right of flames*

Most Arab-Sasanian drachms have a star left and crescent right of the flames on the altar, but they are often reversed. It is not uncommon to find examples of both positions for the same mint signature and regnal year. On Sīstān (**SK**, 7.87) issues, particularly from about 79H, it is fairly common to find no symbols either side of the flames. Otherwise it is rare, though it occasionally occurs at other mints: e.g. Musʿab b. al-Zubayr, **KLMAN-AN** (7.58.3), year 69(H) (**Pl. 57, 664**).

5.2.2.3 *Rim and outer margin*

The basic type has three pelleted circles around the main design of fire altar and attendants. Outside the circles are a crescent and star at 3, 6, 9 and 12h. On isolated and rarer issues there is a fourth circle beyond the crescent and star features. This tends to be limited to specific mints.

1. **AWKLA** (7.4): Anonymous *muhammad rasūl allāh* type, 70?(H) (**Pl. 1, 12**); Bishr b. Marwān, 73(H).[27]
2. **ANBYR** (7.6): Salm b. Ziyād, 63(H) (**Pl. 2, 15**); Zhulād Gōzgān, 64–9H (**Pl. 6-7, 16, 19-20, 23-24**); Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, 84(H).[28]
3. **BCLA** (7.27): Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh, 73(H) (**Pl. 18, 204**).
4. **BYŠ** (7.34): al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, 76H (*SICA* 1 pl. 15, no. 215); 77(H) (**Pl. 29, 338**.
5. **GD** (7.44): ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, 63(H) (**Pl. 59, 579**), this rare coin has an additional two outer circles (making a total of five); Bishr b. Marwān, 74(H).[29]
6. **MLW** (7.68): Salm b. Ziyād, 62(H) (**Pl. 71, 829**); 64(H) (**Pl. 72, 844**); 65(H) (**Pl. 73, 852**); 67(H) (**Pl. 73, 858**); 68(H) (**Pl. 73, 860**); ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, 63(H) (**Pl. 72, 839**); Zhulād Gōzgān, 69(H) (**Pl. 74, 867**).
7. **SK** (7.87): Anonymous Khusrau type, 45(H) (**Pl. 83, 968-969**).
8. Without mint: Anonymous Khusrau type ‘Mihrāb’ reverse, undated.[30]

Hephthalite issues from Khurāsān often have the additional fourth circle on the reverse. These coins generally are from Anbīr (7.6 **ANBYR**) and Marw (7.68 **MLW**).

An issue from al-Kūfa dated 73H in the name of Bishr b. Marwān with the Caliph Orans design has the stars and crescents at 3, 6, 9 and 12h between the second circle and the third, outside, circle (a total of three circles).[31]

Pellets are frequently added in the reverse margin, as well as letters as noted below.

5.2.2.4 *Legends*

The basic legend on the reverse of drachms with the standard fire altar reverse is a date on the left and the mint signature on the right. Legends are considered further in chapter 6.

5.2.2.5 *Special Issues*

There are three types which deviate from the fire altar reverse: (a) Caliph Orans on rare coins of Bishr b. Marwān;[32] (b) Standing Caliph with sword on rare drachms of Damascus dated 75H;[33] (c) Mihrāb on an anonymous issue in the name of Khusrau, with no mint place specified, probably struck in Damascus in the 70sH.[34]

[27] Sotheby’s auction (26 October 1997), lot 71; Treadwell 1999, no. A1.

[28] Walker 1934, no. 3, pp. 108–10. Instead of a fire altar with attendants, there is a standing figure.

[29] Walker 1934, pp. 248–8, Walker 1941, p. 109, no. Th.13.

[30] Treadwell 1999, pp. 268–9.

[31] Walker 1952a, p. 106; Treadwell 1999, p. 262, nos A2 (BnF 1995.900), A3 (Azizbeglou), A4 (ANS 1983.14.1).

[32] See Chapter 9, under 9.24. Bishr b. Marwān, pp. 275-7, fig. 9.24.1.

[33] See Chapter 9, under 9.62. Anonymous, pp. 334-6, fig. 9.62.5.

[34] See Chapter 9, under 9.32, coins in the name of Khusrau, p. 298, fig. 9.32.27.

CHAPTER 6

LEGENDS ON ARAB-SASANIAN DRACHMS

The legends on Arab-Sasanian drachms are predominantly a mixture of Pahlavi and Arabic. Transliterations of Pahlavi are set out in Table 11 on p. 725. Pahlavi as a term is used in more than one sense in the literature, but here it denotes the cursive Pahlavi script as a form of written Middle Persian. In this book Pahlavi transliterations are in bold, whereas transcriptions are in italics. Ideograms such as **GDH** (*xvarrah*, 'splendour') are in capitals. In order to give them prominence, in the text and headings, transcriptions of Pahlavi mint signature abbreviations are in capitals and bold, even though this is not scientific. Arabic transcriptions are in italics. The Arabic is Kufic, where none of the diacritic marks are present. In general the dots are omitted (*iʿjām*) above or below the central part of letters, which serve to distinguish between letters that represent different sounds (save occasionally a dot under the first letter of *bism allāh* to denote the letter *b*). Hephthalite issues usually include legends in Bactrian, thus it is possible for a coin to have up to three different languages inscribed on it.[1] Hephthalite coins and coins with Bactrian legends are considered separately in chapter 14. Copper coins have a number of different legends and are not considered in this chapter.[2]

The legends on drachms break down into the following areas (examples of each type of drachm, when illustrated in the catalogue, are listed with each legend):

6.A *Obverse right field* 45
6.B *Obverse left of bust* 46
6.C *Obverse margin* 47
6.D *Reverse right field* 69
6.E *Reverse left field* 70
6.F *Reverse either side of altar* 70
6.G *Reverse margin* 70
6.H *Reverse special issues* 77
6.I *Altered and added legends* 77

6.A *Obverse right field*

The place to the right of the bust has the name either of a former Sasanian king, Khusrau or Yazdgard or Hormizd, or an official.

The earliest Arab-Sasanian issues are in the names of Yazdgard and Khusrau, with those in the name of Khusrau predominating except in Sīstān (7.87 **SK**). The names of the kings, as on the Sasanian coins, are in Pahlavi: **yzklt'** (Yazdgard) and **hwslwy** / **ʾwslwy** (Khusrau). Rare coins in the name and style of the Sasanian king Hormizd IV (**ʾwhlmzd** / **ʾwhlmzy**) are of a relatively late period, not earlier than 72H.

Coins in the name of Khusrau were struck in Sīstān from about 31H until the late Umayyad period and into early ʿAbbāsid times. In the rest of the former Sasanian empire coins in the names of officials, often governors, started to be struck. The first names found on the coins is that of ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, from about 41H. For a while certain mints struck coins in the names of officials while continuing to strike in the name of Khusrau as well. For example coins in the name of Khusrau continued until 51H at Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**), but stopped a few years earlier at other mints, generally in the late 40sH.[3]

[1] Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, Anbīr (7.6 **ANBYR**), 84(H): Walker 1952a, no. 3, pp. 108–10. For Hephthalite and issues with Bactrian legends, see Chapter 14.

[2] See Chapter 11 for the copper Arab-Sasanian coinage. Legends on such coins are considered fully in Gyselen 2009, albeit a mixture of the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script and the poor state of preservation of examples of certain issues means that some legends are yet to be fully deciphered.

[3] Album suggests that older obverse dies in the name of Khusrau were used to strike many of these later issues, *SICA* 1, p. 58.

Most names of officials are in Pahlavi, but during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik (65–86H) two officials' names were written in Arabic. This is consistent with the move from Pahlavi (Persian) to Arabic for administration. Both al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad struck coins with their names written in Arabic, as well as Pahlavi. From 76 to 81H most of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf's coins (mainly struck in Fārs) have his name in Arabic but two mints – Fasā (7.38 **DAP**; 71YE = 83H) and Jayy (7.44 **GD**; 76H) –struck coins with his name in Pahlavi. The coins of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad were struck from 81 to 84H. His issues from Sīstān (7.87 **SK**) predominate and all have his name in Pahlavi. His coins from other mints, mainly in Fārs but also Kirmān, are rare and these usually have his name in Pahlavi also. Two mints use Arabic for his name: Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**; 81 and 83H, whereas coins of 82H use Pahlavi) and Istakhr (7.89 **ST**; 82 and 83H).

On some coins the legend 'Commander of the Believers' is added in Pahlavi: **ʾmyl wylwyšnkʾn** (the equivalent of the Arabic *amīr al-muʿminīn*). This title is found on coins of the Umayyad caliphs Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. It is also found on coins of their rivals, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (regarded by many as the rightful caliph) and the Khārijite, Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa.

There are other examples of drachms where the officials claim positions, titles or prestige. On very rare drachms of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (7.58.23 **KLMAN-NAL**, 61H) and those of ʿAmr b. Laqīt (various mints in Kirmān, 82–3H) the Pahlavi word **pylwč** (*pērōz*, victorious) preceeds the name.[4]

There are rare drachms where no name is given in the obverse field, but instead there is a proclamation of the Islamic faith. These were all struck during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik, in the 70sH. There are examples with *muhammed rasūl allāh* in Arabic ('Muhammad is the messenger of God') struck at Kūfa (7.4 **AKWLA**; 70H), Dimashq (72H) and without mint (undated). There is also a type from Kirmān province with the proclamation in Pahlavi (7.46 **GLM-KLMAN**, 70H): **mhmt pgtʾmy y dʾt**. There are also Khārijite issues from Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**, 75 and 76H) with the Pahlavi legend **lwyt' dʾtwbl / blʾ yyzt'** ('There is no justice except from God').

Finally, mention should be made of the special issue with the Standing Caliph on the reverse. To the left and right of the obverse bust is the Arabic legend *duriba fī sanatī khams* / *sabaʿīn* ('struck in the year 75'). Although there is no mint name it was probably struck in Damascus.[5]

The legends in the obverse field are set out in Table 3.[6]

6.B *Obverse left field*

Almost all Arab-Sasanian drachms have a two line Pahlavi legend **GDH** / **ʾpzwt'** (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased'). It is found to the left of the bust, beside the crown, in the fourth quarter above the diadem and ball of hair. This is the same as the legend found on coins of Khusrau II, and most of his successors, up to the final king, Yazdgard III. Numismatists and other academics do not agree on the translation of this phrase, albeit the traditional reading has been 'may the glory increase'.[7] It is best is to consider it refers to an attribute of the king, thus reading 'who has increased splendour', or using the passive tense to make the reading adopted here of 'the royal glory has been increased'.[8] The final stroke is often omitted, so the word reads **ʾpzwt** instead of **ʾpzwt'**. The pattern varies from mint to mint but **ʾpzwt** appears more often than **ʾpzwt'** on Arab-Sasanian coins of Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**), for example.

[4] For the late Sasanian period, it is found to the left of the crown, on drachms of Kavād II (628) and of the usurper Vistahm (Bistām, 591/2–7).

[5] Considered and illustrated, Chapter 9, 62, p. 336, fig. 9.62.5

[6] Pages 690-6 below.

[7] Gyselen 2009, p. 91, which states that the usual translation is 'may *xvarrah* (= the glory) increase', but it can also be understood as 'the glory has increased'.

[8] Gyselen 2003, pp. 293–4. In a personal communication Gyselen has advocated the translation adopted here of 'the royal glory has been increased'.

An exception to this pattern is the rare type with the Standing Caliph reverse, where the legends are entirely in Arabic. Another exception are drachms of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād from Herāt (7.54 **HLA**) and Sīstān (7.87 **SK**) dated 56H where ʿUbayd Allāh is found to the right of the bust, with his father's name Ziyād to the left.[9]

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād **HLA** (7.54), 56 (**Pl. 52, 609**); **SK** (7.87), 56 (**Pl. 84, 984**)

6.C *Obverse margin*

The majority of Arab-Sasanian drachms have the Islamic proclamation of faith *bism allāh* ('In the name of God') in the second quarter (Q2) of the obverse margin. This legend is used from the earliest issues dated 20YE (= 31H) until the late Sīstān issues struck in the ʿAbbāsid period. Exceptions are found on the earliest issues in the name of Yazdgard where some rare examples have *jayyid* instead of *bism allāh* and, more commonly, on early issues in the name of Khusrau which have *lillāh* instead of *bism allāh*.

The obverse marginal legends can be broken down into five broad categories. This section considers these legends more or less in chronological order of their appearance within each category.

6.C.1 Issues without *bism allāh* or *allāh*
6.C.2 Issues with *allāh*
6.C.3 Issues with *bism allāh*
6.C.4 Issues with *bism allāh rabbī*
6.C.5 Other issues with fuller legends

In the following analysis all legends are in the second quarter (Q2) of the obverse margin unless otherwise stated.

6.C.1 Issues without *bism allāh* or *allāh*

6.C.1.1 *jayyid* ('Good')

Jayyid, appears in the second quarter (Q2) of the margin instead of *bism allāh* on some of the earliest issues. This is probably a reference to the coin itself being acceptable currency.[10] It is found on drachms in the name of Yazdgard, mostly dated 20. This is probably a YE date (= 31H) and the coins were probably struck then or soon after.[11]

Yazdgard type **BN** (7.30), 20YE (= 31H) (**Pl. 19, 215**)
ML (7.67), 20YE (= 31H) (**Pl. 71, 826**)

Issues with *jayyid* are known for at least seven mint signatures and are scarce. In addition, there is a drachm of **ŠY** (7.101) in the name of Yazdgard with *jayyid* in the same place, dated 33,[12] which Album assumes must be a Hijrī date.[13] On one issue of **NAL** dated 20, *jayyid* is found in the first quarter, and **gw** or **gn** (in Pahlavi) in the fourth quarter (Q4) of the obverse margin.[14] On another issue of **ML** dated 20, *jayyid* is in the first quarter reverse margin.[15]

[9] c.f. Mochiri 1987, p. 52, who considers the Herāt coin to be Khārijite.

[10] Caution should be exercised in dealing with issues with rare marginal legends. Coins can be altered or tooled to add *jayyid*.

[11] Also on rare issues in the name of Khusrau, 7.101 **ŠY** (Mochiri 2010a, no. 44) and 7.70 **MY** (ANS.1986.126.12). Mochiri 1987, p. 79 suggests the dates are PYE. There are two versions of the word. The first is clearly *jayyid*, the second is more equivocal as on **DA**, year 20, which Bates (personal communication) has suggested it may well be **šl** in Pahlavi. The date itself may be a frozen date and thus the coins could have been struck over a three or four year period.

[12] Mochiri 1987, p. 99, no. 98, pl. 14, no. 81.

[13] *SICA* 1, p. 8.

[14] Warden-Album collection. There is an example from that collection with *jayyid* in the usual place in the second quarter and **gw** or **gn** in the fourth quarter of the obverse margin.

[15] Al-Mamoun collection. The mint signature can also be read as 7.70 **MY**, but 7.67 **ML** is preferred here.

The word *jayyid* is more rarely found on drachms in the name of Khusrau for a small number of mints: **MY**, year 20; **ŠY**, years 17(?), 20, 33 and 35.

After 33H the word *jayyid* is virtually never used on drachms. The only exceptions are a number of issues struck in Kirmān in the name of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad where it is found in the third quarter (Q3) of the margin, and in Sīstān where it appears on a late Sīstān issue struck in the ʿAbbāsid period.[16]

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad	**KLMAN-NAW** (7.58.26), 75H (**Pl. 65, 764**, in Q3)
	KLMAN-NAL (7.58.23), 75H (**Pl. 57, 667**, in Q3)
	KLMAN-BN (7.58.15), 76H (**Pl. 59, 685**, in Q3)

6.C.1.2 *bism* ('In the name of')

There are two varieties of drachms of **BN** (7.30) (Kirmān region) dated year 20 (YE = 31H) which have *bism* in the second quarter. One type is in the name of Yazdgard and the other Khusrau.

6.C.1.3 ʾ**yn** (meaning uncertain)

The Pahlavi word ʾ**yn** (?) is found in the second quarter (Q2) of an anonymous Khusrau type drachm (20 (YE = 31H), **NAL**, probably Narmāshīr / Narmāšīr, Kirmān province). It was probably one of the earliest issues struck after the fall of Yazdgard III and has no Arabic legends.[17]

Khusrau type	**NAL** (7.72), 20 (YE = 31H) (**Pl. 77, 905**)

6.C.1.4 *lillāh* ('For God')

The Arabic word *lillāh* is found in the second quarter (Q2) on the earlier issues in the name of Khusrau and is a distinct reference to the Islamic faith. These issues are relatively scarce by contrast with the commoner issues with *bism allāh* ('in the name of God'). The *lillāh* issues are known for at least 16 mint signatures and have dates from 23 to 39 (20 is unconfirmed), which are all YE dates equivalent to 34 to 50H:

Khusrau type	**DA** (7.36), 23YE (**Pl. 31, 360**)
	LYW (7.65), 25YE (**Pl. 79, 824**)

The only issue with a date later than 37 is a coin of Dārābgerd (**DA**) dated 39.[18]

Album has raised the possibility that the dates and mint signatures on these coins are not authentic, and the *lillāh* issues were not produced by the Arabs, but by their pro-Sasanian, Hepthalite or other opponents. The legend, in his view, could be read as either *lillāh* in Arabic or the first two letters of ʾ**pd** in Pahlavi, so that they would be acceptable to everyone, especially in eastern Iran, Central Asia and along the silk road.[19] Such a theory would need to be supported by further research to be acceptable, such as die links between issues, coin finds and countermarks. For the present the evidence is consistent with these coins being regular issues from the mints indicated by the mint signature.[20] First, the style of the coins is regular and the mint signatures and dates have been accurately engraved. Second, these issues are not generally found with Hephthalite or Bactrian countermarks which are typically found on drachms struck in Khurāsān. Third, the coins can be shown to mirror the style of *bism allāh* type coins from the same mints: for example, coins from Dārāgberd mints generally have a triangle of three pellets either side of the crescent at 6h in

[16] *SICA* 1, p. 8, fn[22].

[17] Album suggested an alternative reading of **syn**.

[18] Mochiri 1987, p. 42, considers these coins were struck by the Khārijites using the PYE era. This view is controversial. The coins were probably struck under the Rightly Guided and Umayyad caliphs using YE dates.

[19] Album 2011, p. 23, no. A6.

[20] For a discussion of this issue, see *SICA* 1, pp. 60–2, which concludes that the mints and dates are authentic and the YE was being employed.

the obverse margin from 41H (= YE 30) on, but this feature is absent from earlier issues. This pattern is replicated for both *lillāh* and *bism allāh* issues.[21]

Assuming it is correct that the issues in the name of Khusrau for the commoner type with *bism allāh* and the scarcer *lillāh* coins both deploy the same era, at least for the most part, there are substantial overlaps between the two. Many mint and date combinations known for the *lillāh* issues are also known for *bism allāh* issues. This means it is probable that some mints were producing both *bism allāh* and *lillāh* types in the same year, albeit not necessarily at the same time. The distinction between the two must have had some function or meaning. A similar pattern is seen for the coinage of Khusrau II (590–628) where issues are known for the same mint and date combinations either including or excluding **ʾpd** (*abd*, 'excellent') in the second quarter obverse margin.[22]

lillāh is also known as a countermark, primarily found on issues from Kirmān and to a lesser extent Sīstān.

6.C.1.5 **ʾpd** *lillāh* or *lillāh* **ʾpd** ('Excellent, for God' or 'For God, excellent')

On a rare anonymous type in the name of Yazdgard (20 (YE = 31H), Sīstān, **SK**) the Pahlavi word **ʾpd** (*afīd*, excellent) is added after *lillāh* in Q2.

Yazdgard type **SK** (7.87), 20 (YE = 31H) (**Pl. 81, 952**)

It is also found before *lillāh* on a drachm in the name Khusrau from Dārābgerd (**DA**) dated 26 (YE = 37H). **ʾpd** may be a reference to the coin (excellent coin). The word is commonly found on drachms of the Sasanian king Khusrau II.[23]

6.C.1.6 *muhammad*

The name Mohammed is found in Arabic in Q2 on a number of issues. This is not necessarily a reference to the Prophet Muhammad. It is found on crudely struck issues in the name of Khusrau (obverse right field) struck with the mint signatures, **AY** (or **ŠY**), **SYWY** and **ŠY**, all believed to have been struck in the north (Azerbaijān / Armenia). The issues are known for various dates: 2 (unknown era), 26 (YE = 37H), 29 (YE = 40H) and 47?(H).[24]

Khusrau type **AY** or **ŠY** (7.20), 47 (?) (**Pl. 11, 123**)
SYWY (7.96), 2 (**Pl. 105, 1230**)

6.C.1.7 **ʾpd** (*afīd*, 'Excellent')

This Pahlavi word, which may refer to the coin itself, is found in Q2 on a small number of rare isolated types. One example, in the name of Khusrau, has 'year 1 of Yazīd' on the reverse.[25]

Khusrau type **ŠY** (7.101), date unclear (**Pl. 106, 1244**)
BYŠ (7.34), 52H (**Pl. 26, 299**)

[21] Anonymous Khusrau type issues from 7.36 **DA**: 23 (*lillāh* issue without triangles of three pellets in obverse margin; **Pl. 31, 360**), 25 (*bism allāh* issue without triangle of three pellets; **Pl. 31, 361**) and 30 (both *bism allāh* and *lillāh* issues with triangles of three pellets in obverse margin; **Pl. 32, 364-369**).

[22] *SICA* 1, p. 62 tentatively suggests that the *lillāh* issues may have been for paying alms and the *bism allāh* issues were for general financial requirements.

[23] For a discussion of **ʾpd** as found on Khusrau II's coinage, see Malek 2013, pp. 564–6; Heidemann, Riederer and Weber 2014, pp. 97–8. The word also appears in the second quarter of the obverse on drachms of Tabaristān, both under the Ispahbads and ʿAbbāsid governors.

[24] Also Gaube 1973, p. 36, type 2.2.3.6.13, which notes 7.101 **ŠY**, year 38 and **GD** / **LD**, year 52. These may be imitative and not intended to reflect the actual year in which the coins were struck.

[25] Mochiri 1987, p. 92, no. 19, pl. 1, no. 1. Another coin with **ʾpd** in Q2 is in the name of ʿAbd Allāh, **ŠY** (7.101), 25 unknown era (seen in trade, 2015).

6.C.1.8 *jāza hadhā* (‘This is allowable’)

jāza hadhā appears in Q2 on one type of crudely engraved drachms in the name of Khusrau. This is a reference to the coin itself. The mint signatures on these undated issues are varied – **MY**, **GD**, **ŠW**, **ŠY** and **AY** – but are probably all imitative and do not denote the actual mint place. The *jāza hadhā* coins have been attributed to Armenia and Azerbaijān.[26] This phrase also appears on some Arab-Byzantine copper coins.[27]

6.C.1.9 *wāf* (‘Full’)

The Arabic word *wāf* may mean that the coin is of full weight[28] and should be accepted as a drachm. It is found on Q2 of drachms in the name of Muhammad, with the **AY** or **ŠY** mint signature (7.20) dated year 4(?) and 20 as well as undated.[29] They were probably struck in the northwest, either Azerbaijān or even Armenia.

Muhammad	**AY** or **ŠY** (7.20), year 4(?) (**Pl. 11, 120**)
	AY or **ŠY**, year 4 (?) (**Pl. 11, 121**)
	AY or **ŠY**, year 20 (**Pl. 11, 122**)

6.C.1.10 *baraka* (‘Benediction’)

The Arabic word *baraka* is found in Q2 of an anonymous Khusrau type drachm from Jayy (7.44 **GD**), dated 25 (YE = 36H),[30] and another from Rayy (7.63 **LD**), dated 29 (YE = 40H). It also features in the third quarter of the reverse margin of bronze issues from Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA**) dated 67 (YE = 79H) and 68 (YE = 80H).[31] *baraka* is found in the first quarter and *bism allāh* in the second quarter of the obverse margin on an Arab-Hephthalite issue in the name of ‘Kurm-zad’(?) dated 39 (PYE? = 71H). This issue has an uncertain mint signature (7.10A **APNWLAN**).[32] *baraka* also appears in the third quarter of the obverse margin (with *bism allāh* in the usual place) on a drachm in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām, with the **KLMAN-GLM** (7.58.18) mint signature, dated 82H.[33]

6.C.1.11.1 *al-rahmān* (‘The compassionate’)

al-rahmān is found in Q2 of an unusual drachm of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. *al-rahmān* is the second of the 99 names of God, the first being Allāh. It forms part of the *basmala (bism allāh al-rahmān al-rahim*) which is the first verse of the first *sura* in the *Qurʿan*. It is not a reference to an attribute of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād himself. The coin is dated 2 (**TYLN**) of an uncertain era and has the mint signature **AYLAN** (7.22) for Hulwān.[34]

6.C.1.11.2 *al-rahmān al-malik* (‘The compassionate, the possessor’)

al-rahmān al-malik is found in Q2 of a drachm of Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, both words referring to names and attributes of God. The coin is dated PYE28 (= 60H) and has the mint signature **GD** (7.44) for Jayy.[35]

[26] Sears 2003b, pp. 86–9 (Dabīl). Example illustrated here, Chapter 9, figs 9.32.11-12, p. 293.

[27] Goodwin and Gyselen 2015, pp. 149–53.

[28] Sears 1995, p. 10.

[29] See also Gaube 1973, p. 36, type 2.2.3.6.16.

[30] Gaube 1973, p. 34, type 2.2.3.6.3 refers to a drachm of this type dated 31 from Rayy, but as he equated **GD** with **LD**, this is possibly a reference to a coin of **GD**.

[31] Gyselen 2009, types 10a and 10b, **Pl. 118, 1395-1398**. In addition there is an anonymous Khusrau type drachm from Sīstān (**SK**) dated 89H with *baraka* in the fourth quarter of the reverse margin: **Pl. 92, 1080** (see 6.G.3.13 below).

[32] Walker 1941, p. 127, no. ANS.17. It also appears in obverse Q3 on another coin of the same person from Anbīr (**ANBYR**) dated 39 (PYE? = 71H) (al-Qazzaz 1975). Both illustrated here, Chapter 14, section 14.6, pp. 405-6, figs 14.6.1-2.

[33] **Pl. 59, 694**; see type 6.C.3.51 below, p. 64.

[34] Warden-Album collection. Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 53, p. 319, fig. 9.53.3.

[35] Bates Photo Archive. Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 42A, p. 307, fig. 9.42A.

6.C.1.12 **ʾpd bplwyʾn** (‘Excellent’, followed by the name of an unidentified official?)

On certain drachms of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr *bism allāh* is omitted and replaced in Q2 by this Pahlavi legend.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-ANWAT'** (7.58.7), 63H (**Pl. 57, 671**)
KLMAN-NAWGY (7.58.27), 63H with *lillāh* in first quarter (possibly a countermark) (**Pl. 67, 785**)

6.C.1.13 *bin ʿalī* (‘Son of ʿAlī’)

Arabic *bin ʿalī* is found in Q2 on drachms in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārith or ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī from Sīstān (7.87 **SK**) dated 65 and 66H. It may be a reference to the official whose name is written in Pahlavi in the field to the right of the bust. Numismatists do not agree about the name of the official who is unknown in the historical literature.[36]

6.C.2. *Issues with allāh*

6.C.2.1 *allāh al-malik* (‘God, the possessor’)

This legend occurs on one issue in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**), 55H) in place of the usual *bism allāh*.[37]

6.C.2.2 *allāh rabb al-hukm* (‘God, Lord of the Judgment’)

The coins of al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs are distinctive for their obverse marginal legends. These are either, *allāh rabb al-hukm* or, *bism allāh rabb al-hukm* (‘in the name of God, Lord of the Judgment’).[38] These legends are only known for the following dates and mints in Kirmān province.

al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs **BN** (7.30), 53H (**Pl. 20, 227**), 54H (**Pl. 20, 228**)
GLM (7.45), 56H (**Pl. 50, 589**)
NAL (7.72), 54H (**Pl. 78, 914**).

6.C.2.3 *rabbī allāh* (‘My Lord, God’)

This Arabic legend is found in Q2 on drachms in the name of Khusrau from three mints: Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**), Istakhr (7.89 **ST**) and Jayy (7.44 **GD**). All the coins are dated by the YE era: 26 (YE = 37H), 35 (YE = 46H) and 37 (YE = 48H). Mochiri considers that it is at least possible that these issues were struck by Khārijites.[39]

Khusrau type **GD**, 37 (YE = 48H) (**Pl. 47, 553**)

6.C.2.4 *rabbī allāh* / *al-ahad* (‘My Lord, God is unique’)

This Arabic legend occurs in the second and third quarters of a unique drachm in the name of ʿAbd Allāh (7.72 **NAL**, dated 48H). The word in the third quarter is unclear in the specimen illustrated, but this is the likely reading.[40] If ʿAbd Allāh is ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, the date falls outside the dates for which he is known from the historical literature which records his dismissal from office in 44H. There are, though, coins in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir dated 47H (7.14 **ART**, 7.34 **BYŠ**, 7.47 **GW**) so there may simply be a gap in the written sources.[41]

[36] Mochiri 1987, pp. 56–7; Walker 1941 and Gaube 1973, were all working from a clipped example which did not reveal the marginal legend. The issue is considered more fully in Chapter 9, section 6, pp. 255-6.

[37] *SICA* 1, p. 16, fn[68] (Warden-Album collection).

[38] An alternative reading is *allāh rabb al-hakam* (‘God, Lord of al-Hakam’). It is perhaps a deliberate pun or ambiguity.

[39] Mochiri 1987, p. 43.

[40] Walker 1941, p. 51, no. Dam.3.

[41] Mochiri has, from this unusual marginal legend, derived support for his theory that the ʿAbd Allāh on Arab-Sasanian drachms was a Khārijite opponent of the Umayyads, Mochiri 1987, p. 37.

6.C.2.5 *tabarak allāh* (‘Blessed God’)

This phrase is found on a very rare drachm in the name of Khusrau, where both the attribution of the mint signature and intended date are uncertain.

Khusrau type **AWSYWN** (7.18), 39 (**Pl. 10, 113**)

6.C.2.6 *allāh* **pblwčnw bplwy’n**

On one issue of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr has this legend in Q2.[42]

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-NAWGY** (7.58.27), 67H (**Pl. 67, 788**)

6.C.2.7 *allāh* **pylwč bplwy’n** (‘God, victorious’ followed by the name of an unidentified official?)

This legend is found in Q2 on some drachms of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-ANWAT'** (7.58.7), 63H (**Pl. 58, 673**)

Also found on **KLMAN** (7.58.1), 65H.

6.C.3 *Issues with bism allāh*

6.C.3.1 *bism allāh* (‘In the name of God’)

The most common marginal inscription on coins in the names of Yazdgard and Khusrau, and the entire Arab-Sasanian series of drachms, is the Arabic phrase *bism allāh*. It is generally found in the second quarter of the obverse margin. So ingrained is the phrase in Islam that the Qur’ān opens with it and it heads every chapter, apart from Chapter 9.[43] In itself, the phrase is not exclusively Islamic. A belief in God was shared by the monotheistic religions, including by the Christians and the Jews. It was not likely to be objectionable to the Zoroastrians in the former Sasanian lands of Iran and Iraq where these coins were struck and circulated.

6.C.3.2 *bism allāh* / *al-aʿlā* (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain)

This legend is found in the second and third quarters of one drachm, in the name of Khusrau from Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**), dated 47H.[44] The last word in the third quarter is not certain as the coin has been clipped, but *al-aʿlā* seems possible.

6.C.3.3 *bism allāh* / *illa ʿalī* (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain)

This legend is found in the second and third quarter of the obverse margin on a drachm in the name of Khusrau from Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**), dated 48H.[45] It may be related to the previous coin.

6.C.3.4 *bism allāh* / *al-malik* (‘In the name of God / the possessor’)

The legend *al-malik* appears in the third quarter of the obverse margin, in addition to the usual *bism allāh* in Q2, on some drachms in the name of Khusrau.[46] It is most commonly found on drachms from Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) dated 47(H), but it is also present on a drachm of **ŠY** (probably) dated 28,[47] which may be an error for 48.[48]

Khusrau type **BYŠ** (7.34), 47(H) (**Pl. 23, 258**)

[42] For a discussion of the word **bplwy’n** see under obverse type 6.C.3.17 below, p. 55.

[43] C.f. Heidemann 2010, p. 163 who considers that the phrase, as used on the early issues, has no specific Islamic connotations. He therefore considers that it was used only as a mark of validation.

[44] ANS 1963.170.8.

[45] Amini and Dashkov 2013, p. 59, no. 81 (not authenticated).

[46] Mochiri 1987, p. 43, thought these issues were struck by the Khārijites using the YE era, but this view is controversial and difficult to sustain.

[47] *SICA* 1, p. 12, fn[51].

[48] Gaube 1973, p. 28, type 2.2.3.4.13, which refers to issues from Bīshāpūr dated 45 and 57. These are not confirmed.

6.C.3.5 *bism allāh rabb al-hukm* (‘In the name of God, Lord of the Judgment’)

As noted above (6.C.2.2 *rabb al-hukm*), the coins of al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs have two obverse marginal legends, including *bism allāh rabb al-hukm*. The position of the legend varies between the first to third quarters. This legend is used by the following mint signatures all from the Kirmān region: **ANWAT**(7.7), 57(H); **NAL** (7.72), 56–8(H); **PYL** (7.81), 56(H); **SLCN** (7.88), 56–7(H).[49] The marginal inscription suggests a Khārijite connection,[50] but this is unproven.[51] An alternative reading of the marginal legend is *bism allāh rabb al-hakam* (‘in the name of God, Lord of al-Hakam’) or that the last word is a deliberate pun which could legitimately be read either way, referring to either al-Hakam himself or to judgment.

al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs — **NAL**, 56H with *bism* / *allāh rabb al-hukm* (**Pl. 78, 915**), - / *bism allāh rabb al-hukm* (**Pl. 78, 916**)
PYL, 56H with *bism* / *allāh rabb al-hukm* (**Pl. 81, 944**)

6.C.3.6 *bism allāh* **bst** (‘In the name of God, Bust’)

Some drachms in the name of Salm b. Ziyād (**SK** (Sīstān), year 56) have the Pahlavi legend **bst** either in the obverse or reverse margin. Bust was a mint in the region of Sīstān. 56 is probably a frozen date.[52]

Salm b. Ziyād — **SK** (7.87), 56H (**Pl. 85, 990**) (obverse margin Q3)

6.C.3.7 **yzʾn** / *bism allāh* (‘God / in the name of God’)

The Pahlavi word **yzʾn** (or **yzdʾn**) for *yazdān*, meaning God (or possibly Gods), is added in the first quarter margin on drachms of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād with PYE or Hijrī dates. Gaube[53] read the word as *yazdān* for God.[54] Examples are known as follows:[55]

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād — **AHM** (7.2, Hamadān): 61(H) (**Pl. 1, 9**)
AYLAN (7.22, Hulwān): 56(H), 27 (PYE = 59H) (**Pl. 12, 133**), 60(H) (**Pl. 12, 134**), 61U(H), 30 (PYE = 62H) (**Pl. 12, 136**), 31 (PYE =63H), (**Pl. 12, 137**), 32 (PYE = 64H) 35 (PYE = 67H), 37U (PYE = 69H),
GD (7.44, Jayy): 35 (PYE = 67H) (**Pl. 50, 581**), 38U
ŠY (7.101, Shīrāz): 30 (PYE = 62H) (**Pl. 106, 1246**)

6.C.3.8 *bism allāh* / **ʾn** (or **ʾw** or **hw**) (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain)

A drachm of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (Basra (7.27, **BCLA**), 62H) has the Pahlavi letters **ʾn** (or **ʾw**) in the third quarter of the margin. Mochiri has read this as **hw** (**hū**, ‘good’), but the first letter is not clearly **h** rather than **ʾ**.[56] The same letters are probably on a drachm dated 58H (Ardashīr Khurra, 7.14 **ART**).

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād — **ART**, 58H (**Pl. 5-6, 57-58**)

[49] Gaube 1973, p. 24, types 2.2.3.4.2–4, read the legend as *bism allāhi rabbī ʾl-hakam*. It seems the last word is a play on the official’s own name: *SICA* 1, p. 17.

[50] Mochiri 1987, pp. 40–1 regards al-Hakam as a Khārijite, pointing out that *rabb al-hukm* is a variant of the refrain *lā hukm illā lillāh*.

[51] *SICA* 1, p. 17 for a discussion as to this; Foss 2010, p. 93.

[52] *SICA* 1, pp. 22–3.

[53] Gaube 1973, p. 31, types 2.2.3.5.12–13. Type 2.2.3.5.12, presumably is a reference to Walker 1941, p. 68, no. I.35, who listed a coin he read as 38(?) but did not include a photograph. From the description **yzʾn** was in the Q1 not Q3 of the margin (contrary to Gaube).

[54] Mochiri 1987, pp. 26–7, considered the word a plural, denoting Gods, and that these coins were struck by the Khārijites. See *SICA* 1, p. 18 for a discussion of these issues. God rather than Gods is probably correct. The link to the Khārijites is unproven.

[55] For further references to examples for all these issues, see under the relevant mint signatures and dates in Chapter 7.

[56] Mochiri 1987, pp. 48 and 97, no. 71, pl. 14, no. 82.

6.C.3.9.1 *bism allāh* / **gw** (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain)

The two Pahlavi letters **gw**, between two single pellets, occur in the third quarter of the margin on a drachm of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (Basra (7.27 **BCLA**), 59H).[57] Another variety omits these pellets. On another issue **gw** is found on its own, in the third quarter, on a drachm in the same governor’s name from Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**), 58H.[58]

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād **ART** (7.14), 58H (Johnson 0791-0077) (pellet);
BCLA (7.27), 59H (**Pl. 15, 170**) (no pellets)

6.C.3.9.2 *bism allāh* **gwm** (‘In the name of God’, uncertain)

The Pahlavi letters **gw** followed by **m** have been added after *bism allāh* in the second quarter of the margin on one issue from Khabīs, Kirmān. It is possible the **m** is not part of the same word as **gw**.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād **KLMAN-HPYC** (7.58.21), 60H (**Pl. 61, 714**)

6.C.3.10 *bism allāh* **m** (‘In the name of God, victorious(?)’)

The Pahlavi letter **m** follows *bism allāh* in the second quarter of the margin on one issue. This is probably a reference to *mansūr* (‘victorious’), an epithet rather than a proper name.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād **KLMAN-SLC'** (7.58.32), 60H (**Pl. 68, 800**)

6.C.3.11 *bism allāh* / **m** (‘In the name of God / victorious(?)’)

The Pahlavi letter **m** was added in the third quarter of the margin on two issues from Yazd.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād **YZ** (7.114), 62H (**Pl. 112, 1311**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **YZ**, 63H (**Pl. 112, 1316**)

6.C.3.11A **štwlʾm** / *bism allāh* (uncertain / ‘in the name of God’)

A Pahlavi word which may be read as **štwlʾm**, appears in Q1 on a drachm of Jayy. Its meaning is uncertain.[59]

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād **GD** (7.44), 62H (**Pl. 49, 575**)

6.C.3.12 **hš** / *bism allāh* / **m** (uncertain / ‘in the name of God’ / uncertain)

The Pahlavi letters **hš** (?) appear in the first quarter, and **m** in the third quarter, on coins from Yazd dated 69H.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **YZ** (7.114), 69H (**Pl. 112, 1318**)

6.C.3.13 **gm** / *bism allāh* (uncertain / ‘in the name of God’)

This monogram, consisting of what appears to be a ligature of the Pahlavi letters **g** and **m**, is found in the second quarter of the margin on drachms in the names of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and the rival Caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from Jayy. The significance of **gm** is unknown.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād **GD** (7.44), 60H (**Pl. 48, 565**); 61H (**Pl. 49, 568**); 62H (**Pl. 49, 570**);
63H (**Pl. 49, 576**); 68H (**Pl. 50, 582**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **GD**, 63H (**Pl. 50, 580**)

[57] Album auction 24 (14 January 2016), lot 134.

[58] Mochiri 1987, p. 47, no. 70.

[59] Gaube 1973, p. 33, type 2.2.3.5.21 read the initial letters as **dʾt**.

6.C.3.14 *bism allāh* **gm** / **ny**ʾ (‘In the name of God’ uncertain / uncertain)

On one issue the second quarter has the usual *bism allāh* followed by the Pahlavi letters **gm** and in the third quarter three letters which may be read as **ny**ʾ, perhaps a reference to a location. The same word is found in place of the breast ornament on a drachm of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, **KLMAN-GY** (7.58.19), 61H.[60]

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād **KLMAN-SLC'** (7.58.32), 63H (**Pl. 69, 803**)

6.C.3.15 **m** / *bism allāh* (‘Victorious(?) / in the name of God’)

The Pahlavi letter **m** is found in the first quarter of some coins of Istakhr. It may be an abbreviation for *mansūr*, meaning ‘victorious’, rather than a proper name.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **ST** (7.89), 62H (**Pl. 101, 1188**); 63H (**Pl. 101, 1189**)

6.C.3.16 *bism allāh* / **wyh plhw**[**yh**] (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain)

This legend has been read, in the second and third quarters of the margin, on a very worn drachm of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (Kirmān (7.58.1) **KLMAN**), 62H). Walker was unsure of the reading and left out the first word in the third quarter.[61] Mochiri’s reading is **wyh** (*wēh*) **plhw** (**yh**) (*farroxih*), which he translates as ‘good fortune’. He regards the issue as Khārijite, but this is controversial.[62]

6.C.3.17 *bism allāh* **bplwyʾn** (‘In the name of God’, uncertain)

A Pahlavi word, usually abbreviated, is often added in the second quarter margin of coins of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and his brother Musʿab b. al-Zubayr at mints in the region of Kirmān. The full Pahlavi transliteration is **bplwyʾn**. Numismatists do not agree on its meaning. Mochiri considers it to be a reference to ‘Farrōbāg, the first major Fire of Sasanian Ērān, that of priests and nobles’: **ʾyw** (‘one’) followed by **plwhʾg** (Farrōbāg).[63] This fits uneasily with the epigraphy of the legend. Kolesnikov on the other hand considers it to be a reference to a local sub-governor or financial director, who he suggests is Bafarnag.[64] The name is not known from the sources for the period and locality. It is probably best considered to be of unknown meaning, albeit it may well refer to an official who supported the Zubayarids in Kirmān. The full range of varieties is listed below, with references to examples in the catalogue.

6.C.3.17.1 *bism allāh* / **ʾpd bplwyʾn** (‘In the name of God / excellent’, uncertain)

On this type **ʾpd** (*afīd*, ‘excellent’) precedes **bplwyʾn**, which is probably a proper name.[65]

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-ANAT'** (7.58.7), 63H (**Pl. 57, 669**)
KLMAN-BN (7.58.15), 67H (**Pl. 58, 679**)
KLMAN-BNBN (7.58.17), 63H (**Pl. 59, 692**)
KLMAN-HPYC' (7.58.21), 63H (**Fig. 6.1**)
KLMAN-NAWGY (7.58.27), 63H (**Pl. 67, 784**)
KLMAN-WLY (7.58.34), 66H (**Pl. 70, 814**)

[60] **Pl. 59, 695A**.

[61] Walker 1941, p. 66, no. 97. He did not reproduce an image of the obverse in the plates.

[62] Mochiri 1987, p. 47.

[63] Mochiri 1987, p. 65.

[64] Kolesnikov 1998, p. 194.

[65] Gaube 1973, pp. 29–30, type 2.2.3.5.1, where second word transliterated as **bprwyhn**?

Fig. 6.1. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, mint **KLMAN-HPYC'**, 63H, 4.04g (Johnson 0791-0075)

6.C.3.17.2 *bism allāh* / **bpl** (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain)

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-GY** (7.58.19), 66H (**Pl. 60, 701**)

6.C.3.17.3 *bism allāh* / **bpl** / **GDH** (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain / ‘splendour’)

The ideogram **GDH** (*xvarrah*, ‘splendour’) is added in the third quarter margin.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **GLM-KLMAN** (7.46), 69H (**Pl. 51, 592**)
KLMAN (7.58.1), 69H (**Pl. 55, 647**)
KLMAN-AN' (7.58.4), 61 or 69H (**Pl. 56, 659**)
KLMAN-BNBN (7.58.17), 61H or 69H (**Pl. 59, 688**)

6.C.3.17.4 *bism allāh* / **bpl** / **GDH slč'** (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain / ‘splendour **SLC**’’)

The mint signature **slč′** is added in the second quarter margin, mirroring the fuller mint signature on the reverse.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-SLC'** (7.58.32), 70H (**Pl. 69, 808**)

6.C.3.17.5 *bism allāh* / **bplw** / **GDH** (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain / ‘splendour’)

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN** (7.58.1), 66H (**Pl. 55, 638**)

6.C.3.17.6 *bism allāh* / **bplwy** (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain)

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **GLM-KLMAN** (7.46), 67H (**Pl. 51, 591**)
KLMAN (7.58.1), 65H (Fig. 6.2), 66H (**Pl. 55, 640**), 67H (**Pl. 55, 642**)
KLMAN-AN (7.58.3), 67H (**Pl. 56, 660**)
KLMAN-ANAT (7.58.7), 67H (**Pl. 57, 670**)
KLMAN-BN (7.58.15), 67H (**Pl. 58, 678**), 71H (**Pl. 58, 680**)
KLMAN-BNBN (7.58.17), 63H (**Pl. 59, 691**)
KLMAN-GY (7.58.19), 67H (**Pl. 60, 702**)
KLMAN-HPYC (7.58.21), 67H (**Pl. 61, 715**)
KLMAN-NAL (7.58.23), 67H (**Pl. 63, 743**)
KLMAN-NAWGY (7.58.27), 67H (**Pl. 67, 787**)
KLMAN-SLC' (7.58.32), 67H (**Pl. 69, 804**)
Musʿab b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-HPYC** (7.58.21), 69H (**Pl. 61, 714**)
KLMAN-AN' (7.58.4), 69H with **bplwy** in Q2 (**Pl. 57, 663**)

Fig. 6.2. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, mint **KLMAN**, 65H, 4.12g (Johnson 0791-0074)

6.C.3.17.7 *bism allāh* **bplwy** / **GDH** (‘In the name of God’ uncertain / ‘splendour’)

In this type the Pahlavi ideogram **GDH** (*xvarrah*, ‘splendour’) is in the third quarter of the margin.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-GY** (7.58.19), 69H (**Pl. 60, 705**)
Musʿab b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-AN'** (7.58.4), 69H (**Pl. 57, 661**)
KLMAN-NAL (7.58.23), 69H (**Pl. 64, 747**), 70H (**Pl. 64, 749**), 71H (**Pl. 64, 752**)
KLMAN-SL (7.58.30), 69H (**Pl. 68, 797**)

6.C.3.17.8 *bism allāh* **bplwy** / **mn** (‘In the name of God, uncertain / victorious(?)’)

The Pahlavi letters in the third quarter **mn** may be a reference to *mansūr* either a proper name or more likely an attribute (‘victorious’).

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-NAWGY** (7.58.27), 67H (**Pl. 67, 789**)

6.C.3.17.9 *bism allāh* **bplwyʾn** (‘In the name of God’, uncertain)

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN** (7.58.1), 65H (**Pl. 54, 635**)
KLMAN-NAL (7.58.23), 68H (**Pl. 64, 745**)

6.C.3.17.10 *bism allāh* **bplwyʾn gy** (‘In the name of God’, uncertain, ‘**GY**’)

On this issue the mint abbreviation on the reverse is added to the second quarter marginal legend.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-GY** (7.58.19), 63H (**Pl. 60, 696**)

6.C.3.18 *bism allāh* / - / **GDH** (‘In the name of God / - / splendour’)

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN** (7.58.27), 66H (**Pl. 55, 639**)

6.C.3.19 *bism allāh* **plč** (‘In the name of God victorious’)

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-NAWGY**, 66H (**Pl. 67, 786**)

6.C.3.20 *bism allāh* / *rabbunā* (or **dʾw**) (‘In the name of God / Our Lord’ (or uncertain))

al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh **BCLA**, 65H (**Pl. 18, 200**)

6.C.3.21 *bism allāh* / **p** (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain)

The meaning and significance of the **p** is unknown, but is not a reference to a mint place. On one issue the letter **p** is in the second quarter before *bism allāh.*[66]

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN** (7.58.1), 64H (**Pl. 54, 631**)
ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh **KLMAN**, 65H (**Pl. 54, 636**)
KLMAN-SLC, 65H (**Pl. 69, 803A**) (**p** before *bism allāh*)

6.C.3.22 *bism allāh allāh* / *akbar* (‘In the name of God / God is great’)

Salm b. Ziyād **MLW** (7.68), 65H (**Pl. 73, 852**)

6.C.3.23 *bism allāh* / *allāh akbar* (‘In the name of God / God is great’)

Salm b. Ziyād **MLW** (7.68), 68H (**Pl. 73, 860**)

[66] Stephen Album Rare Coins auction 31 (19 May 2018), lot 161.

6.C.3.24 *bism allāh* / **dwwyst** (‘In the name of God / 22’)

On some drachms of the rival Caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr the Pahlavi word **dwwyst** (22) is added in the third quarter margin. Its significance is unknown.[67] It appears on drachms from Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**) and its subsidiary mint Tawwaj (7.103 **TART**). As the same number is spread across three years, it is unlikely to be a date. Bates’ view that it may be a reference to the weight of the coin – 22 *qīrāt* – is probably the best explanation.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **ART** (7.14), 65H (**Pl. 6, 59**); 66H (**Pl. 6, 65**); 67H (**Pl. 6, 66**)
TART (7.103), 67(H) (**Pl. 106, 1247**)

6.C.3.25 *bism allāh* / *al-ʿazīz* (‘In the name of God / the Almighty *or* name of governor’)

The marginal legend *al-ʿazīz*, the ninth of the Beautiful Names of God (the Almighty), is found on the Arab-Hephthalite coinage of Salm b. Ziyād.[68] The same marginal legend is found on drachms of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿAmr), but in this case *al-ʿazīz* can be taken to be a reference to the governor himself as well.[69]

Salm b. Ziyād **MLW** (7.68), 64H (**Pl. 72, 844**); 67H (**Pl. 73, 858**)
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿAmr)
SK (7.87), 66H (**Pl. 86, 1005**); 69H (**Pl. 86, 1009**)

6.C.3.26 *ʿad* / *bism allāh* / **GDH ’pzwn'** (uncertain / ‘in the name of God / the royal glory has been increased’)

This legend is found on very rare issues, with a tentatively read name.

Taʾī-ī Pilgūn **ŠTWLSTAN** (7.99), 67H (**Pl. 105, 1231**)

6.C.3.27 *bism allāh* / *musʿab* (‘In the name of God / Musʿab’)

Rare drachms of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr have his name in Arabic *musʿab* in the third quarter obverse margin. This is in addition to his full name in Pahlavi in the obverse field right of the bust.

Musʿab b. al-Zubayr **BH** (7.28), 68H (**Pl. 19, 213**)
DŠ (7.41), 67H (**Pl. 46, 534**)[70]
DŠT (7.42), 67H (**Pl. 47, 546**)
NYŠ (7.76), 67H (**Pl. 80, 941**)

6.C.3.28 **štly’l’n** / *bism allāh* (‘Shahriyārān(?) / in the name of God’)

This legend is found on a drachm from Jayy (7.44 **GD**) dated 70H in the name of an official which may be variously read but begins with Mus’ab. Mochiri has read the legend name as ‘Mus’ab b. ‘Ubayd Allāh y’ and regards the first quarter marginal legend as a continuation of the name ‘Shahriyārān’. He regarded this as a Khārijite issue.[71]

6.C.3.29 *bism allāh* / *lā hukm illā lillāh* (‘In the name of God / there is no judgment except God’s’)

This legend is found on an isolated issue of Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa from Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**) dated 69(H) and another with mint signature **ŠW** (7.99A) which could be the same issue, an unusually early date for his

[67] Gaube 1973, p. 31, type 2.2.3.5.8 read the word as *drust* for ‘correct’ or ‘right’, a view also taken by Mochiri 1987, p. 66.

[68] *SICA* 1, p. 23.

[69] Gaube 1973, pp. 26–7, type 2.2.3.4.7.

[70] Gaube 1973, p. 28, type 2.2.3.4.12.

[71] Mochiri 1987, p. 55, 101, no. 113, pl. 14, no. 80; c.f. *SICA* 1, p. 25, fn[135] for an alternative view which seems less plausible. An example is illustrated, Chapter 9, 9.40, p. 305, fig. 9.40.

coinage.[72] It is also found on the anonymous Khārijite drachms from Ardashīr-Khurra (**ART**) dated 75 and 76H. While *lā hukm illā lillāh* is a Khārijite slogan, it is reminiscent of the phrase used in the Qurʾān in a number of places *iniʾl hukmu illā lillāh*, referring to commands or judgment being only from God.[73]

Anonymous **ART** (7.14), 75H (**Pl. 85, 92**)

6.C.3.30 *bism allāh lā ilāh* / *illā wahdahu* (‘In the name of God, there is only one God’)

This pronouncement of the Islamic faith is found on an anonymous drachm from Kūfa with *muhammad rasūl allāh* (‘Mohammad Messenger of God’) in the obverse right field. This forms what is known as the *shahāda* (‘testimony’ or ‘bearing witness’).

Anonymous **AKWLA** (7.4), 70H (**Pl. 1, 12**)[74]

6.C.3.31 *bism allāh* / *humrān bin abān* (‘In the name of God / Humrān b. Abān’)

The coinage of Humrān b. Abān is only known for one mint and one date. One variety has *bism allāh* only in the second quarter margin.[75] The other has his name in Arabic added in the third quarter *humrān bin abān*.

Humrān b. Abān **ART** (7.14), 72H (**Pl. 8, 85**)

6.C.3.32 *bism allāh* / *bakriya* (‘In the name of God / Bakri [b. Wāʾīl]’)

The Arabic *bakriya* is no doubt a reference to the tribe Bakri b. Wāʾīl.

Muqātil b. Misma‘ **BYŠ** (7.34), 72H (**Pl. 28, 320**); 73H (**Pl. 28, 321**)[76]

6.C.3.33 *bism allāh walī al-amr* (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command’)

The coinage of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad is distinctive in that the second quarter marginal legend is the Arabic *bism allāh walī al-amr*. His coinage is confined to mints within the Kirman region and the period 70 to 76H, e.g.[77]

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **GLM-KLMAN** (7.46), 70H (**Pl. 51, 595**)

There are variants with additional Pahlavi words or letters added in the obverse margin, usually after this refrain, but occasionally on the reverse margin, often an indication of the mint place.

6.C.3.33.1 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / ʾ**n** (or ʾ**w**) (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / ʾ**n**’)

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-NAW** (7.58.26), 72H (**Pl. 67, 779**)

6.C.3.33.2 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / ʾ**n'** (or ʾ**nw**) (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / ʾ**n'**’)

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-AN'** (7.58.4), 72H (**Pl. 57, 665**)
KLMAN-NAT (7.58.24), 72H (**Pl. 66, 771**)

6.C.3.33.3 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / ʾ**n**ʾ**w** (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / ʾ**n**ʾ**w**)

6.C.3.33.4 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / **g** (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / **g**’)

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-NAL** (7.58.23), 71H (**Pl. 64, 755**)

[72] Gaube 1973, p. 27, type 2.2.3.4.10. Walker 1941, p. 112, no. I.46 read a coin in the Istanbul Museum as having the mint signature **BŠ** which would have been a variant of **BYŠ** for Bīshāpūr. This reading should be read as subject to confirmation.

[73] Qurʿan 12:40, 12:67 and 6:57.

[74] The date appears to be abbreviated. Bacharach 2010, p. 6.

[75] **Pl. 8, 86**.

[76] Gaube 1973, p. 28, type 2.2.3.4.15, noted only 71H, but this is a reference to coins dated 73H, and hence is based on a misreading.

[77] Gaube 1973, p. 28, type 2.2.3.4.14.

6.C.3.33.5 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / **gw gw** (?) (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / **gw gw** (?)’)

The Pahlavi legend is equivocal. It could be **gw gw**, but other readings are possible (e.g. ’**dw**).

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-GY** (7.58.19), 75H (**Pl. 61, 711**)

6.C.3.33.6 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / **hp** (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / **hp**’)

The Pahlavi letters **hp** are probably the first two letters of the mint signature for Khabīs.

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-HPYC** (7.58.21), 72H (**Pl. 61, 717**), 73H (**Pl. 61, 719**)

6.C.3.33.7 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / *jayyid* (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / good’)

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-AN'** (7.58.4), 75H (**Pl. 57, 667**)
KLMAN-BN (7.58.15), 76H (**Pl. 59, 685**)
KLMAN-NAL (7.58.23), 75H (**Pl. 65, 764**)

6.C.3.33.8 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / *lillāh* (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / for God’)

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-NAT** (7.58.24), 75H (**Pl. 66, 774**)

6.C.3.33.9 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / **nʾl** (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / **nʾl**’)

The Pahlavi letters **nʾl** (**NAL**) mirror the mint signature on the reverse.

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-NAL** (7.58.23), 75H (**Pl. 65, 765**)

6.C.3.33.10 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / **nʾt** (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / **nʾt**’)

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-AT** (7.58.13), 72H (**Pl. 58, 675**)
KLMAN-NAT (7.58.24), 73H (**Pl. 66, 772**), 75H (**Pl. 66, 777**)

6.C.3.33.11 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / **nʾw** (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / **nʾw**’)

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-AN** (7.58.3), 75H (**Pl. 57, 668**)
KLMAN-AN' (7.58.4), 74H (**Pl. 57, 666**)
KLMAN-NAWGY (7.58.27), 74H (**Pl. 68, 794**)

6.C.3.33.12 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / **nʾwgy** (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / **nʾwgy**’)

The Pahlavi letters **nʾwgy**, mirror the mint signature on the reverse.

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-NAWGY** (7.58.27), 72H (**Pl. 68, 793**)

6.C.3.33.13 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / **ny**’ (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / **ny**’’)

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-NAL** (7.58.23), 74H (**Pl. 65, 760**)

6.C.3.33.14 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / **p** (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / **p**’)

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-HPYC** (7.58.21), 73H (**Pl. 66, 772**)

6.C.3.33.15 *bism allāh walī al-amr* / **slč** (‘In the name of God, possessor of the command / **slč**’)

The Pahlavi letters **slč**, mirror the mint signature on the reverse.

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-SLČ** (7.58.31), 72H (**Pl. 69, 811**)

6.C.3.34 *bism allāh* / **gy**’ (?)(‘In the name of God’ / uncertain)

Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh **WYHC** (7.110.2), 73H (**Pl. 111, 1296**)

6.C.3.35 *bism allāh* / **dwwystwy** (‘In the name of God / 22(?)’)

One isolated issue from Ardashīr-Khurra has the Pahlavi word **dwwystwy** in the third quarter margin. It may be a reference to the number 22 and is probably intended to have the same meaning as **dwwyst** found on coins of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr from the same mint (6.C.3.24).[78]

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān **ART** (7.14), 73H (**Pl. 8, 87**)

6.C.3.36 *bism allāh lā ilāh illā allāh wahdahu muhammad rasūl allāh* (‘In the name of God. There is no God but Allāh, Muhammad [is the] Messenger of God’)

This short form *shahāda*, proclamation of the Islamic faith, is found on Arab-Sasanian drachms from 73H.[79] It follows *bism allāh* on a legend which covers all four quarters of the obverse margin. In addition to the examples listed below it is found on one type of Bishr b. Marwān dated 73H from al-Kūfa (7.4 **AKWLA**). It also appears on crudely struck coins in the name of Hormizd dated year 6 which have no mint signature.[80] Unusually on some issues of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf the legend is in radial form.

Anonymous *Dimashq* (7.39), 73H (**Pl. 45, 525**)
Dimashq (7.39), 74H (**Pl. 48, 526**)
al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf **ART** (7.14), 77H (**Pl. 9, 96**), 78H (**Pl. 9, 98**)
BYŠ (7.34), 76H (**Pl. 29, 335**), 77H (**Pl. 29, 337**), 78H (**Pl. 29, 340**), 79H (**Pl. 4, 42**)
TART (7.103), 68H (**Pl. 107, 1259**), 77H (**Pl. 107, 1256**)

6.C.3.37 *bism allāh lā ilāh illā allāh muhammad rasūl allāh* (‘In the name of God; there is no God but Allāh; Muhammad is the Messenger of God’)

This very rare drachm from Khurāsān has the short form *shahāda* (‘testimony’), omitting the word *wahdahu* which is found on other drachms.

ʿUmayya b. ʿAbd Allāh **HWLASAN** (7.55), 74H (**Pl. 53, 621**)

6.C.3.38 *bism allāh* / **zyt' y ʾbwzhʾt** (‘In the name of God / Zayd b. Abī Ziyād’)

On an issue of Bishr b. Marwān from Jayy (7.44 **GD**) dated 74(H), the name of Zayd b. Abī Ziyād follows *bism allāh*.[81] He is likely to have been a sub-governor.

6.C.3.39 *bism allāh muhammad* / *rasūl allāh* (‘In the name of God, Muhammad / Messenger of God’)[82]

The earliest issues which refer to the Prophet Muhammad were struck in the name of ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh, a Zubayrid governor, in 66 and 67H in Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**). The obverse marginal legend is arranged *bism allāh* / *muhammad rasūl* / *allāh*. Later, the same legend (arranged *bism allāh muhammad* / *rasūl allāh*) is found on drachms of Bishr b. Marwān from 73 to 75H from Kūfa (7.4 **AKWLA**), and 75H from Basra (7.27 **BCLA**). The legend is often preceded by the Pahlavi word **dyn** (‘God’). The legend (arranged *bism allāh* / *muhammad rasūl allāh*) is also found on drachms of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh from 73 to 75H for Basra (**BCLA**) and 73 and 74H for Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**), and on issues in the name of Khusrau from Hims and Damascus (*dimashq*) dated 72H. The absence of Muhammad’s name before 66H may be

[78] Gaube 1973, p. 31, type 2.2.3.5.9, who noted 70(?) as well as 73.

[79] The word *wahdahu* is not part of the usual form of the short form *shahāda* (testimony). A fuller short form *shahāda* is: *ashad an lā ilāh illā allāh wa ashad an muhammad rasūl allāh* (‘I testify that there is no God but Allāh, and I testify that Muhammad is the Messenger of God’).

[80] Sothebys auction (23 April 1998), lot 1.

[81] Mochiri 1987, p. 102, no. 117; Walker p. 109, no. Th.13.

[82] Gaube 1973, p. 28, type 2.2.3.4.11.

significant in understanding the perception of Muhammad's central place in Islam. It would appear that during the time of the Umayyad caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik, there was an increased emphasis on the significance of Muhammad as a central tenet of the religion and being a Believer.[83]

ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh	**BYŠ** (7.34), 66H (**Pl. 27, 307**); 67H (**Pl. 27, 308**)
Khusrau type	*Dimashq* (7.39), 72H (**Pl. 45, 524**)
Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh	**BCLA** (7.27), 73H (**Pl. 18, 204**); **BCLA**, 75H (**Pl. 18, 205**)
	BYŠ (7.34), 73H (**Pl. 28, 322**); **BYŠ**, 74H (**Pl. 28, 324**)
Bishr b. Marwān	**AWKLA** (7.4), 75H (**Pl. 2, 13**)
	BCLA (7.27), 75H (**Pl. 18, 206**)

6.C.3.40 *bism allāh* / **mn** ('In the name of God / the victorious')

The Pahlavi letters **mn** are often added in the third quarter margin on coins of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra. They are likely to be an abbreviation for **mnswl** (*mansūr*), which is probably the epithet 'the victorious', not a proper name. These issues are all from Fārs dated 75, 76 and 78H. It reappears on a later drachm of from Fasā.

Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra	**BYŠ** (7.34), 75H (**Pl. 28, 328**), 76H (**Pl. 29, 332**)
	DA (7.36), 76H (**Pl. 40, 460**)
	ST (7.89), 76H (**Pl. 103, 1208**), 78H (**Pl. 103, 1213**)
	YZ (7.114), 76H (**Pl. 113, 1320**)
al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf	**DA-P** (7.38), 71 (YE = 83H) (**Pl. 44, 511**)

6.C.3.41 *bism allāh* **šy** ('In the name of God', uncertain)

The reading of the two Pahlavi letters after *bism allāh* on a drachm of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra is uncertain. There is also a drachm of the same official with the mint signature **KLMAN-NAWGY** dated 78H, where the legend in the second and third quarter margin is *bism allāh* **ʾpzwn'** / **šy**.[84]

Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra	**KLMAN-NAL** (7.58.23), 77H (**Pl. 58, 676**)

6.C.3.42 *bism allāh* / *al-ʿizza lillāh* ('In the name of God / glory belongs to God')

This legend, usually preceded by the Pahlavi letter(s) **m** or **my** in the first quarter, is found on drachms of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmayya.[85] The same legend is also found on a rare drachm of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. Khālid).

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmayya	**SK** (7.87), 75H (**Pl. 86, 1010** with **m**), 75H (**Pl. 86, 1011** with **my**), 77H (**Pl. 86, 1012**)
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. Khālid)	**ST** (7.89), 74H (**Pl. 103, 1206**)

6.C.3.43 *bism allāh* / **dʾwynt'** (or **yʾnbwt'**) ('In the name of God / one whose animal spirit grows(?)')

The Pahlavi word may be transliterated as **dʾwynt'**,[86] or **yʾnbwt'**. Gyselen reads the word as **yʾnbwt'** for Gyānbūd, which may be a proper name or the epithet for 'one whose animal spirit grows'. The word appears also on copper issues.[87]

ʿUbayya b. ʿAbd Allāh	**BBA** (7.26), 77H (**Pl. 14, 152**)

[83] Donner 2010, pp. 112, 205.

[84] Paris (BN 1965.569).

[85] The word *ʿizzat* may also be transliterated as *ʿazat*. Gaube 1973, p. 26, type 2.2.3.4.6, who transcribes the third quarter legend as *al-ʿizzatu lillāh*.

[86] **Pl. 14, 152**. Gaube 1973, p. 31, type 2.2.3.5.10, read **dʾnstn** for *dānistan* ('knowing'). This is not correct as there is no **s** before **t**. Eshragh read the legend as **dʾnbwt**, which apart from leaving out the final stroke is also possible, 2010, p. 38, no. 170.

[87] Chapter 11, para. 11.3.3.3, p. 358 below; Gyselen 2009, pp. 75–6.

6.C.3.44 *bism allāh* / **plʾwzʾt** (‘In the name of God / Farroxzād’)

The Pahlavi word **plʾwzʾt** ‘Farrukhzād’ (Farroxzād) probably refers to an official but may be a reference to an attribute (‘Born with glory’ or ‘noble birth’).[88] It appears on some drachms of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra from Ardashīr-Khurra and Tawwaj[89] and drachms of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf dated 79H for Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**).[90]

Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra **ART** (7.14), 76H (**Pl. 8, 93**)
TART (7.103), 75H (**Pl. 107, 1254**), 76H (**Pl. 107, 1255**)

6.C.3.45 **py** / *bism allāh* / *ʿubayd allāh lillāh* (‘**py** / in the name of God / ʿUbayd Allāh for God’)

This Arabic legend is found on a rare drachm of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra from Sīstān. There are two versions, one with and one without, the Pahlavi letters **py** in Q1.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra **SK** (7.87), 79H (**Pl. 87, 1023**) preceded by the Pahlavi letters **py**(?);
(**Pl. 87, 1024**) no legend in Q1

6.C.3.46 *bism allāh* / *allāh walī ʿabd allāh* / *bin ʿāmir* (‘In the name of God / God is the guardian of ʿAbd Allāh / b. ʿĀmir’)

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (al-Mujāshiʿī)
SK (7.87), 80H (**Pl. 88, 1031**)[91]

6.C.3.47 *bism allāh* / **mnʾp** (‘In the name of God’ / uncertain)

The meaning of the Pahlavi word **mnʾp** is uncertain. It is found on rare drachms of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf from Istakr dated 80H (and unconfirmed for 81H).

al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf **ST** (7.89), 80H (**Pl. 104, 1214**)

6.C.3.48 *bism allāh* / **mnswl** (‘In the name of God / the victorious’)

The Pahlavi legend **mnswl**, *mansūr*, is probably an epithet (‘the victorious’).[92] It is found on drachms of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (81H for Yazd **YZ**) and on rare drachms of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (Bīshāpūr **BYŠ** 83H; Istakhr **ST** 82 and 83H).[93]

al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf **YZ** (7.114), 81H (**Pl. 113, 1321**)
ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad
ST (7.89), 82H (**Pl. 31, 356**); 83H (**Pl. 104, 1215**)

6.C.3.49 *bism allāh* / *saʿīd billāh* (‘In the name of God / happy with God’)

The Arabic word *saʿīd*, is more likely to be a reference to ‘happy’ in this context, rather than a proper name.

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhamad
SK (7.87), 80H (**Pl. 88, 1036**)

6.C.3.50 *yaz* (?) / *bism allāh* (*yaz* (?) / ‘in the name of God’)

The Arabic legend *yaz* (?) in the first quarter of the margin is of uncertain significance.

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhamad
SK (7.87), 80H (**Pl. 88, 1035**), 81H (**Pl. 90, 1049**)

[88] Farroxzād appears also on copper issues, see Chapter 11, para. 11.3.3.1, p. 356.

[89] Gaube 1973, p. 32, type 2.2.3.5.17, who considers it to be an attribute. Mochiri 1987, p. 70 who considers Farrukhzād to have been a sub-prefect.

[90] *SICA* 1, pl. 15, no. 225.

[91] Sears and Malek 2006.

[92] It is unlikely to be a reference to an otherwise unknown official serving under both al-Hajjāj and his opponent.

[93] Gaube 1973, p. 32, type 2.2.3.5.16 refers to drachms of 82H from Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**) and Istakhr (7.89 **ST**).

6.C.3.51 *bism allāh* / *baraka* (‘In the name of God / benediction’)

This legend appears on the only known issue in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām from Garmsīr, Kirmān (**KLMAN-GLM**). *baraka* appears on its own in the second quarter on a couple of anonymous Khusrau type drachms. It also appears on the first quarter, before *bism allāh* in the second quarter, of a Hephthalite issue in the name of ‘Kurm-zad’ (?) with **APNWLAN** mint-signature dated 39 (PYE? = 71H).[94] *baraka* is found in the third quarter on a similar issue with the mint-signature **ANBYR** of the same date.[95]

ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām **KLMAN-GLM** (7.58.18), 82H (**Pl. 59, 694**)

6.C.3.52 *bism allāh* / ʿ*amr lillāh* (‘In the name of God / unto God’)

This legend[96] appears only on the coinage of ʿAmr b. Laqīt, and is confined to mints in Kirmān dated 82 and 83H: **GLM-KLMAN**, 82 and 83H; **KLMAN-BN**, 83H; **KLMAN-GY**, 83H; **KLMAN-NAL**, 83H; **KLMAN-NAWGY**, 83H; **GLM-KLMAN**, 83H with the Pahlavi word **šylwy** after bism allāh.

ʿAmr b. Laqīt **KLMAN-GY** (7.58.19), 83H (**Pl. 61, 713**)
KLMAN-NAL (7.58.23), 83H (**Pl. 66, 769**)
GLM-KLMAN (7.46), 83H (**Pl. 51, 599**) with the Pahlavi word **šylwy** after *bism allāh*

6.C.3.53 *bism allāh* / **lwb'k' lywl** (?) (‘In the name of God / current in [place?]’)

The first Pahlavi word, following *bism allāh*, is clear and means ‘current’ (*ravāg*), but the second is of uncertain meaning, perhaps referring to a place.

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad **KLMAN-HPYC** (7.58.21), 83H (**Pl. 62, 726**)

6.C.3.54 **'gwl** (?) / *bism allāh* (uncertain / ‘in the name of God’)

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 97H (**Pl. 93, 1092**)

6.C.3.55 *bism allāh* / *rabbunā* (‘In the name of God / our Lord’)

The third quarter inscription may either be the Arabic word *rabbunā* (‘Our Lord’) or, less likely, a Pahlavi word **d'w**(?).[97] It is found on drachms of al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh from all the mints known in his name (**BCLA**, **DŠT** and **SYWKAN**).

al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh **BCLA** (7.27), 65H (**Pl. 18, 200**)
SYWKAN (7.94), 65H (**Pl. 105, 1226**)

6.C.4. Issues with *bism allāh rabbī*

6.C.4.1 *bism allāh* / *rabbī* (‘In the name of God / my Lord’)

The earlier issues in the name of Khusrau usually have *bism allāh* only in the second quarter of the obverse margin. From year 25 (YE = 36H) *rabbī* (‘my Lord’) is added in the third quarter of the margin on many issues. The phrase is also used on drachms of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān whose issues continue up to 55H.[98] Thereafter the phrase is only encountered on the anonymous Khusrau type drachms, and some late issues of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra dated 80 and 81H, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad dated 81–4H and ʿUmāra b. Tamīm dated 84H, all from Sīstān (7.87 **SK**). Occasionally the whole legend is in the second quarter as in the following issues.

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān **ART** (7.14), 51H (**Pl. 5, 53**); **AW** (7.16), 51H (**Pl. 10, 110**); **BYŠ** (7.34), 25 (**Pl. 21, 235**); **BYŠ**, 51H (**Pl. 26, 293**); **ST** (7.89), 51H (**Pl. 100, 1168**); **ST**, 53H (**Pl. 100, 1174**).

[94] See type 6.C.1.10 above, p. 50. Illustrated, Chapter 14, section 14.6, p. 405, fig. 14.6.1.

[95] Illustrated, Chapter 14, section 14.6, p. 406, fig. 14.6.2.

[96] Gaube 1973, p. 27, type 2.2.3.4.8, reading of *bismi'llāh ʿumrun li-llāh*.

[97] Gaube 1973, p. 33, type 2.2.3.5.22, considered it to be an unknown Pahlavi word.

[98] The exceptions are the Dārābgerd mints whose marginal legend is *bism allāh* for all issues in officials names.

Fig. 6.3. Annonymous Khusrau type, mint **BYŠ**, 50H, 3.94g (Johnson 0791-0073)

6.C.4.2 **DWM** / *bism allāh rabbī* (uncertain / 'in the name of God, my Lord')

The meaning of the Pahlavi letters **DWM** is uncertain.[99] They are found on drachms of Sīstān. The date is crudely inscribed and can be read as 43, which may be a Hijrī date, but the style suggests they may have been struck later.

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 43 (**Pl. 82, 962**)

6.C.4.2A *bism allāh* / *rabbī allāh* ('In the name of God / my Lord, God')

This Arabic legend is found on a rare coin of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān from Basra. It appears to be dated 55H and thus a posthumous issue as, according to the written sources, he died in Kūfa in 53H.

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān **BCLA** (7.27), 55H (**Pl. 14, 159A**)

6.C.4.3 *allāh walī ʿawn* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* ('God the helper (or 'God the guardian of ʿAwn' / in the name of God / my Lord')

The legend *allāh walī ʿawn* is found in the first quarter margin on rare drachms minted in Sīstān (**SK**) in the name of Khusrau. It denotes the caring and helping aspect of Allāh and may be translated as 'God the helper' or 'God is helpful'.[100] Album[101] has read the legend as *allāh wallā ʿawn* and meaning 'God has placed in office ʿAwn', thus referring to an unidentified personage, but on that basis 'God is the guardian of ʿAwn' is at least another plausible reading. The dates on these coins have been variously read. The example illustrated by Walker would appear to be dated 37 or 65,[102] albeit defectively written. Gaube noted 61 and 62, but presumably at least the former reading was based on Walker's coin and reading. Album considers the date legend is completely barbarous. In the catalogue below the issue is noted under 65, which includes an example with a full date that does certainly look like 65, and another under 37, where the date legend is equivocal, but it may well be that 65 was intended for both issues. Another example has *duriba* (*zarb*) *al-mashriq*, (for 'struck in the East') in the reverse margin. This too has an equivocal date legend which could be read as 53.[103]

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 65 relatively easy to discern (**Pl. 86, 1003**); equivocal date legend, may be 37 or 65 (**Pl. 82, 955**);
53(?) with *duriba* (*zarb*) *al-mashriq* in Q3 reverse (**Pl. 84, 982**)

6.C.4.4 *bism allāh* / *rabb harasahu* ('In the name of God / may his Lord protect him')

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad
DA (7.36), 70 (YE = 82H) (**Pl. 39, 456**)
DA-GH (7.37), 70 (YE = 82H) (**Pl. 41, 481**)[104]

[99] Miles, *RIC*, p. 3 read the word as **mzd** (not **dwm**) meaning *mizd* in the sense of valid currency, by reading the legend backwards.

[100] Gaube 1973, p. 25, type 2.2.3.3.1, who read the legend as *allāhu walīyu ʿawn*.

[101] *SICA* 1, p. 26.

[102] Walker 1941, p. 22, no. Th.3 (read as 61?).

[103] Walker 1941, p. 23, no. I.11. See reverse type 6.G.2.6 below.

[104] Gaube 1973, p. 29, type 2.2.3.4.18, transcribed as *rabbī harasihi* ('In Namen Gottes, seiners Wächters').

The above reading is the conventional one and most probably correct. An alternative has been suggested, reading the legend in the third quarter as *rabb kharasha* (to make 'In the name of God, Lord of Kharasha'), a reference to Kharasha b. Masʿūd, who was with ʿAbd al-Rahmān. A castle in Fasā (within Dārābgerd district) was named after him.[105] No other coin of ʿAbd al-Rahmān purportedly bears the name of anyone else. One possibility, which cannot be excluded, is that the last word is a deliberate pun which could be read either way as *harasahu* or *kharasha* (see 6.C.3.5 for a similar possibility where the word after *rabb* can be read as the personal name *al-hakam* or *al-hukm* referring to judgment).

6.C.4.5 *bism allāh rabbī* / **hšt'** ('In the name of God, my Lord / eight')

One rare drachm issue of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf from Bīshāpūr adds the Pahlavi word **hšt'** (eight), in the third quarter of the margin. The significance of the number 8 is unknown.

Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf **BYŠ** (7.34), 81H (**Pl. 31, 352**)

6.C.4.6 **ny'** / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* (uncertain / 'in the name of God / my Lord')

The meaning of the Pahlavi letters **ny'** found on one drachm issue from Sīstān (**SK**) dated 79H is uncertain.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra **SK** (7.87), 79H (**Pl. 87, 1022**)

6.C.4.7 *tʿar* (?) / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* (uncertain / 'in the name of God / my Lord')

The meaning of the Arabic word *tʿar* (?) found on one drachm issue from Sīstān (**SK**) dated 80, 83 and 84H is uncertain.

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhamad
SK (7.87), 83H (**Pl. 90, 1060**), 84H (**Pl. 91, 1064**)

6.C.4.8 **nywk'** / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* ('Good / in the name of God / my Lord')

The coinage of ʿUmāra b. Tamīm is extremely rare and is confined to Sīstān (**SK**) for years 84 and 85H. The Pahlavi word **nywk'** (*nēvak*, 'good') may either be a reference to ʿUmāra himself or the coin, i.e. good coin.

ʿUmāra b. Tamīm **SK** (7.87), 84H (**Pl. 91, 1067**)

6.C.4.9 *mismaʿ* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* ('Mismaʿ / in the name of God / my Lord')

This Arabic legend appears on one type of drachm in the name of Mismaʿ b. Mālik dated 85H from Sīstān (**SK**).[106] His full name was Mismaʿ b. Mālik b. Mismaʿ.

6.C.4.10 *sadaq allāh* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* ('God is truthful / in the name of God / my Lord')

This legend is found on drachms of Sīstān (**SK**), where the date legends are crudely inscribed and have been variously read by numismatists: 49(H) by Gaube,[107] 27(YE) by Eshragh.[108] An example in the catalogue here is read as either 63 or 93H, but from the style it was struck no earlier than the 80sH, thus favouring the latter reading.

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 103H(?) (**Pl. 85, 993**)

6.C.4.11 **t'y** (?) / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* (uncertain / 'in the name of God / my Lord')

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 102H (**Pl. 94, 1103**)

[105] Bates and Mehdy Shaddel intend to publish this view. For Kharasha see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 12, 12.

[106] Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 16.

[107] Gaube 1973, pl. 2, no. 13; obverse marginal legend type 2.2.3.3.1, p. 25.

[108] Eshragh 2010, no. 16.

6.C.4.12 **gm** / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* (uncertain / 'In the name of God / my Lord')

The meaning of the Pahlavi letters **g** and **m** is unknown, but the letters also appear on earlier issues with *bism allāh* for ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and ʿAbd Allāh b.al-Zubayr.[109]

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 102H (**Pl. 94, 1104**)

6.C.4.13 **gywl** (?) / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* (uncertain / 'In the name of God, my Lord')

The exact reading and meaning of the Pahlavi word on this issue from Sīstān (**SK**) dated 97H is uncertain. Other readings are possible (e.g. **gdwl**).

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 97H (**Pl. 93, 1092-1093**)

6.C.4.14 *jāʾiz* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* ('Current / in the name of God / my Lord')

The Arabic word *jāʾiz* ('current') added in the obverse margin is probably a reference to the coin itself, to denote that it is acceptable currency. The word is also known as a countermark sometimes added to Arab-Sasanian drachms.

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 101H (**Pl. 94, 1102**)

6.C.4.15 **m** (or **my**) / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* ('Victorious (?) / in the name of God / my Lord)

The Pahlavi letter **m** (or possibly **my**) is added in Q1 on one late issue from Sīstān (**SK**). It may be a reference to an epithet, *mansūr* ('victorious').

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 102H (?) (**Pl. 94, 1105**)

6.C.4.16 **ʾpzwn** / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* ('Growth / in the name of God / my Lord')

The date on this anonymous Khusrau type drachm from Sīstān is uncertain. It could be read as 23 (YE? = 34H), 63(H) or 103(H). A date of 34H appears to be rather early for a *bism allāh rabbī* type. 103(H) is the most plausible reading given the crude late style of coins typically from Sīstān in the period 90 to 110H. The word **ʾpzwn** appears on a number of copper issues, but not on the margin.[110]

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 103H (**Pl. 95, 1108**)

6.C.5 *Other issues with fuller legends*

6.C.5.1 *talha lillāh* ('God's Talha')

This legend is found on Sīstān (**SK**) drachms of Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh, 64 to 66H.[111]

Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh **SK** (7.87), 64H (**Pl. 85, 996**); 65H (**Pl. 85, 999**); 66H (**Pl. 86, 1004**)

6.C.5.2 *malik lillāh* ('God's Malik')

The drachms in the name of an official Mālik b. Aws (?) from Sīstān (**SK**) dated 65 and 66H have the word *malik* (the possessor) in Arabic in the second quarter of the margin.

Mālik b. Aws (?) **SK** (7.87), 65H (**Pl. 85, 1000**)

6.C.5.3 *malik allāh* **mh** ('The possessor, God **mh**')

The Arabic legend *malik allāh* is followed by the Pahlavi **mh** (?) on one drachm from Sīstān (**SK**). The legend may be a reference to God or the official, the former being 'the possessor, God'.

Mālik b. Aws (?) **SK** (7.87), 65H (**Pl. 85, 1001**)

[109] See obverse type 6.C.3.13 above, p. 54.

[110] Gyselen 2009, types 11, 23 and 39.

[111] Gaube 1973, p. 35, type 2.2.3.6.5, which translates the legend as 'Talha zu Gott'.

6.C.5.4 *musʿab* / *hasabahu allāh* (‘Musʿab / God is his sufficiency’)

On one issue from Basra has this marginal legend.[112]

Musʿab b. al-Zubayr **BCLA** (7.27), 66H (**Pl. 18, 203**)

6.C.5.5 *lillāh al-hamd* (‘Praise be to God’)

Drachms of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh from Fārs mints dated 67 to 72(H) bear this Arabic legend in the second quarter. His issues from Istakhr (**ST**) occasionally have the word **dwdʾn** in the first quarter margin whereas those from **WYHC** dated 69 and 71H have the Pahlavi letters **ʾw** in the third quarter. There is also a contemporary counterfeit (a copper core from Basra (**BCLA**) 66H). The legend is later found on drachms of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf for Bīshāpūr.[113]

ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh **BCLA** (7.27), 66H (**Pl. 18, 202**, copper core of drachm)
BYŠ (7.34), 67H (**Pl. 27, 309**); 68H (**Pl. 27, 310**); 69H (**Pl. 27, 314**); 70H (**Pl. 28, 317**)
ST (7.89), 67H (**Pl. 102, 1195**); 68H (**Pl. 102, 1197**); 69H (**Pl. 102, 1199**); 70H (**Pl. 102, 1201**); 70H (**Pl. 103, 1202** with **dwdʾn**); 72H (**Pl. 103, 1205** with **dwdʾn**)
TART (7.103), 68H (**Pl. 107, 1249**)
WYHC (7.110.2), 67H (**Pl. 110, 1293**); 68H (**Pl. 110, 1294**); 69H (**Pl. 110, 1295** with **ʾw**); 71H (**Pl. 111, 1296** with **ʾw**)

al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf **BYŠ** (7.34), 80H (**Pl. 30, 348**)

6.C.5.6 **dwdʾn** (?) / *lillāh al-hamd* (uncertain / ‘Praise be to God’)

The Pahlavi word, found in the first quarter, may be read as **dwdʾn** or **dwyʾn**. It occurs on drachms of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh from Istakhr. Mochiri has read the word as **gwšn** (*gushn*, ‘male’) which he suggests could stand as an abbreviation for Gošnap.[114] Another reading is to treat this as a reference to the same person named on bronze issues bearing the name Gušn (Gushan), who may have been a local governor of Istakhr under ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.[115]

ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh **ST** (7.89), 70H (**Pl. 103, 1202**); 72H (**Pl. 103, 1205**)

6.C.5.7 *lā hukm illā lillāh* (‘There is no judgment except God’s’)

This refrain is used at various mints in Fārs and Kirmān on drachms of the Khārijite rebel, Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa, dated 75 to 77H.[116] The same refrain is found on the anonymous Khārijite issues from Ardashīr-Khurra (**ART**) for 75 and 76H, in the third quarter, with the second quarter reserved for the usual *bism allāh*.[117] Later this Khārijite refrain is repeated in the outer margin of some post-reform Islamic dirhams.[118]

Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa **BYŠ** (7.34), 75H (**Pl. 28, 327**)
DA (7.36), 75H (**Pl. 39, 457**)
DA-GLAWM (7.37), 75H (**Pl. 41, 472**)
KLMAN-BN (7.58.15), 77H (**Pl. 59, 686**)
ST (7.89), 75H (**Pl. 103, 1207**)
TART (7.103), 75H (**Pl. 107, 1253**)

[112] Gaube 1973, p. 36, type 2.2.3.6.10 (reading of *hasbuhu ʾllāh*).

[113] Gaube 1973, p. 35, type 2.2.3.6.9, which notes 7.14 **ART** and 7.34 **BYŠ** signatures for 83H (albeit the issues ascribed to 83 may be either 80 or 81H).

[114] Mochiri 1987, p. 66. He also notes the word appears on drachms of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr from Yazd (7.114 **YZ**).

[115] Gholami 2017, p. 45.

[116] Mochiri 1987, no. 114 transcribes it as *la hakam illā ʾllāh*; Gaube 1973, p. 35, type 2.2.3.6.8.

[117] See obverse type 6.C.3.29, pp. 58-9.

[118] E.g. Klat 2002, no. 548a (al-Kūfa, 128H; anonymous issue from the revolutionary period).

6.C.5.8 *quwwa yazīdu billāh* (‘Strength increases through God’ or ‘The strength of Yazīd is in Allāh’)

This legend is found on coins struck by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in the Kirmān region.[119] All are dated 78H. There are often additional words or letters in Pahlavi in the third quarter margin. These probably denote the mint place.

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (**šyl**) **GLM-KLMAN** (7.46), 78H (**Pl. 51, 597**); **KLMAN-HPYC** (7.58.21), 78H (**Pl. 62, 725**); **KLMAN-NAL** (7.58.23), 78H (**Pl. 66, 768**); (**šyln’w**) **KLMAN-NAWGY** (7.58.27), 78H (**Pl. 68, 796**)

6.C.5.9 *lā quwwa illā lillāh* (‘There is no power except from God’)

This Arabic legend is found in the second quarter margin on a rare anonymous Hormizd type drachm.[120]

6.C.5.10 *baraka min allāh* (‘Benediction from God’)

This Arabic legend occurs on an unusual and anonymous drachm from Marw (7.68 **MLW'**) dated 78H.[121]

6.C.5.11 *lillāh al-hamd* / **h’g’g** (‘Praise be to God / Hajjāj’)

This legend is found on certain drachms of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf dated 81H from Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**).[122]

Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf **BYŠ** (7.34), 81H (**Pl. 30, 351**)

6.C.5.12 *hadāhu allāh wa nasara* (‘God guided him and gained victory’)

During his rebellion against the Umayyads ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad struck this very rare drachm type in Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) dated 82H.

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad **BYŠ** (7.34), 82H (**Pl. 31, 353**)

6.C.5.13 *al-hamd lillāh* (‘Praise be to God’)

This legend is found on rare drachms of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad from Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) dated 83H. The Arabic word *mansūr* (probably an attribute ‘the victorious’ rather than a proper name) is sometime seen in the third quarter.

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad **BYŠ** (7.34), 83H (**Pl. 31, 355**)[123]

6.C.5.14 *amara allāh b. al-wafā* (‘God commands with justice’)

This legend is found on rare issues of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān from Basra (7.27 **BCLA**) dated 83H and Kirmān (7.58.1 **KLMAN**) dated 84H.[124]

ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān **BCLA** (7.27), 83H (**Pl. 18, 207**)

6.D. *Reverse right field*

The standard legend to the right of the right attendant on the reverse of Arab-Sasanian drachms is the mint signature, generally in Pahlavi letters, occasionally Arabic, with the abbreviations designating mint places. These are considered in detail in Chapter 7. Mint abbreviations are listed and illustrated in Part IV, Table 6.

[119] Miles 1960, p. 93 notes both readings are possible; *SICA* 1, p. 33 adopts the former reading. Gaube 1973, p. 35, type 2.2.3.6.7, reads *qūwatu yazīda bi-llāh*.

[120] Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 25. Illustrated in Chapter 9, 28, p. 285, fig. 9.28.3.

[121] Gholami and Amini 2017; cf. Amini 2015. Discussed and illustrated in Chapter 9, 62, p. 336, fig. 9.62.6.

[122] Gaube 1973, p. 36, type 2.2.3.6.13.

[123] The margin is clipped so *mansūr* may have been in the third quarter. Gaube 1973, p. 36, table 2.2.3.6.11 refers to coins dated 82H (and 83H?) with *mansūr*.

[124] *SICA* 1, p. 34, Gaube, p. 34, type 2.2.3.6.2, who noted the legend as *amara allāhu bi’l-wafā*, with a plausible translation as ‘God rules with loyalty’. The first word can be written as *amr*.

6.E *Reverse left field*

The standard legend to the left of the left attendant on the reverse of Arab-Sasanian drachms is the date written in Pahlavi, albeit there are exceptions where Arabic legends are found in their stead. Dates are considered in Chapter 8. Date legends are listed and illustrated in Part IV, Table 7.

6.F *Reverse either side of altar*

There is no legend either side of the altar flames where a star and crescent are usually found. However, on some drachms letters in Pahlavi are found to the left or right (and sometimes both sides) of the altar shaft. These are usually a reference to a mint place when read alongside the mint signature in the usual place.

6.F.1 Letter **g** left or right of altar shaft

Some drachms of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, with the mint signature **DA-G** (7.37.1) and dated 54 to 57H, have the letters **DA** in the usual place. These denote the Dārābgerd district (*kūra*) of Fārs. The Pahlavi letter **G** (**g**) is found beside the altar shaft, either to the right or to the left. It probably represents Jahrōm in that district.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr	54H with **G** right (**Pl. 40, 462**) and **G** left (**Pl. 40, 467**) 56H with **G** right (**Pl. 40, 470**) and **G** left (**Pl. 40, 468**) 57H with **G** left (**Pl. 41, 471**)

6.F.2 Letters **gh** left of altar shaft

One rare drachm issue of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad with the mint signature **DA-GH** (7.37.3) and dated 70 YE (= 82H), has the letters **DA** in the usual place. These denote the Dārābgerd district. The Pahlavi letters **GH** (**gh**), to the left of the altar shaft, probably representing Jahrōm within that district.[125]

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad	70 YE (= 82H) **GH** left (**Pl. 41, 481**)

6.F.3 Letters **šw** (or **šn**) left and right of altar shaft

The Pahlavi letters **šw** (or **šn**) are found on both sides of the altar shaft on scarce drachms of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād from Dārābgerd, dated 48 to 50H. Album has interpreted these letters as ‘Shawshan’, of uncertain meaning, but suggests it may represent a geographical name.[126]

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād	**DA** (7.36), 48H (**Pl. 36, 419**), 49H (**Pl. 36, 423**), 50H (**Pl. 37, 424**)

6.F.4 Letter **p** left or right of altar shaft

A number of drachms of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf have a Pahlavi **P** (**p**) to the left or the right of the altar shaft. The letters **DA** are in the usual place to the right of the right attendant denoting the Dārābgerd district (*kūra*) of Fārs. These three letters form the mint signature **DA-P**. This probably denotes Fasā within that district. The **p** is usually placed to the left of the altar shaft, rarely to the right. Save where indicated all the examples in the catalogue have the letter to the left.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr	**DA-P** (7.38.1), 59 YE (**Pl. 43, 502**), 60 YE **p** left (**Pl. 43, 504**), **p** right (**Pl. 106, 1242**)
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān	**DA-P**, 60 YE (**Pl. 43, 505**), 65 YE (**Pl. 44, 507**)
al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf	**DA-P**, 71 YE (**Pl. 44, 510**)

6.G *Reverse margin*

The reverse marginal legends fall into three broad categories: 1. Those referring to a named person; 2. Those referring to a place; and, 3. Others.

[125] Mochiri 1987, p. 51 does not regard this as part of the mint signature, but the Pahlavi word **dyn** (*dēn*, ‘religion’).

[126] *SICA* 1, pl. 17, no. 249 (note to catalogue). This reading is uncertain.

6.G.1 Issues referring to a named person

6.G.1.1 *ʿabd*

ʿabd, in Arabic in the fourth quarter of the margin, occurs on anonymous issues in the name of Khusrau from Sīstān (**SK**) dated 88H.[127] Another issue (**SK** year 67, probably YE = 79H) has the word in the second quarter of the reverse margin.[128] Many Arabic names begin with ʿAbd. It refers to one who is subordinated as a slave or servant. It is generally followed by one of the 99 names of God. As the word is found here on its own, one can only speculate about who it may be intended to refer to.

Khusrau type	**SK** (7.87), 88H (**Pl. 92, 1077**)

6.G.1.2 *duriba al-barāʾ bin* / *qabīsa* ('Struck by al-Barāʾ b. / Qabīsa')

This legend is found in the first and second quarter reverse margin on a drachm issue in the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf from Jayy (**GD**) dated 76H. This is a reference to al-Barāʾ b. Qabīsa al-Thaqafī, who had been named as governor of Isfahān in 76H.[129]

6.G.1.3 **ygw** (or **dyn**) **yʾmʾn** (uncertain meaning)

This Pahlavi legend is of uncertain reading, meaning and significance. It is found on a drachm of Bishr b. Marwān from Kūfa (7.4 **AKWLA**) dated 74H in the third quarter of the reverse margin. The legend may be a reference to a person. The first word could be **dyn** (*dēn*), 'religion'. It has been suggested that it is a reference to al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf.[130]

6.G.2 *Issues referring to a place*

6.G.2.1 *Ambēro* (Anbīr)

This Bactrian word **αμβηρο** (*ambēro*, Amber) is found in the first quarter of the margin on a very rare coin in the name of Khusrau, year 25 (PYE? = 57H). It is also found in the same position on some Arab-Hephthalite issues of Salm b. Ziyād and Zhulād Gōzgān from Anbīr (**ANBYR**) and Marw (**MLW'**) in Khurāsān region from 62 to 69H. It is a reference to the town of Anbīr.

Khusrau type	**ANBYR** (7.6), 25 (PYE? = 57H) (**Pl. 2, 14**)
Salm b. Ziyād	**ANBYR**, 63H (**Pl. 2, 15**); **MLW'** (7.68), 62H (**Pl. 71, 829**), 64H (**Pl. 72, 844**), 65H (**Pl. 73, 852**), 67H (**Pl. 73, 858**), 68H (**Pl. 73, 860**)
Zhulād Gōzgān	**ANBYR**, 64H (or YE = 76H) (**Pl. 2, 16**), 65H (or YE = 77H) (**Pl. 2, 18**), 66H (or YE = 78H) (**Pl. 2, 21**); **MLW'**, 69H (or YE = 81H) (**Pl. 74, 867**)

There are a few rare varieties in the name of Zhulād Gōzgān with additional legends in the reverse margin.

Zhulād Gōzgān	**ANBYR**, 65H (**Pl. 2, 19** with Arabic *duriba* (*zarb*) [*a*]*nbyr* ('struck in Anbīr') in fourth quarter)

Drachms with **ANBYR** mint signature dated 66, 68 and 69H have extra marginal legends in Bactrian and Pahlavi: **αμβηρο** (*ambēro*) / **ʾpzwn** (*abzūn*) / **GDH** (*xvarrah*) / **γαριγο βαυο** (*garigo šauo*). The Pahlavi legend in the second and third quarters refers to increasing splendour. The Bactrian words in the fourth quarter mean 'king of Ghar' or 'king of the mountains'.

Zhulād Gōzgān	**ANBYR**, 66H (or YE = 78H) (**Pl. 3, 22**); 69H (or YE = 81H) (**Pl. 3, 24**) **ANBYR**, 68H (or YE = 80H) (**Pl. 3, 23**, position of Bactrian legends reversed: *garigo šauo* in first quarter, *ambēro* in fourth quarter.

[127] CNG auction 102 (18 May 2016), lot 1262 (88H).

[128] Album auction 25 (19 May 2016), lot 111.

[129] Eshragh 2010, p. 36, no. 159; *SICA* 1, p. 29; Gaube 1973, p. 52, type 2.3.3.3; Curiel 1967. This issue is discussed and illustrated in Chapter 9, 25, p. 279, fig. 9.25.2.

[130] Morton and Eden auction 48 (4 April 2011), lot 3 suggests the legend may be **y ywsfan** (Ibn Yūsuf). This is at best uncertain and is unlikely.

6.G.2.2 ʾ**n** (or ʾ**w**) (**AN**)

Pahlavi letters are occasionally added in the reverse margin of drachms of the **KLMAN** mints with fuller mint signatures (introduced in 58H), i.e. with extra letters after **KLMAN**. These extra letters usually denote a mint place, and this is particularly so where the letters in the margin are the same as those added as a suffix to **KLMAN** in the usual place for mint signatures. These two letters do not mirror the suffix after **KLMAN** in the mint signature but they may indicate a specific mint place. The letters are also found as a suffix on other issues as part of the mint signature **KLMAN-AN** (7.58.3).

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr **KLMAN-BNBN** (7.58.17), 63H (**Pl. 59, 692**) with ʾ**n** or ʾ**w** at 6:30h)

6.G.2.3 ʾ**n'** (or ʾ**w'**) (**AN'**)

These letters, the suffix of the mint signature, are also found at 6:30h in the third quarter reverse margin on one issue. They represent a specific mint place.

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-AN'** (7.58.4), 75H (**Pl. 57, 667**)

6.G.2.4 *duriba jizya bi-ʾl-jūzjān* / **ζολαδο γωζογανο** (‘Struck for tribute in al-Jūzjān / *zolado gōzogano*, Zhulād Gōzgān’)

This legend is found on a very rare issue of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab from Anbīr (7.6 **ANBYR**) dated 84H. It designates the mint place, al-Jūzjān, in Arabic and the local ruler in Bactrian, Zhulād Gōzgān.[131]

6.G.2.5 **knp** (?)

These three Pahlavi letters are found at 12:30h in the first quarter of the reverse margin on one rare issue. The first two letters can be variously read due to the ambiguity of the script. The letters probably denote a specific location.

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-SLČ'** (7.58.32), 74H (**Pl. 69, 812**)

6.G.2.6 *duriba al-mashriq* (‘Struck in the East’)

This legend occurs in the first, second or third quarter reverse margin on an anonymous Khusrau type drachm from Sīstān (7.87 **SK**) dated 53H.[132] An alternative translation, al-muharraq, has been suggested. This is the name of the northern most island in the Bahrain archipelago. This reading is doubtful. Reference to ‘the East’ is more likely on a coin struck for **SK** (for Sīstān) than a reference to Bahrain.[133] Another alternative interpretation is that al-Muharraq refers to ‘fine silver’ (i.e. ‘struck in fine silver’).[134] This too is unlikely.

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 53H (**Pl. 84, 983**, Q2; **Pl. 84, 982**, Q3)

6.G.2.7 **mlw** (?) (Marw)

This uncertain legend is found on the third quarter of the reverse margin of a very rare drachm in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (Marw, **MLW**, 63H). The reverse has an additional outer circle of pellets. This is a feature of issues in the name of Salm b. Ziyād for **MLW** when the Bactrian word for Anbīr (*ambēro*) is found between the third and fourth circles. Unfortunately part of the legend is obscured on this unique

[131] Walker 1952a, pp. 108–9 (Azizbeglou; now in BnF Paris, BN 1967.207). The issue is discussed and illustrated in Chapter 9, section 58, p. 329, fig. 9.58.2. For Hephthalite issues, see Chapter 14.

[132] Walker 1941, p. 23, no. I.11 (Q3); Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 17 (26 October 2010), lot 8 (Q1); See also obverse type 6.C.4.4 above.

[133] Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 16 (20 October 2009), lot 10 (reading of al-Muharraq).

[134] Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 17.

coin. The legend is not in Bactrian, but is more likely to be Pahlavi. If so, it is possible to read the letters **mlw** for Marw.[135] One awaits an example with the reverse legend in full.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim **MLW** (7.68), 63H (**Pl. 72, 839**)

6.G.2.8 **nʾl**

The suffix **nʾl** in the mint signature is repeated at 6:30h in the third quarter of the reverse margin on an issue of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad.[136] The letters denote a specific mint location, possibly Narmāshīr.

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-NAL** (7.58.23), 75H (**Pl. 65, 765**)

6.G.2.9 **nʾt**

One issue from **KLMAN-NAT** has the suffix **nʾt** in the mint signature repeated at 6:30h in the third quarter of the reverse margin. The letters denote a specific location in Kirmān region.

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-NAT** (7.58.24), 75H (**Pl. 67, 780**)

6.G.2.10 **šy** or **šyl**

These Pahlavi letters can be variously read as **šy** or **šyl**, albeit the latter seems more likely. They are found at 6:30h in the third quarter of the reverse margin on a few drachms of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad from mints in the Kirmān region dated 75H. They probably refer to a specific location, possibly Sirjān.

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-NAL** (7.58.23), 75H (**Pl. 65, 764**)
KLMAN-NAWGY (7.58.27), 75H (**Pl. 68, 795**)
KLMAN-SLC' (7.58.32), 75H (**Pl. 69, 813**)

6.G.3 *Others*

6.G.3.1 Uncertain letter(s)

Some drachms of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf from Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**) dated 77 to 79H have a word or letter at 12:30h in the first quarter of the reverse margin. Album read the letter as the Pahlavi **g**,[137] but a Pahlavi **n** is also possible. Alternatively the legend may be in Arabic, either the letter *alēf* (*a*), or more probably two letters: *b* or *y* followed by *alēf* (*a*) to make *bā* ('with') or *yā* ('o', as in calling to someone). Given the move to Arabic name legends for al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, the word is more likely to be Arabic.

al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf **ART** (7.14), 77H (**Pl. 9, 97**); 78H (**Pl. 9, 98**)[138]

6.G.3.2 **GDH** / **ʾpzwn'** ('May splendour increase')

This Pahlavi legend is found in the first and second quarters on a very rare issue from **ŠTWLSTAN** (*shahristān*, district), 67H. The name has been tentatively read as Tāʾī-i-Pilgūn. The same formula is found in the second quarter of the obverse margin.

Tāʾī-i-Pilgūn(?) **ŠTWLSTAN** (7.99) 67H (**Pl. 105, 1231**)

6.G.3.3 **gm**

A number of issues from within the Dārābgerd district have a monogram of what appears to be a ligature of the Pahlavi letters **g** and **m**.[139] These letters appear in various places in the margin of drachms of a number of officials. It is not known what **gm** represents but it is not a reference to a mint place.[140]

[135] See also Chapter 14, section 3.

[136] **KLMAN-NAL** is may represent Narmāshīr, Kirmān. **nʾl** is also at 6:30h in the obverse margin.

[137] *SICA* 1, pl. 3, no. 41.

[138] Also **ART**, 79H (Warden-Album collection).

[139] Another, less plausible, reading is **ʾp** (**AP**) for **ʾpd** (*afīd*, 'excellent'), Gaube 1973, p. 54, type 2.3.4.2.

[140] *SICA* 1, pp. 16–17, which describes a reading of **gm** as tentative. It is also found on the obverse margin on various issues, see obverse types 6.C.3.13 and 6.C.4.12 above, pp. 54, 67.

6.G.3.3.1 **gm** at 12:30h

Muʿāwiya	**DA** (7.36), 43 (**Pl. 35, 400**)
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād	**DA**, 43 (**Pl. 35, 404**), 45 YE (**Pl. 35, 407**); **DAP** (7.38.2), 43 (**Pl. 43, 498**)
Samura b. Jundab	**DAP**, 43 (**Pl. 42, 493**)
al-Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa	**DA**, 75H (**Pl. 39, 458**)

6.G.3.3.2 **gm** at 2:30h

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr	**DA**, 57H (**Pl. 38, 444**)

6.G.3.3.3 **gm** at 3:30h

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān	**DA**, 43 (**Pl. 33, 384**)

6.G.3.3.4 **gm** at 11:30h

Muʿāwiya	**DAP**, 43 (**Pl. 43, 497**)
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād	**DA**, 46H (**Pl. 35, 410**), 47H (**Pl. 36, 414**), 48H (**Pl. 36, 418**), 50H (**Pl. 37, 426**), 52H (**Pl. 37, 430**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr	**DA**, 53H (**Pl. 38, 438**), 57 (**Pl. 38, 443**) **DAP**, 54H (**Pl. 43, 499**), 56H (**Pl. 43, 501**)
Samura b. Jundab	**DAP**, 43 (**Pl. 42, 494**)

6.G.3.4 **lwbʾk** (*ravāg*, ‘Current’)

This word occurs in the second quarter of the reverse margin on a rare drachm issue of al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh. It is also occasionally found on copper issues.[141] This is a reference to the coin being current (i.e. acceptable).

al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh	**BCLA** (7.27), 65H (**Pl. 18, 200**)

6.G.3.5 **m** (uncertain meaning)

The Pahlavi letter **m** is occasionally found in the reverse margin of drachms. As already noted, this is more commonly found in the obverse margin.[142] The significance of the letter is unclear, albeit a reference to the epithet *mansūr* (‘victorious’) is possible.

6.G.3.5.1 **m** at 12:30h

Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa	**DA** (7.36), 75H (**Pl. 39, 457**), 76H (**Pl. 38, 459**)

6.G.3.5.2 **m** with pellet before at 2h

ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh	**ST** (7.89), 67H (**Pl. 102, 1199**)

6.G.3.5.3 **m** at 9:30h

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān	**DA**, 43 (**Pl. 33, 386**)

6.G.3.6 **nywk'** (probably *nēvak*, ‘Good’)

This Pahlavi word is found at 1h in the first quarter of the reverse margin on a rare drachm issue of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad (**KLMAN-BN**, 76H). The word is often found on drachms of the ʿAbbāsid governors of

[141] For example, **Pl. 125, 1506**, Gyselen 2009, types 124 and 126.

[142] Obverse types 6.C.3.10 and 6.C.3.15 above, pp. 54-5.

Tabaristān.[143] It may refer to an attribute of the issuer (i.e. ʿAtiyya) or the coinage itself (good coin as opposed to the other types issued by his enemies, the Umayyads also circulating at that time).

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-BN** (7.58.15), 76H (**Pl. 59, 685**)

6.G.3.7 **p** (uncertain significance)

The Pahlavi letter **p** is found in various places in the margins of drachms in the names of a number of different officials. Most are from mints within Dārābgerd district. It is rarely present on drachms from outside that district. It is unlikely to denote a specific mint place, but might be a reference to the epithet **pylwč** ('victorious'), but for now its meaning should be regarded as uncertain.

6.G.3.7.1 **p** at 1h

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād **DŠ** (7.41), 60H (**Pl. 46, 532**)

6.G.3.7.2 **p** at 2h

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād **DŠ**, 59H (**Pl. 46, 530**)

6.G.3.7.3 **p** at 2:30h

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān **DAP** (7.38), 43 (**Pl. 42, 492**)

6.G.3.7.4 **p** at 3:30h

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān **DA** (7.36), 43 (**Pl. 33, 383**)

6.G.3.7.5 **p** at 11h

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād **DA**, 51YE (**Pl. 37, 428**)

6.G.3.7.6 **p** at 11:30h

Samara b. Jundab **DAP**, 43 (**Pl. 43,496**)
ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad **KLMAN-HPYC** (7.58.21), 73H (**Pl. 62, 722**)

6.G.3.8 *salīm* ('Free of defect')

This Arabic word is found in the fourth quarter reverse margin on the rare issue of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (al-Mujāshiʿī) (Sīstān (**SK**), 80H). Album considers it to be a proper name, Salīm, possibly a local mint master.[144] It could also refer to an attribute, either of the issuer or of the coin itself.[145]

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (al-Mujāshiʿī) **SK** (7.87), 80H (**Pl. 88, 1031**)

6.G.3.9 **wlt** (uncertain)

This legend is found in the second quarter reverse margin on one rare issue.

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 48H (**Pl. 84, 981**)

6.G.3.10 *duriba al-dhar lillāh* (possibly 'Struck in al-Dhar for God')

This Arabic legend is found in the second and third quarters of a Khusrau type drachm from Sīstān (7.87 **SK**).[146]

[143] Malek 2004, pp. 43–4.

[144] *SICA* 1, p. 31.

[145] Sears and Malek 2006 for a fuller discussion.

[146] Gaube 1973, p. 52, type 2.3.3.2 read the legend as *darbu ʾd-duhri* / *lillāh.*

6.G.3.11 *jayyid* (‘Good’)

This legend is found on several different quarters of the margin on different issues. Gaube noted it on a Khusrau type drachm from Sīstān (**SK**) with an illegible date in the second quarter reverse margin.[147] Subsequently examples have come been seen with a clear date of 87H.[148] It also appears on a rare Khusrau type drachm dated 88H in the fourth quarter of the reverse margin. It appears on the first quarter of the reverse margin on a Yazdgard type drachm with no obverse marginal legend. This coin is dated year 20 (YE = 31H), which may be a frozen date, with the mint signature **ML** (or **MY**).[149] *Jayyid* is more commonly found on the obverse margin.[150]

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 88H (**Pl. 92, 1079**, Q4)

6.G.3.12 *mansūr* (‘Victorious’)

This is probably not a proper name, but the epithet ‘victorious’. Gaube noted the Arabic word *mansūr* in the first quarter of the reverse margin of a drachm in the name of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad from Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) dated 81H.[151] It is also found on a drachm in his name from Istakhr (**ST**, 83H) which has **mnswl** in Pahlavi on the obverse margin as well. ‘Mansūr’ in Pahlavi is also occasionally found on the obverse margin of drachms of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf.[152]

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad
ST (7.89) 83H (**Pl. 104, 1215**, **mnswl** in Pahlavi in Q3 of the obverse and *mansūr* in Arabic in Q1 on the reverse)

6.G.3.13 *baraka* (‘Benediction’)[153]

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 89H (**Pl. 92, 1080**, in Q4)

6.G.3.14 *barakat lillāh* (‘Benediction for Allāh’)

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 89H (**Pl. 92, 1082**, in Q4)

6.G.3.15 *barakat lillāh* / *jayyid* (‘Benediction for Allāh / good’)

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 89H (**Pl. 93, 1083**, in Q4 and Q3)

6.G.3.16 *barakat min allāh* / *jayyid* (‘Benediction for Allāh / good’)

This legend is found in the fourth and third quarter margin of an anonymous Khusrau type drachm from Sīstān (**SK**) dated 89H.[154]

6.G.3.17 *ʿawn allāh* (‘Allāh’s help’)

Khusrau type **SK** (7.87), 89H (**Pl. 93, 1084**, in Q4)

6.G.3.18 *al-haqq* (‘The truth’)

This occus in the fourth quarter margin of an anonymous Khusrau type drachm from Sīstān (**SK**) dated 89H; *al-haqq* is one of the names of God.[155]

[147] Gaube 1973, p. 52, type 2.3.3.1.

[148] Morton and Eden auction 82 (20 October 2016), lot 4.

[149] Al-Mamoun collection.

[150] Obverse type 6.C.1.1 above, pp. 47-8.

[151] Gaube 1973, p. 52, type 2.3.3.4.

[152] Obverse type 6.C.3.48 above, p. 63.

[153] *Baraka* is sometimes found on the obverse margin: see obverse type 6.C.1.10 above, p. 50.

[154] Morton and Eden auction 89 (25 October 2017), lot 5 (word in Q3 reverse read as *khays* rather than *jayyid*).

[155] Stephen Album Rare Coins auction 29 (14 September 2017), lot 81.

6.H *Reverse special issues*

There are a number of special issues with reverses which fall outside the usual pattern. These are briefly summarised here.

6.H.1 Standing Caliph, dated 75H

This coin is considered elsewhere with references.[156] The obverse has a Khusrau type bust and the date 75H in Arabic. On the reverse is a standing caliph with the Arabic legend of *amīr al-muʿminīn* (‘Commander of the Believers’) to the left and *khal*[*i*]*fat allāh* (‘Caliph of God’) to the right. There is no mint name but it was probably struck in Damascus. This is the earliest known written record of the title *khalifa* (‘caliph’).

6.H.2 *mihrāb* reverse, undated

This coin is considered elsewhere with references.[157] There is a portrait on the obverse of what may well be the caliph himself in military garb. On the reverse is an arch on pillars, within which is a spear. The arch has been identified by some as a *mihrāb*. The legend to the left of the arch is the Arabic legend *amīr al-muʿminīn* (‘Commander of the Believers’) and to the right *khal*[*i*]*fat allāh* (‘Caliph of God’).

6.H.3 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿĀmir) with five-line reverse legend

This coin from Sīstān (**SK**) dated 72H is considered elsewhere. Instead of the usual fire altar with attendants reverse is a five-line Pahlavi legend.[158]

6.I *Altered and added legends*

6.I.1 *Removed legends*

Occasionally letters or words are removed from the obverse margin of Arab-Sasanian coins. The removal may either be the result of altering the die before the striking process or the erasure of the legend from the struck coin. Thus sometimes one finds that *bism allāh* (‘in the name of God’) has been erased from the coin, presumably by an opponent of the Arabs or Islam. In the Johnson collection there are 10 drachms with words removed from the obverse margins (Catalogue nos 691, 710, 712, 803A, 835, 847, 877, 883, 922, 1112).

6.I.2 *Graffiti*

Drachms with additional words scratched or added in black ink on the obverse or more often reverse margin are also scarce. Such features are often not noted by cataloguers or, in the case of ink, are removed by the cleaning process in modern times. These graffiti usually refer to an attribute of the coin to show that it is good or acceptable currency, or it is a number.[159] Examples of scratched graffiti on Arab-Sasanian drachms in the American Numismatic Society have been published. Five such coins have been noted in that collection:[160]

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān,	**WYHC** (7.110.1), 50H with unclear graffiti in obverse Q4 (ANS.1979.130.1)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr,	**DA** (7.36), 53H with Pahlavi numeral 11 in obverse Q1 (ANS.1971.316.1362)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr,	**DAP** (7.38), 53H with **bl** (*bar*, ‘profit’ or ‘fruit’) or Pahlavi numeral 21 in obverse Q4 (ANS.1971.316.1393)

[156] Chapter 9, section 62. Anonymous p. 336, fig. 9.62.5.

[157] Chapter 9, section 32. Khusrau, type 30, pp. 297-8, fig. 9.32.27.

[158] Chapter 9, section 10. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh, p. 263, fig. 9.10.2.

[159] See Nikitin 1993 for examples of graffiti on Sasanian coins.

[160] Daryaee 2017, pp. 267–8.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr,	**DA** (7.36), 54H with drawing in Q1 obverse and unclear graffiti in Q2 reverse (ANS.1971.316.1367)
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān,	**DA-GH** (7.37.3), 63H with **ZWZN** (‘drachm’) in obverse Q1 (ANS.1971.316.1395)

In the Johnson collection there are nine drachms with graffiti in the margins (Catalogue nos 121, 290, 298, 363, 564, 801, 1000, 1002, 1215).

6.I.3 *Altered legends*

Legends may be recut on the die, either to correct an error or to add additional wording, or to alter the date or mint signature.

CHAPTER 7

MINTS

Introduction

Mint signatures are almost always found on Arab-Sasanian silver drachms and are generally to the right on the reverse. One notable exception is the coins with **ʾpzwt-k** (*abzūd-k*) to the right in place of a mint signature. Generally, the signatures are in Pahlavi script and are abbreviated leaving the numismatist the sometimes difficult task of attributing the signature to a mint place. The rare coins where the mint place is written in the full, in the Kufic form of Arabic, pose no such difficulty (e.g. *Dimashq* for Damascus). Mint signatures, including those with the name of the mint place in full, are found to a much lesser degree on copper coins, with many copper coins having no mint signature.

Mint attribution is one of the most controversial aspects in the study of Arab-Sasanian type coinage. This chapter is divided into four parts as follows:

7.A. Attribution of mint signatures 79
7.B. Geographical spread of mints by province and region 83
7.C. Mint production 86
7.D. Specific mint signatures 87

7.A. ATTRIBUTION OF MINT SIGNATURES

Mint signatures have so often been incorrectly read and attributed in catalogues (dealers' lists, auction catalogues, catalogues of collections) that, unless the coin is fully illustrated, one cannot be confident of an attribution. Numismatists have not been able to agree on a significant number of attributions and others have had difficulty in deciphering the Pahlavi script, which can be ambiguous.

By working with the historical sources, which often state the periods and places of office for various governors and other officials, it is possible in most cases suggest a fairly certain mint place attribution. Nevertheless, as noted below, various uncertainties remain.

The various elements to be taken into account in determining the location to be attributed to a specific mint signature include[1]:

7.A.1. *Seal evidence*

Some administrative seals have an abbreviated name as well as the location written out in full which allows the identification of some mint signatures. This is not necessarily conclusive as some abbreviations (e.g. **WYHC**) may, over time, have been used for more than locality.

The following Sasanian bullae, which have been stamped with administrative seals, have abbreviations for places in the centre in the same form as that found on Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins and the full name around.

[1] Tyler-Smith 2017, pp. 11–15, for a discussion of methods of identification.

Fig. 7.1. Drawing of seal impression on bulla with Pahlavi legend **ʾrt** (**ART**) in centre surrounded by **ʾrthštl GDH ʾndlhpt** (‘Ardashīr-Khurra, counsellor’)
(Qasr-ī Abū Nasr excavations; Frye 1973, D.219; copyright President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Fig. 7.2. Impression from seal with Pahlavi legend **ʾylʾn** (**AYLAN**) in centre surrounded by **ʾylʾn ʾsʾn kl kwʾty ʾwstʾndʾl** (‘Ērān, *ōstāndār* of Ērān-āsān-kar-Kavād’)
(Saeedi Collection; Gyselen 2007b, p. 92, no. 00.3)

Fig. 7.3. Drawing of seal impression on bulla with Pahlavi legend **byš** (**BYŠ**) in centre surrounded by **byšhpwhl' štl** (‘Bīshāpūr, city’)
(Qasr-i Abū Nasr excavations, Frye 1973, D. 216;
copyright President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Fig. 7.4. Seal impression on bulla and drawing with Pahlavi legend **dʾ** (**DA**) in centre surrounded by **dʾlʾp**[**k**]**lt**(**y**?) [**ʾw**]**stʾndʾl** (‘**DA**, *ōstāndār* of Dārābgerd’)
(Gyselen 2002, p. 70, fig. 40, Saeedi collection) (Detail 1x)

Fig. 7.5. Bulla with seal impression with Pahlavi legend **hl** (**HL**) in centre surrounded by **hlydy ʾwstʾndʾr** (‘**HL**, *ōstāndār* of Herāt’)
(Gyselen 2002, p. 70, fig. 42, Saeedi collection)

Fig. 7.6. Bulla with seal impression and drawing with Pahlavi legend **ld** (**LD**) in centre surrounded by **ldnswbʾl** (‘*naxwār* of Rayy’)[2]
(Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, BN 1966.365.27, ex Ghirshmann;
Gignoux 1978, p. 100, pl. 49, no. 10.3a; Gyselen 2004, p. 33, fig. 1)

7.A.2. *Hoard and excavation coins*

Hoard evidence is often difficult to interpret as Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins circulated widely. Some hoards and excavation coins can be illuminating such as the hoard of Khusrau II drachms supposedly found in western Persia but probably in the area of Bīshāpūr,[3] almost solely comprised of coins of **BYŠ** (7.34), and the copper Arab-Sasanian coins with **ST** (7.89) found in Istakhr.[4]

7.A.3. *Style*

There are certain patterns of style. If coins with an unidentified mint signature are similar in style to those of a known mint signature, this may suggest the coins come from the same locality. An example is **TART** (7.103) (for Tawwaj), where coins follow closely to the style of those of **ART** (7.14), the signature for Ardashīr-Khurra in Fārs.

7.A.4. *Combinations*

A significant number of signatures are found on their own in, as well as being a suffix or prefix to the mint name **KLMAN** (7.58), thus confirming that those signatures are in located in the region of Kirmān, such as **BN** (7.30), **GLM** (7.45) and **GY** (7.50).

[2] *naxwār* was an official title of a person in the first rung in the social order, possibly a senior military official for the relevant province.

[3] Szaivert 1978. This was a hoard group of 174 drachms (all but one with 7.34 **BYŠ** mint signature) which reached the European market in around 1971.

[4] Miles 1959, pp. 28–37, nos 135–150.

7.A.5. *Officials named*

It is often possible to ascertain from both the historical and numismatic material that certain officials only had power over, or struck coins in, specific areas. Thus it would appear that the control of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd and al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs was confined to Kirmān. Coins with their names should therefore be located in the Kirmān region (e.g. 7.7 **ANWAT**).

7.A.6. *Dates and periods known*

Many of the signatures are known for the Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins. This may provide a useful indication as many cities were founded or re-founded by specific Sasanian kings. The historical sources are particularly useful in this regard.

7.A.7. *Examples with names in full*

During the Sasanian period some issues, in particular those of Vahrān IV and Yazdgard I, have the name written in full as well as the abbreviation (e.g. 7.36 **DA** and **DALAPKR** for Dārābgerd).

If the same signatures are found on Sasanian coins as well as on Arab-Sasanian this may help with their identification. One must be aware that any particular signature does not necessarily represent the same place throughout the time Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins were struck.[5]

In the review of the mint signatures below, examples are given of particular date / mint signature combinations from the major published sources and catalogues as well as the American Numismatic Society,[6] British Museum[7] and Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.[8] The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford's collection, along with the Shamma collection are listed in *SICA* 1.[9] Where a type is only known from an example in the trade or a private collection, this is noted, such as from the important Warden-Album collection (since incorporated into another collection in Qatar).[10] The dates noted are the years inscribed on the coins, which may either be Hijrī (H), Yazdgard era (YE) or post-Yazdgard era (PYE). In the catalogue the date, the era and Hijrī equivalents are given. Readings of signatures which are different from those followed here are noted against the individual references. Where a reading in a catalogue is not confirmed by way of an illustration this is noted. Unless otherwise indicated, the examples noted are silver drachms. This is not intended to be completely exhaustive list of specimens known, but illustrative of the main mint / date combinations. Further varieties continue to appear on the market from time to time. Doubtful readings on examples which have not been illustrated in the literature have in general been excluded, as well as coins which are considered modern forgeries.

The existence of coins of identified mints may assist in piecing together the history of the period, including the dates on which cities or areas were conquered by the Arabs. This is particularly significant as the literary sources are often confused and contradictory about the process and timings of the conquest. Some towns were fought over several times and revolts occurred from time to time, so it is perhaps not surprising that there is some confusion about when specific towns were definitively conquered. Even when a date is given in a literary source for the conquest of a town, it may not be clear whether this is an initial incursion or final conquest. Coins are unlikely to have been struck for a particular location before it had been subdued and the administration had been taken over by the conquerors.

[5] For an analysis of the various mint signatures and their attribution see, Sears 1997. Various mint signatures are considered in the work of Mochiri.

[6] As found on the MANTIS database available online from the ANS website. Only those illustrated on the website have been referred to. The collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France Paris, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna are being published separately by Gyselen in *SNS* 6.

[7] Where a coin has been published in Walker 1941 that reference is given. The collection was substantially expanded, particularly in the 1970s to 1990s. Coins not in Walker are referred to by the accession number. The coins published in Walker with the reference RB (Sir Richard Burn) are now in the British Museum.

[8] Walker 1941, published a number of coins from the collection with the prefix Cam. The collection is now available online at the Museum's website.

[9] Walker 1941, published coins from the Ashmolean Museum with the prefix Ox. The Shamma collection has been transferred to the Qatar National Museum since its publication in 2002.

[10] This also includes the Georges Lofti, Eshragh (Eshragh 2010) and Weber (Weber 2013) collections.

The mint signatures are set out in Part IV, Table 6 and the numbering follows that table.[11] The sheer quantity of signatures is striking. Although some may represent the same place, drachms must have been struck in a large number of places, particularly within Fārs.[12] A significant number of mints must have also existed in the region of Kirmān.

It has been difficult to decide whether to list mint signatures by administrative region (such as those governed from Kūfa or Basra), province (such as Sīstān) or district (such as Dārābgerd), or simply to list them alphabetically. The problem with the former approaches is that ease of reference may be lost. There is also the problem that the attribution of quite a number of mint signatures is uncertain or controversial. In this chapter and the catalogue itself mint signatures are listed alphabetically for ease of reference. The exact Pahlavi inscriptions are transcribed in Table 6 for ease of identification.[13] When an attribution is suggested a view is expressed as to how confident one can be about it. For some mint signatures the attribution is certain. For others the attributions are possibilities (less than 50% certainty), likely (50% or more), or probable (more than 60%). The degree of certainty is generally an expression of opinion and judgment. One of the problems with mint attributions in Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian numismatics is that a writer may put forward an attribution as a possibility with suitable caveats, only for later writers to treat the suggested attribution as a proven fact.

7.B. GEOGRAPHIC SPREAD OF MINTS[14]

It is important to bear in mind the geographical spread and groupings of individual mint signatures. The administrative divisions in the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods are a complex and controversial subject. For example, Fārs and Kirmān can be described either as provinces or regions.[15] Whichever term is adopted, Fārs itself was divided into five administrative districts (*shahr* in Pahlavi and *kūra* in Arabic) which in turn were further sub-divided. Apart from **SK** (7.87) for Sīstān, in general mint signatures refer to specific towns or districts rather than the provinces themselves. Exceptions to this are **KLMAN** / **KLMAN'** (7.58) for Kirmān and the rarely encountered **HWLASAN** (7.55) for Khurāsān. For Dārābgerd, which was one of the five districts (*kūra*) of Fārs, there are signatures which represent Dārābgerd (town or district itself) as well as specific towns in that district (such as Jahrōm and Fasā). The following is a list of the mint signatures by region or province. The number next to each signature is the number assigned to the signature in Part D of this Chapter and Part IV, Table 6.

7.B.A. Iraq (Surestān)

7.4 **AKWLA**: Kūfa
7.27 **BCLA**: Basra
7.41 **DŠ**: Dasht-i Maysān (possibly)
7.42 **DŠT**, **DŠT'**: Dasht-i Maysān (possibly)
7.65A *Madā'in*: Madā'in
7.70 **MY**: Maysān (probably)
7.106 **TSPWN'**: Ctesiphon (Tisfūn)
7.109 **WYH**: Uncertain location (probably within Iraq, possibly Weh Kavād)
7.110 **WYHC**: within Ctesiphon administrative area (probably Weh-az-Andīyōk-Khusrau for earlier issues up to 50H)

[11] Pages 706 below.

[12] It is difficult to be definitive about the number of mints, but well over 80 places would have struck coins. Obviously not all mints struck coins at the same time and some for only no more than a few years.

[13] Part IV, Table 6, p. 706.

[14] For locations see Maps, pp. xlix–li. Pahlavi mints in bold, Arabic names in italics.

[15] Gyselen prefers to use the term 'region' for the main division (e.g. Fārs and Kirmān) and 'province' for the sub-division (denoted by the concept of *shahr* under the Sasanians and *kūra* in the early Islamic period, e.g. Dārābgerd in Fārs or Garm-Kirmān). She divides provinces into 'cantons'.

7.B.B. Bilād al-Sha'm (greater Syria)

7.39 *Dimashq*: Damascus
7.52 *Hims*: Hims (Homs)

7.B.C. Khūzistān

7.16 **AW**: Ahwāz (probably)
7.19 **AY**: Ērān-Khurra-Shāpūr (probably)
7.61 **LAM**: Rām-Hormizd (probably)
7.100 **ŠWŠ**: Susa (copper issues only)

7.B.D. Fārs

7.14 **ART**: Ardashīr-Khurra
7.12 **Ardaxšīr**: Ardashīr-Khurra (copper issues only)
7.13 **Ardaxšīr-Xvarrah**: Ardashīr-Khurra (copper issues only)
7.34 **BYŠ**: Bīshāpūr
7.36 **DA**: Dārābgerd
7.37 **DA(G)**, **DA(GH)**, **DA-GH**, **DA-GALWM** (Jahrōm)
7.38 **DA-P**, **DAP**, **DP**: Fasā (probably)
7.49 **GWBL**: Gūr (copper issues only)
7.56 **KACLWN**: Kāzerūn (copper issues only)
7.59 **KWAT**: Kavād-Khurra
7.60 **KWAT-GDH**: Kavād-Khurra (copper issues only)
7.65 **LYW**: Rēv-Ardashīr (probably)
7.80 **PNŠ**: uncertain location within Fārs (copper issues only)
7.86A *Sābūr*: Bīshāpūr
7.89 **ST**: Istakhr
7.90 **STHL**: Istakhr (copper issues only)
7.101 **ŠY**: Shīrāz (probably)
7.103 **TART**: Tawwaj (probably)
7.104 **TNBK'**: unknown location within Fārs (copper issues only)
7.110 **WYHC**: Arrajān (probably for issues in 60s/70sH)
7.113 **YHLWN**: Jahrōm (copper issues only)
7.114 **YZ**: Yazd (probably)
7.115 **YZD**: Yazd (probably)

7.B.E. Media / Jibāl

7.2 **AHM**: Hamadān
7.3 **AHMTAN**: Hamadān
7.22 **AYLAN**: Hulwān (probably)
7.44 **GD**: Jayy
7.63 **LD**: Rayy

7.B.F. Kirmān

7.5 **ANAT**: unknown location
7.7 **ANWAT**: uncertain location
7.30 **BN**: uncertain location
7.45 **GLM**: Garmsīr

7.46 **GLM-KLMAN**: Garmsīr
7.50 **GY**: Jīroft
7.53 **HPYC**: Khabīs
7.58.1–2 **KLMAN** / **KLMAN'**: Kirmān (region)
7.58.3–34 **KLMAN** plus suffix: there are a large number of signatures with **KLMAN**, plus a suffix, these are from specific places (mostly unidentified) within the region
7.72 **NAL**: Narmāshīr (possibly)
7.73 **NAWGY**: New Jīroft (possibly)
7.81 **PYL**: uncertain location
7.88 **SLCN** / **SLC'**: Sirjān (possibly)

7.B.G. Khurāsān

7.6 **ANBYR**: Anbīr
7.8 **APL**: Abarshahr (likely)
7.9 **APLŠ**: Abarshahr
7.10 **APLŠT**: Abarshahr
7.10A **APNWLAN**: Unknown location within north eastern Khurāsān
7.23 **AYPTAK**: Itāk (possibly, but in any event within Khurāsān)
7.26 **BBA**: Camp mint (possibly, but within Khurāsān in 60/70sH)
7.29 **BHL**: Balkh (probably)
7.54 **HLA**: Herāt
7.55 **HWLASAN**: Khurāsān (region)
7.67 **ML**: Marw (Merv)
7.68 **MLW** / **MLW'**: Marw (Merv)
7.69 **MLWLWT** / **MLWLWT'** / **MLWLW**: Marw al-Rūd (Merv-Rūd)
7.78 **PHLHAN**: uncertain location probably in northern Khurāsān
7.97 **SYZAPTAN**: unknown location in Khurāsān or Sīstān
7.98 **SYZSTN**: unknown location in Khurāsān or Sīstān
7.99 **ŠTWLSTAN**: Shahristān (probably in Khurāsān)

7.B.H. Sīstān

7.33 **BST**: Bust (found on margin on coins with **SK**)
7.87 **SK**: Sīstān region
7.97 **SYZSTAN**: unknown location in Sīstān or Khurāsān
7.98 **SYZSTN**: unknown location in Sīstān or Khurāsān
7.116 **ZARANJ**: Zaranj

7.B.I. Arachosia

7.55A **HYWKHL**: unknown location in Arachosia
7.62 **LAWT'**: Raxvad (probably)
7.64 **LHWT'**: Raxvad
7.117 **ZAWL**: Zābul
7.118 **ZAWLSTAN**: Zābulistān

7.B.J. There are a large number of mint signatures whose attribution is uncertain or controversial. These are best categorised as uncertain.

7.1 **ABZŪD-K**: possibly a place within Kirmān
7.17 **ANWN** (?)
7.18 **AWSYWN** (?)
7.20 **AY** or **ŠY** (?)
7.21 **AYL**: a significant output with various locations possible, possibly Ērān-Khurra-Shāpūr
7.24 **AYWL**
7.25 **BAB** (probably Bāb)
7.28 **BH**
7.31 **BPA**
7.32 **BŠ**: possibly Bīshāpūr in Fārs
7.35 **BYW**
7.40 **DL** (possibly Dārābgerd)
7.43 **GBL**
7.47 **GW**: possibly Gōymān in Jibāl
7.48 **GWAM**
7.51 **HBL**
7.66 **MAT**
7.71 **MYAP**
7.74 **NHL**: possibly Nahr Tīrā in Khūzistān
7.75 **NY**: possibly Nēhāvand in Media
7.76 **NYŠ** (possibly Nīshāpūr)
7.77 **NYW**
7.79 **PL**
7.86B **SAWT'**
7.91 **SYLY**
7.92 **SYC**
7.93 **SYW' / SYW**
7.94 **SYWKAN**
7.95 **SYWK'**
7.96 **SYWY**
7.99A **ŠW**: probably a place within Fārs
7.102 **ŠYYW**
7.107 **WH** (possibly Weh-Ardashīr in Iraq or Weh-Andīyōk-Shāpūr in Khūzistān)
7.108 **WSY**
7.112 **YARY**

7.C. MINT PRODUCTION

A large number of mints struck drachms, and to a lesser extent copper coins, during the early Islamic period up to 84H, and for Sīstān (7.87 **SK**) until the ʿAbbāsid period up to around 200H as indicated by the approximately 150 mint signatures found in Part IV, Table 6. There is some duplication within this figure as some mints may have used more than one mint signature. Not all the mints were striking coins concurrently. Some mints struck coins for very short periods, some signatures being known for one year only, such as a number of mints within the Kirmān region.

Some officials had drachms struck in their name at a large number of different mints, in particular Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and his son ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. The rival caliph, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, struck at a

number of mints within the Kirmān and Fārs regions. Others are known for a large number of mints within a specific region or province, such as ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad in Kirmān. This suggests the need for coins at specific times, which was met locally, though the central administration is reflected in the standardisation of the drachm coinage.

It is likely that over half the coins produced were from mints within Fārs.[16] This is not a consistent pattern. At certain periods or years coins from other regions would have reduced this proportion significantly.

Certain mints were prolific, judging by the surviving examples. In particular large number of drachms are known for Basra (7.27 **BCLA**) in Southern Iraq; Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**), Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**), Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA**) and Istakhr (7.89 **ST**) in Fārs; and to a lesser extent Marw (7.68 **MLW**) in Khurāsān. Even within the main mints production was intermittent and output varied significantly. For example, production appears to have been particularly high at Basra (7.27 **BCLA**) under ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād from 56 to 63H. Other officials' outputs at Basra for particular years, such as 75H for Bishr b. Marwān and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, must have been relatively low.

During the late Sasanian period, certainly from the fifth century AD onwards, dies were generally cut centrally and then distributed to individual mints. This ensured they were in general of a standard design and style. There were exceptions. For example, under Khusrau II drachms with **BBA** (7.26) mint signature (representing the Court or itinerant mint) have a distinctive style. Those with **SK** (Sīstān) mint signature had a very distinctive and crude style which was particularly pronounced, and consistent with local die production, under Bōrān (629/30–631) and Yazdgard III (632–51).

It is different for Arab-Sasanian coins. There was an element of central production of dies, particularly for the anonymous Khusrau and Yazdgard drachm issues dated years 20 to 50 struck in both Yazdgard (YE) as well as Hijrī eras but otherwise Arab-Sasanian coin dies were not cut centrally. First, copper coins were local issues with varying designs and even weight standards, from region to region, perhaps from province to province. Second, for much of the period during which these coins were struck (*c*.31–86H in the main), the Umayyads lacked control over large parts of the former Sasanian lands in the East. The Umayyads and their rivals are unlikely to have had dies sent to them from the same place at the same time. Third, local styles are particularly pronounced for specific regions. Coins of the numerous Kirmān mints tend to have their own style suggesting all the dies may have been cut in the same place. Dies from Khurāsān also seem to have been cut locally judging by their styles. Throughout the series coins with the **SK** (7.87) mint signature (Sīstān) look very different from the rest of the series, often with a cruder style, lower and inconsistent weights and, over time, with a lower silver content. Fourth, even within regions there is evidence of local production of dies in specific provinces or *shahrestāns*. For example coins from the Dārābgerd mints (**DA**, **DAP**, **DA-G**, **DA-GHH**, **DA-GAWLM**) are very distinctive. They have the same obverse marginal pattern of ∴ either side of the ⌣ at 6h and the dies appear to have been produced locally, and in the same workshop. The year 43 (frozen date) issues are illustrative of this.

7.D. SPECIFIC MINT SIGNATURES[17]

In this chapter Q1, Q2, Q3 and Q4 refer to the four quarters of the margin.

Each heading is in the form: mint signature number; usual mint transcription; transliteration; identification; alternative transcriptions.

Order within each mint: coins are listed in date order where the era is known; where the date era is not known or the date is spurious then the coin is listed simply in order of the date on the coin; the equivalent Hijrī date is given where necessary: then within each date the order is of the various names.

[16] This is based on major museum collections such as the British Museum and American Numismatic Society.

[17] In addition to the mint signatures listed here, there are a few more which are not decipherable due to incompletely preserved or struck legends.

LIST OF WORKS CITED FOR PUBLISHED REFERENCES TO COINS
(for all other works see Bibliography, pp. 727–41)

Album auction = Stephen Album Rare Coins, Santa Rosa, CA, auction sale number (date), lot number
Album fixed price list = Stephen Album, Santa Rosa, CA, number of list (date)
Album 1992 = S. Album, 'An Arab-Sasanian dirhem hoard from the year 72 Hijri', *Studia Iranica* 21, pp. 161–95 (where a coin is not illustrated the page reference is given)
Al-Mamoun collection (private collection)
Al-Qazzaz 1973 = W. al-Qazzaz, 'The Islamic Sassanid dirhams of al-Hajjaj Ibn Yousif Ath-Thaqafi in the Iraq Museum', *al-Maskukat* 4, pp. 18–23
Al-Qazzaz 1975 = W. al-Qazzaz, 'Dirhem umawi 'ala tiraz sasani li'l-Rabi' b. Ziyād al-Harithi fi'l-Mathaf al-'Iraqi', *al-Maskukat* 6, pp. 38–40
Amini 2008 = A. Amini, *Tārikh va sekkeh dar pāyām imperātoori sāsāni* (*History and Coin at the End of Sasanian Empire*) (Tehran)
Amini 2015 = A. Amini, *Moarefi sekkehaye vijeh bā tarāz arab-sāsāni* (*A New Arab-Sasanid Coin*) (Tehran)
Amini 2016 = A. Amini, *Sekkeha ye irān dar muzeh markazi ostān quds razavi pish az islam* (*Pre-Islamic Coins in the Astan Razavi Museum*) (Mashhad)
Amini and Dashkov 2013 = A. Amini and S. Dashkov, *Sekkehaye doorehye fetrat: doorehye gozār az sāsāni be islāmi* (*A Special Coin in the Transition Period from Sasanid to Islamic*) (Yazd, SH 1391)
ANS = American Numismatic Society (New York) collection, followed by an accession number and sometimes by the source of the coin, e.g. ANS.1917.215.3351 (ex E.T. Newell)
Ashmolean = Ashmolean Museum collection, published in *SICA* 1
Astan Quds Razavi Museum = museum in Mashhad, Iran
Azizbeglou = Azizbeglou (Tehran) collection (since dispersed in trade)
Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction = Baldwin's (London) auction sale number (date), lot number
Baldwin's of St James's auction = Baldwin's of St James's (London) auction sale number (date), lot number
Balog 1950 = P. Balog, 'An Arab-Sasanian dirhem with Kufic inscriptions', *Numismatic Circular* 58/8–9, pp. 435–6
Bates 1986 = M.L. Bates, 'History, geography and numismatics in the first century of Islamic coinage', *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 64, pp. 231–62
British Museum = British Museum (London) collection, followed by accession number, e.g. 1982, 0524.20. All coins in the collection in 1941 were published in Walker (see below)
CNG auction = Classical Numismatic Group (Lancaster PA / London) printed auction sale number, (date), lot number; and electronic (e) auctions
Damascus = M. al-'Ush, *The Silver Hoard of Damascus* (Damascus, 1972)
ENIS II = M.I. Mochiri, *Etude de numismatique iranienne sous les Sassanides et Arabe-Sassanides* (Tehran), vol. 2 revised (Leiden, 1983); followed by the collection from which the coin came
Eshragh = A. Shams-Eshragh, *Silver Coinage of the Caliphs* (Isfahān and London, 2010)
Fitzwilliam Museum = Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge), followed by accession number, e.g. CM.IS.14-R
Gaube = H. Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik* (Brunswick, 1973), plate and coin number followed by source of coin, e.g. pl. 2, no. 23 (Lindpaintner)
Gholami and Amini 2017 = K. Gholami and A. Amini, 'Some remarks on the inscription and attribution of a transitional Arab-Sasanian dirham from Merv', (publication forthcoming)
Guillou = A. Guillou, *Les monnayages Pehlevi-Arabes* (Paris, 1953)
Gyselen = R. Gyselen, *Arab-Sasanian Copper Coinage* (2nd ed., Vienna, 2009), followed by type number
Gyselen and Nègre 1982 = R. Gyselen and A. Nègre, 'Un trésor de Gazīra (Haute Mésopotamie): monnaies d'argent Sasanides et Islamiques enfouies au début du IIIe siècle de l'Hégire/IXe siècle de notre ère', *Revue Numismatique*6 24, pp. 170–205
Ilisch 2007 = L. Ilisch, 'The Muhammad-drachms and their relation to Umayyad Syria and Northern Mesopotamia', Supplement to *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 193, pp. 17–24
Jazzar 2000 = M.S. Jazzar, 'An Arab-Sassanian dirhem of Dimashq (year 72AH)', *as-Sikka* 2:3
Kolesnikov 1998 = A.I. Kolesnikov, *Denezhnoe Khozyaystvo v. Irane v. VII vyeke* (Moscow)
Lofti collection = private collection, Dubai
Miles 1952 = G.C. Miles, 'Mihrab and 'Anazah: a study in early Islamic iconography', in G.C. Miles (ed.), *Archaeologia Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (New York), pp. 168–72
Miles, *ANSMN* 7 = G.C. Miles, 'Some Arab-Sasanian and related coins', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 7, pp. 187–209 (New York, 1957), plate and coin number, sometimes followed by collection
Miles, Kirmān (1960) = G.C. Miles, 'Some new light on the history of Kirmān in the first century of the Hijrah', in J. Kirtzeck and R. Winder (eds), *The World of Islam: Studies in Honour of Philip K. Hitti* (London), pp. 85–98, including the source of the coin, e.g. Yockers Collection

Miles, *Persepolis* (1959) = G.C. Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region*, American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs 143, (New York), including name of excavation site, e.g. Naqshi Rustam)
Miles *RIC* = G.C. Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins*, American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs 118 (New York, 1950)
Mitchiner 1978 = M. Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and Their Values – The Ancient and Classical World* (Sanderstead)
Mochiri = coins from the Mochiri collection, now in Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique
Mochiri 1987 = M.I. Mochiri, *Arab-Sasanian Civil War Coinage* (Leiden, undated but printed in 1987)
Mochiri 2000 = M.I. Mochiri, 'Kerman, terre de turbulence', *Iran* 38, pp. 33–48
Mochiri 2006 = M.I. Mochiri, 'Monnayages arabo-sassanide de Dārābgird', *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 5 (2005–6), pp. 33–61
Mochiri 2010a = M.I. Mochiri, 'Monnaies dites de 'Khusraw IV'', *Res Orientales* 19, pp. 177–99
Mochiri 2010b = M.I. Mochiri, 'Shiraz Eternelle', in Carlo G. Cereti (ed.), *Iranian Identity in the Course of History. Proceedings of the Conference held in Rome, 21–24 September 2005*, *Orientalia Romana* 9 (Rome), pp. 213–26
Mordtmann 1879 = A.D. Mordtmann, 'Zur Pehlevi-Münzkunde', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 33, pp. 82–112
Morton and Eden = Morton and Eden (London) auction sale number (date), lot number
Naqshabandi = N.M. al-Naqshbandi, *Al-dirham al-Islami, al-juz' al-awwal: al-dirham al-Islami al-madrub ala t-tiraz al-Sasani* (*The Islamic Dirham of Sasanian Type*, vol. 1) (Baghdad, 1974)
Nikitin and Roth 1995 = A. Nikitin and G. Roth, 'The earliest Arab-Sasanian coins', *Numismatic Chronicle* 155, pp. 131–7
New York Sale = (various auctioneers, New York) auction sale, number (date), lot number
Numismatica Genevensis = Numismatica Genevensis (Geneva, Switzerland) auction sale, number (date), lot number
Paris = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, followed by accession number, e.g. BN 1965.559
Paruck 1944 = F.D.J. Paruck, 'Mint-marks on Sāsānian and Arab-Sāsānian coins', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 6, pp. 65–137 (original version, pagination differs in reprint)
Sears 1994 = S.D. Sears, 'A late Umayyad hoard from Nippur', *Numismatic Chronicle* 154, pp. 133–46
Shah Firzan collection (private collection, London)
Shamma = Shamma collection, formerly in the Ashmolean Museum and published in *SICA* 1, now in National Museum of Qatar
SICA 1 = S. Album and A. Goodwin, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins the Ashmolean* – 1: *The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period* (Oxford, 2002) followed by the source of the coin (Shamma) or (Ashmolean)
SNS (Israel) = N. Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Israel* (Vienna, 2009)
SNS (Schaaf) = N. Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Schaaf* (Vienna, 2014)
Sotheby's = Sotheby's (London) auction sale number (date), lot number
Spink Zurich= auction sale number (date), lot number
St James's = St James's (London) auction sale number (date), lot number
Timmerman *ONSN* 92–93, 1984 = F. Timmermann, 'An unpublished dirhem of governor Muhammad', *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 92–93, p. 3
Tozen = I. Tozen, *Arab-Sasani Paralari* I (Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi Nümismatik Yaymlari 7) (Istanbul, 1975)
Trade = coins seen in trade with name of dealer and date
Treadwell 1999 = L. Treadwell, 'The 'Orans' drachms of Bishr ibn Marwān and the figural coinage of the early Marwanid period', *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art* 9:2, pp. 223–69
Triton = auction (CNG, New York), auction sale number (date), lot number
Tyler-Smith 2000 = S. Tyler-Smith, 'Coinage in the name of Yazdgard III (AD632–651) and the Arab Conquest of Iran', *Numismatic Chronicle* 160, pp. 135–70
Unvala 1957 = J.M. Unvala, 'Some rare Sassanian and Arab-Sassanian coins', *Numismatic Chronicle*[6] 17, pp. 147–50
Walker *NC* (1952) = J. Walker, 'Some new Arab-Sassanian coins', *Numismatic Chronicle*[6] 12, pp. 106–10, followed by page and catalogue number, then source of coin
Walker = J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum* I: *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941, reprinted 1967) followed by page and catalogue number, then source if not a British Museum coin
Warden-Album = Warden-Album collection, now in National Museum of Qatar (unpublished as a whole but individual coins published by other authors)
Weber = E.G. Weber, *Arabo-Sasanidische Drachmen*, Bremer Beiträge zur Münz-und Geldgeschichte 8 (Bremen, 2013)
Wilkes and Curtis auction = Wilkes and Curtis (Tonbridge) auction sale number, (date), lot number
Xinjiang = M. Tsumura and K. Yamauchi (eds), *Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian Silver Coins from Xinjiang: Sasanian Type Silver Coins from Xinjiang Museum*, Bulletin of the Research Centre for Silk Roadology 19 (Nara, Japan, 2003)
Zeno = Zeno website (www.zeno.ru) followed by coin number

N.B. Marginal legends are added after the person named where they help to identify the type.

7.1 ABZŪD-K (ʾpzwt-k or possibly ʾpzwt') (uncertain location, possibly within the Kirmān region). Sometimes transcribed as APZWT-K[18]

Coins with *abzūd-k*, engraved where the mint signature is usually found, are rare. The word is not the name of a location, but means 'increase'. The term *abzūd* is a regular feature on late Sasanian silver drachms where it is usually found in conjunction with **GDH** to form **GDH ʾpzwt'** (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased'). It has only been observed on coins of two years in the name of the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. The coinage of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād is relatively plentiful and known from a wide area, from Iraq to Khurāsān and Fārs, so it is not possible to locate coins with *abzūd*. The Kirmān region is a possibility. The letter **k** is a suffix and may stand for Kirmān. There is one issue of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr with **KLMAN** as a prefix to form **KLMAN-APZWN** (7.58.9) (**KRMAN-ABZŪN**), but these two issues may not have been struck in the same place. The last year coins were struck in Kirmān without **KLMAN** as part of the mint name was 58H and from that date onwards it is was always included, the first issues being those of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.[19]

Year 56(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 72, no. B.22 (Berlin); Gaube pl. 8, no. 85 = Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), no. 32 (= ANS.1951.108.13)

Year 57(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 73, no. ETN.16 (= ANS.1944.100.51230); ANS.1976.275.22; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 12, no. 168; Eshragh p. 20, no. 64; (**Pl. 1, 1**)

7.2 AHM (ʾhm) (Hamadān, Media / Jibāl)

AHM is a well known and relatively common mint signature found on coins of the late Sasanian period. It is attributed to Hamadān in western Iran with some certainty. An administrative seal shows the abbreviation together with the place name in full.[20] Hamadān was known as Ecbatana in the ancient Greek and Roman sources and was one of the four divisions of the Jibāl (Media).[21] It was taken by the Arabs soon after the defeat of the Sasanian army at Nēhāvand in 21H.[22] About 23H (or 24H) a force led by Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajali took Hamadān, after which the inhabitants agreed to pay tribute.[23] The city surrendered peacefully under the garrison commander, Khusraushunūm. According to the Arab sources, at the division of the rich spoils, each mounted warrior received 6000 dirhams and each foot soldier 1000 dirhams.[24] The mint signature first regularly appears on coins of the Sasanian king Khusrau I (531–79).[25] Before this Hamadān is represented by a shorter abbreviation, **AH**, first found on coins of Yazdgard I (399–420).[26] The large

[18] *SNS* (Israel), p. 98, pl. 12, no. 168. The final letter is probably best read as **k** rather than as the straight stroke often found at the end of **ʾpzwt'**. The style of the last letter is the same as found on the first letter of Kirmān mint signatures.

[19] There is an unconfirmed citation of 56H which may well be a misreading. In addition a modern forgery appeared in the trade in 2015. This was of lower weight and smaller diameter than the usual drachms and in the name of a hitherto unknown official. The mint signature seems to be based on **ABZŪD-K** (**APZWT-K**).

[20] First suggested by Herzfeld in 1938, p. 421. Gyselen 1979, p. 200 and 1983a, p. 144; see also Mordtmann 1879, p. 117; Göbl 1971, p. 82; Gaube 1973, p. 86; *SNS* 3/1, p. 148; Gignoux and Gyselen 1982, p. 26, fig. 00.1 illustrating an official seal for Hamadān (**ʾhmtʾn**).

[21] The Sasanian province of Māh.

[22] Walker 1941, p. cvi.

[23] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), pp. 481–4.

[24] Kennedy 2007, p. 174 (the amounts were most probably exaggerated in the Arab sources). Al-Yaʿqūbī writing in the third century Hijrī records that in his time land tax amounted to six million dirhams: Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 272, (trans.), vol. 1, p. 107.

[25] *SNS* 3/2, pl. 46, no. A2 is a drachm of Yazdgard I with what could be read as **AHM** retrograde. **AHM** also appears under Bahram V (Johnson collection) and then again reportedly under Kavād I, year 11: Paruck 1944, p. 91. Apart from this no coins of **AHM** are known prior to Khusrau I. For examples of Khusrau I drachms with **AHM**, see Curtis 2010, nos 576–582 (years 5, 14, 35, 40, 42, 47).

[26] Malek 2011, pp. 482–4.

output of coins with this signature is a reflection of the size and importance of Hamadān in the Sasanian period.[27] It was the centre of a productive region and was prosperous.[28]

Umayyad Arab-Sasanian coins, in the name of any governor, from **AHM** are very few. Coins without governor's names are commoner. Post-reform Islamic dirhams with mint name Hamadān are known from 80H.[29]

Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H)	Gaube, pl. 1, no. 2 (Paris); (**Pl. 1, 2-3**)
Year 26	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H)	Walker p. 6, no. I.3 (Istanbul); (**Pl. 1, 4**)
Year 27	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 38H)	*SICA* 1 pl. 1, no. 1 (Ashmolean)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	ANS 1987, 121.1
Year 29	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 40H)	Album 1992 pl. 23, no. 23
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	SICA 1 p. 60, fn[313] (noted without illustration)
Year 30	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 41H)	Paris (BN 1965.443); Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 20 (8 May 2012), lot 2
Year 31	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***[30]
(YE = 42H)	Walker p. 11, no. M.9 (unconfirmed)
Year 33	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 44H)	(**Pl. 1, 5**)
Year 35	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H)	(**Pl. 1, 6**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	SICA 1 p. 60, fn[313] (noted without illustration)
	ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir
	Sears 1994 p. 138, no. 8 (Nippur hoard)[31]
Year 37	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***[32]
(YE = 48H)	Mochiri 1987 p. 98, no. 86, pl. 9, no. 50
Year 44(?)	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 56H)	(**Pl. 1, 8**)
Year 52(H)	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
	Walker p. 45, no. ETN.9 (= ANS.1944.100.51228); Gaube pl. 9, no. 107; (**Pl. 1, 7**) (unusual date legend)
Year 61(H)	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
	(**Pl. 1, 9**) (**yzʾn** in Q1 obverse margin)
Uncertain	**ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**[33]
	Paris (BN 1974.468; date illegible)

[27] However, Barthold (trans. Soucek, 1984), p. 131 suggests that in the Sasanian period Hamadān was not of great importance, and was not one of the royal residences.

[28] Wheatley 2001, p. 136.

[29] *SICA* 2, pls 42–43, nos 927–934 (80, 91, 93–6H); Klat 2002, nos 663–676 (80–2, 84, 90–8, 129H). For examples of ʿAbbāsid dirhams of Hamadān: *SICA* 4, pl. 74, nos 1642–1647 (286, 289, 291, 302, 304H).

[30] A drachm read as year 31 in the Warden-Album collection is in fact dated 33.

[31] This coin is crudely struck and in a poor state of preservation. The mint signature is clearly **AHM**, but the date is unclear and can also be read as year 25.

[32] Example listed: Künker auction 188 (20 June 2011), lot 494 (not illustrated).

[33] This coin is crudely struck and out of line with ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim's general coinage which is essentially confined to Khurāsān, consistent with the historical literature. This may be a contemporary imitation.

The earlier anonymous issues and that in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād of year 44 bear what are likely to be YE dates. Those in names of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān bear Hijrī dates. Drachms of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād are rare for this mint.

A copper fals in the name of Farrukhzād (Farroxzād) with the place name Hamadān written in full in Arabic is much later being dated 105H,[34] after conventional Islamic dirhams had started to be struck in Hamadān.

7.3 AHMTAN (ʾ**hmt**ʾ**n**) (Hamadān, Media)

AHMTAN is a scarce mint signature known for one issue only which was struck around a decade after the last known issues with **AHM** (see 7.2). The legend is defectively written and the authenticity of the coins is questionable. It represents Hamadān in western Iran.

The type is in the name of Ziyād b. Qatrān (**zyyʾt y** / **ktlʾn**) with a crudely inscribed date legend, which is probably intended to be 63(H) (**swšst'**). The mint signature is also defectively written as **ʾsmtʾn** or **ʾʾmtʾn**, with the second letter either **a** or **s** instead of the correct **h**. The style is different from that found on administrative seals where the legend is **ʾhmt'n**. The usual *bism allāh* (three pellets, ∴) is in Q1 of the obverse margin.[35]

7.4 AKWLA (ʾ**kwl**ʾ) (Kūfa, Iraq)

This signature has been variously interpreted by numismatists. For a long time it was erroneously read as **ATRA** and identified as Ādharbayjān (Azerbaijān) in north west Iran. This reading by Walker,[36] and followed by Gaube, is now generally regarded as incorrect. The most probable reading, and the one consistent with governors using that mint signature, is **AKWLA** for Kūfa. The historical sources refer to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and Bishr b. Marwān as governors of Kūfa and most coins with this signature are in the names of these two governors. Those of Bishr b. Marwān of 73–5H have the figure traditionally described as the Caliph Orans in place of the fire altar.[37] Kūfa was a garrison town of the Arabs in Iraq on the Euphrates river. It was founded in 17H, by Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās as a settlement for Arab troops, on the instructions of ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb.[38] The name is derived from the old Aramaic name of ʿAqola, a pre-Islamic town beside the Arab settlement of Kūfa. Along with Basra, Kūfa was one of the two eastern capitals of the Umayyad empire. A mosque, a palace and various souqs were erected in this purpose built new town.[39] A large tract of territory was under the supervision of the governorship of Kūfa, comprising Iraq, Jazīra, Armenia, Azerbaijān, part of the Jibāl and the areas to the north and west of the Lūt desert.

Drachms of Arab-Sasanian type continued to be struck after the start of the post-reform Islamic dirhams issue at al-Kūfa.[40]

[34] Gyselen 2009, type 17; two examples in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

[35] Baldwin's Islamic Coin Auction 19 (24 April 2012), lot 3 (date read as 61); Amini and Dashkov 2013, p. 60, no. 83. The coin is illustrated below in Chapter 9, section 60, page 333, fig. 9.60. The authenticity of this issue has been questioned, primarily because of the defectively written legends. On balance the coin is more likely than not to be genuine. Album considers it a probable modern fabrication. Given the sophistication of modern day forgers one cannot help being uneasy about completely new types reaching the market with a high asking price.

[36] Walker 1941, p. cix; Mordtmann 1879, pp. 125 and 133; Gaube 1973, p. 87.

[37] Treadwell 1999, provides an in depth analysis and list of the known examples. The standing figure may be the *khatīb* (leader of Friday prayers), who might have been Bishr himself.

[38] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), pp. 434–48.

[39] Kennedy 2007, pp. 132–6.

[40] *SICA* 1, p. 26, fn[146] refers to a post-reform Islamic dirham of al-Kūfa of 78H. Klat 2002, nos 539 (78H), 540 (79H) 541 (80H); *SICA* 2, pls 38–9, nos 824–833 (80, 81, 100–102, 129H). Arab-Sasanian drachms are known for 79H. Thus there is an overlap of types. For ʿAbbāsid conventional Islamic dirhams of al-Kūfa: *SICA* 3, pls 51–6, nos 1178–1295 (132–47, 179–80, 199–201, 203–4, 206H), *SICA* 4, pls 37–8, nos 769–97, 799–800 (296, 298–9, 301, 303–9, 311–2, 314, 329, 334H).

All drachms with **AKWLA** (Kūfa) bear Hijrī dates and are scarce. The Caliph Orans type is particularly noteworthy.

Year 56(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh** [**b. Ziyād**]
Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 23 (6 December 2012), lot 20 (in name of ʿUbayd Allāh alone)[41]

Year 62(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 54, no. B.11 (Berlin; mint read as **ATRA**); ANS.1986.128.1; Mochiri 1987 p. 96, no. 64, pl. 9, no. 53 (Warden; mint read as **AKURA**);[42] *SICA* 1 pl. 1, nos 2–4 (Shamma); (**Pl. 1, 10**)

Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 54, no. I.26 (Istanbul; mint read as **ATRA**; not illustrated); (**Pl. 1, 11**)

Year 70(H)/ Undated (*c*.73H) **Anonymous type** with ***muhammad rasūl allāh*** in place of official's name[43]
Ilisch 2007 p. 18, fig. 5 (Sotheby's auction (18 March 1983), lot 80 = Warden-Album); (**Pl. 1, 12**) (probably undated, struck *c*.73H)

Year 73(H) **Anonymous type** with **year in Arabic** in place of official's name
Baldwin's of St James's auction 4 (9 May 2017), lot 1
Bishr b. Marwān with **Caliph Orans** reverse
Walker *NC* (1952), pl. 9, no. 1 (Azizbeglou); ANS.1983.14.1; Mitchiner 1978 p. 212, no. 1351 (mint read as **ATRA**); Treadwell 1999 pp. 261–2, nos A1–A4; Baldwins's Islamic Coin Auction 16 (20 October 2009), lot 7 (full *shahāda* in obverse margin); Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 7 (date in Pahlavi numerals)

Year 74(H) **Bishr b. Marwān** with **Caliph Orans** reverse
Mochiri 1987 p. 104, no.140, pl. 21, no. 124 (date written as numeral; mint read as **AKURA**); *SICA* 1 p. 28 (noted without illustration); Treadwell 1999 pp. 262–4, nos A5–A8; Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 8; Morton and Eden auction (4 April 2011), lot 3 (with Pahlavi legend **ygw y'm'n** (?) in Q1 reverse margin); (**Pl. 2, 13**) (Pahlavi numerals date)

Year 75(H) **Bishr b. Marwān** with **Caliph Orans** reverse
SICA 1 pl. 1, no. 5 (Ashmolean; Pahlavi numerals date); Treadwell 1999, p. 264, nos A9–A14; Morton and Eden auction 48 (4 April 2011), lot 4 (Pahlavi date)

Uncertain date **Bishr b. Marwān**
Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), no. 40 (Azizbeglou; mint read as **ATRA**)

Year 79(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd Allāh**
Walker p. 124, no. Th.18 (date written as numeral; mint read as **ATRA** = Mochiri 1987 pp. 104–5, no. 141); *SICA* 1 pl. 1, no. 6 (Shamma); Gaube pl. 4, no. 38 (unclear date; Paris; mint read as **ATRA**)

[41] Illustrated in Chapter 9, section 50, page 316, fig. 9.50.

[42] In place of the usual *bism allāh* '**pd** is found in Q2 on the obverse, followed by *allāh rabbī* in Q3.

[43] Bacharach 2010, p. 6. The date can be read as 70 rather than 73 on the Sotheby's auction example. On the second example listed the date legend appears incomplete, which Ilisch has suggested could be a reference to 1000 of the Seleucid era, corresponding to 70–1H. This view is doubtful. An incomplete 70H is possible but, on the second type, the letters on the reverse left field may not be intended to be a date at all. This is reinforced by the coins dated 73H to the right of the bust, but with the same basic reverse. For another example of the second type see Morton and Eden auction (14 December 2005), lot 701.

7.5 ANAT (ʾnʾt) (Unknown location within Kirmān region)

The letters **ANAT** can be read on one rare issue but, due to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi alphabet, they may also be read as **ANST** (**ʾnst**), **AWAT** (**ʾwʾt**) or **AWST** (**ʾwst**). The location of this signature is unknown. It is later found as a suffix to **KLMAN** to form **KLMAN-ANAT**. **ANAT** by itself is likely to denote the same mint place so almost certainly represents a location within Kirmān region.[44]

Year 54(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Mochiri 1987 p. 91, no. 9, pl. 7, no. 39

7.6 ANBYR (ʾnbyr) (Anbīr, Khurāsān)

The mint name **ANBYR** probably represents the town of Anbīr.[45] Anbīr, one of the few place names written in full on Arab-Sasanian drachms, is in the Jūzjān (Gōzgān) district of Khurāsān. Anbīr can probably be identified with the modern town of Sar-i Pul (Sar-e Pol)[46] in Afghanistān. Anbīr was taken by Khālid b. al-Walīd who made a truce with the inhabitants after it was raided by al-Muthannā.[47] In the past, the mint signature has been read as **HWRA** and considered an abbreviation of the name of the region or province of Khurāsān. The governors, whose names are found on those coins, are named in the historical sources as rulers in Khurāsān. The coin of 84H of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab confirms the specific attribution, within the district Jūzjān, as it has both **ANBYR** in the usual place for mint signature and Jūzjān in the reverse margin. This mint signature is rarely found on Arab-Sasanian drachms and is mainly known for scarce Arab-Hephthalite issues mainly in the name of the local ruler Zhulād Gōzgān, (erroneously referred to in some of the literature as Gorigo Shah),[48] with Zhulād being the personal name and Gōzgān (Jūzjān) being the territory. On Arab-Hephthalite issues the mint is also found on the reverse margin in Bactrian as *ambēro*, Amber being the Bactrian name for Anbīr. This confirms the attribution of the Pahlavi mint signature of **ANBYR** to Anbīr. The mint name Anbīr is found in Kufic on post-reform Islamic dirhams dated before the last known Arab-Sasasian issue of 84H.[49]

Undated **Anonymous Khusrau type**[50]
(**Pl. 2, 13A**) (with **ANBYR** left and **BBA** right of attendants on reverse)
Year 25 **Anonymous Khusrau type**[51]
(PYE? = 57H) (**Pl. 2, 14**) (with *ambēro* in Bactrian in Q1 reverse)
Year 39 **Kurm-zād**(?): **Arab-Hephthalite issue** (see p. 403 for dating)

(PYE? = 71H) Al-Qazzaz 1975 (with **ʾpzwn'** and **GDH** in Pahlavi in Q2 and Q3 reverse)
Year 63(H) **Zhulād Gōzgān**: **Arab-Hephthalite issue** (see p. 403 for dating)
(or YE = 75H)

[44] Mochiri 1987, p. 91, no. 9, does not consider **ANAT** to be a signature but instead implausibly reads the word as **ʾwst** for *avest vārih*, meaning 'firmness'.

[45] Gaube 1973, pp. 84–5.

[46] Barthold (trans. Soucek, 1984), p. 32.

[47] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), pp. 394–5.

[48] Sims-Williams 2008. The term Arab-Hephthalite may not be particularly apposite, not least because it is unclear whether these Hephthalite issues had anything to do with the Arabs. It is also questionable that the coins were struck by Hephthalites. See further, Chapter 14. These issues have been differently read by Vondrovec 2014, vol. 2, pp. 640–1, types 280 and 281A. For example on type 280 he does not read the Pahlavi **ANBYR** to the left of the left attendant, but instead [year] 4 (**ʾrbʾ**) (sic). On type 281A he reads **mlw'** for Marw, but this is not evident.

[49] Balog 1970 refers to a post-reform dirham of Anbīr dated 79H; Klat 2002, no. 115 (79H), this is the only known date for Umayyad dirhams of this mint.

[50] This coin has no marginal legends and the legends are only in Pahlavi. It is not an issue struck under the Arabs, but more likely those opposed to them.

[51] In view of the Bactrian legend on the reverse, the coin may have been struck in the 60sH, but 57H is possible.

Walker pp. 127–8, nos 246 and ETN.20 (ANS.1944.100.51208) (with *ambēro* and *garigo šauo* in Bactrian in Q1 and Q4 reverse)
ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim
Walker p. 90, no. 166
Salm b. Ziyād
(**Pl. 2, 15**) (with *ambēro* in Bactrian in Q1 reverse)

Year 64(H) (or YE = 76H) **Zhulād Gōzgān**: **Arab-Hephthalite issue**
(**Pl. 2, 16-17**) (with *ambēro* in Bactrian in Q4 reverse)

Year 64 (YE = 76H) **Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh**
Walker pp. 106–7, nos 209–210, 209 = Gaube pl. 9, no. 97 (London)

Year 65(H) (or YE = 77H) **Zhulād Gōzgān**: **Arab-Hephthalite issue**
(**Pl. 2, 18**) (with *ambēro* in Bactrian in Q4 reverse); (**Pl. 2, 19**) (with *ambēro* in Bactrian in Q1 and *duriba anbyr* in Q4 reverse)

Year 66(H) (or YE = 78H) **Zhulād Gōzgān**: **Arab Hephthalite issue**
(**Pl. 2, 20**) (with *ambēro* in Bactrian in Q1 reverse); (**Pl. 2, 21**) (with *ambēro* in Bactrian in Q4 reverse); (**Pl. 3, 22**) (with *ambēro* and *garigo šauo* in Bactrian in Q1 and Q4 reverse)

Year 68(H) (or YE = 80H) **Zhulād Gōzgān**: **Arab Hephthalite issue**
Walker p. 128, nos 247–249; *SICA* 1 pl. 1, nos 8–9 (Ashmolean = Walker p. 128, nos Ox8 and Ox7), *SICA* 1, pl. 1, no. 7 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel), pl. 12 nos 166–167; (**Pl. 3, 23**). All with *ambēro* and *garigo šauo* in Bactrian in Q1 and Q4 reverse

Year 69(H) (or YE = 81H) **Zhulād Gōzgān**: **Arab-Hephthalite issue**
Walker p. 129, nos 250–253; (**Pl. 3, 24**). Both with *ambēro* and *garigo šauo* in Bactrian in Q1 and Q4 reverse

Year 84(H) **Yazīd b. al-Muhallab** (reverse standing figure)
Walker *NC* (1952) pp. 108–109, no. 3 (Azizbeglou) = Paris (BN 1967.207) with Jūzjān and name of local ruler in Bactrian, Zhulād Gōzgān in Arabic in reverse margin; Shah Firzan collection[52]

All these issues are rare and usually bear Hijrī dates. They are often found countermarked with Bactrian legends. The issue of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh dated 64 must be dated according to the YE era equivalent to 76H as he was not the Marwānid governor of Khurāsān until the 70s Hijrī.

7.7 ANWAT (ʾnwʾt) 𐭀𐭍𐭅𐭀𐭕 (within Kirmān region)

The exact location for the mint signature **ANWAT** is not known, but it is within the Kirmān region as it is found as a suffix on coins of Kirmān: **KLMAN-ANWAT** (7.58.8). A more precise location would be speculative. The signature is only known for drachms of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd and al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs, whose coinage is rare.

Year 54(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd**
Xinjiang WQ-II-8-1; (**Pl. 3, 25**) (= Mochiri 2000, p. 42, no. 4, pl. 14, no. 7, signature read as **WANGY**)

Year 56(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
Damascus pl. 35, no. 88A

Year 57(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
Eshragh p. 20, no. 62; *Xinjiang* pp. 280–1, no. WQ-II-9-1; (**Pl. 3, 26-27**)

Year 58(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
Paris (BN 1972.199); *SICA* 1 p. 17, fn[73] (noted but not illustrated)

[52] Illustrated in Chapter 9, section 58, p. 329, fig. 9.58.2.

7.8 APL (ʾpl) 𐭠𐭯𐭫 (probably Abarshahr[53] (Aparšahr; Nīshāpūr), Khurāsān)

The three signatures **APL**, **APLŠ** (ʾ**plš**) and **APLŠT** (ʾ**plšt**) may all represent the same mint location. This is almost certainly so with **APLŠ** (7.9) and **APLŠT** (7.10) where there is no overlap of dates, but one cannot be as certain that **APL** is the same as the other two in the light of the fact that **APL** and **APLŠT** are both found on coins of 63H.

Various locations have been suggested in the past, including Abarqubādh in Southern Iraq.[54] The mint signature is found on Sasanian coins from Kavād I[55] to Bōrān,[56] but not for the last Sasanian king, Yazdgard III. Assuming that **APL** under the late Sasanians represented the same place when used for the Arab-Sasanian coinage, a location in Southern Iraq seems improbable. **APL** was one of the only two known mint signatures for the usurper Vistāhm (Bistām) (AD594/5–600/1), who had no control over that area. The only other mint signature known for Vistāhm is **LD** (Rayy), located just south of modern day Tehran where, according to the literary sources, Vistāhm raised an army. Even so Rayy and Nīshāpūr are still some distance apart, well over 450 miles by road, and it is possible that the rare drachms in the name of Vistāhm with mint signature **APL** were not struck in Abarshahr. Nevertheless, Abarshahr (Nīshāpūr) is most likely to be the correct attribution.[57] Nīshāpūr was the capital of one of the four quarters of the region of Khurāsān and, according to the written sources, was founded (or rebuilt) either under the second Sasanian king, Shāpūr I (241–72) or, as now seems more possible, under Shāpūr II (309–79). Nīshāpūr was itself within the district of Abarshahr. A study of the ceramics found on the Qohandez in Nīshāpūr indicates that the first construction works date from the period of Shāpūr II and later.[58] On clay sealings both names of Abarshahr and Nīshāpūr as the city within it are found together.[59] Abarshahr was initially taken by the forces of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, then governor of Basra, in 30H. The Umayyads were subsequently repelled, but it was recaptured. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān was appointed governor of Basra in 45H, which included Khurāsān as a dependent province. His sons in turn (ʿUbayd Allāh and Salm) became governors of Basra. The Zubayrid, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, took the province of Khurāsān from Salm b. Ziyād in 64H. No coins with **APL**, **APLŠ** and **APLŠT** are known for ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, but they are known for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and his sons ʿUbayd Allāh and Salm.[60] Abrashahr is known as a mint for post-reform Islamic dirhams, from 79H.[61]

Year 32	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bīsm allāh***
(YE = 43H)	(**Pl. 3, 28**)
Year 38(?)	**Anonymous Khusrau type**
(YE = 49H)	Gaube pl. 1, no. 1 (year read as 60, but date unclear)
Year 60(H)	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**

[53] The Arab geographers call it Abrashahr, see Barthold (trans. Soucek, 1984), p. 95. In modern Persia the city is known as Nīshāpūr and in the early Islamic period it was called Naysābūr: Le Strange 1930, p. 383.

[54] Album *SICA* 1, p. 53.

[55] Prior to Kavād I, the signature **AP** is known, e.g. Vahrān IV (*SNS* 3/2, pl. 35, nos A12 to 15) and Pērōz (*SNS* 3/2, pl. 77, no. 6). For examples of Kavād I, see *SNS* 3/2, pl. 114, nos 8–9 (years 36 and 37).

[56] Malek and Curtis (Bōrān), no. 8; Mochiri *ENIS* II, p. 65, fig. 74, for a rare drachm of **APL** of Bōrān year 1.

[57] Mochiri *ENIS* II, pp. 55–7; Gaube 1973, p. 85; *SNS* 3/1, pp. 149–50.

[58] R. Rante and A. Collinet 2013, p. 10.

[59] Gyselen 1989, p. 132, no. B256, p. 134, nos B42, B211, B253. On the first bulla are the words [**n**]**gwš**[**h**]**p** / [**w**]**hl** / **mgwh** (Nīshāpūr, *mowūh*) in the centre and in the margin ʾ**plštl** oo / oo (Abarshahr).

[60] Walker, 1941, p. cvi.

[61] Klat 2002, nos 2–14 (79, 80, 90–100H); *SICA* 2 pl. 15, nos 354–361 (92, 93, 95H). It is also found on ʿAbbāsid dirhams: *SICA* 3, pl. 11, nos 276–7 (192H).

Walker p. 72, no. STA2 (not illustrated); Mochiri 1987 p. 97, no. 79, pl. 16, no. 95 (with mint / date positions reversed = Mochiri 2010a p. 197, no. 49; Warden-Album)

Anonymous Khusrau type[62]

Mochiri 2010a p. 197, no. 48; Mochiri 1987 pp. 98–9, no. 94, pl. 16, no. 96 (= British Museum 1982, 0524.20; same reverse die as ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād coin above; mint and date positions reversed)

Year 63(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**

ENIS II p. 65, fig. 75 (Mochiri); Eshragh p. 23, no. 79

The anonymous Khusrau types with **APL** are rare, whereas those in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and Salm b. Ziyād are scarce. There is an interesting link between the anonymous Khusrau type and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād as they share the same reverse die dated 60(H).

7.9 APLŠ (**ʾplš**) 𐭠𐭯𐭫𐭱 (Abarshahr, Khurāsān)

7.10 APLŠT (**ʾplšt**) 𐭠𐭯𐭫𐭱𐭮

APLŠ (**APRŠ**) and **APLŠT** (**APRŠT**) undoubtedly represent the same mint place. **APLŠ** precedes **APLŠT** and there is no overlap in dates. Neither signature is known for the late Sasanian period. **APLŠT** is well represented by drachms in the names of Salm b. Ziyād and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, both known to have governed Khurāsān. The most probable location is Abarshahr (Aparšahr) in Khurāsān. **APL** also found in the Arab-Sasanian series, as well as the late Sasanian may denote the same location, but this is not certain (see 7.8 above). Coins of **APLŠ** are only known for two years under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and are scarcer than **APLŠT**. There is a gap of nine years between coins of **APLŠ** and **APLŠT**.

7.9 APLŠ

Year 53(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**

(**Pl. 3, 29**)

Year 54(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**

Walker p. 36, no. 50 = Gaube pl. 9, no. 106 (London); Eshragh, p. 294, no. 1750

7.10 APLŠT:

Year 63(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**

Walker p. 74, no. 109; *ENIS* II p. 65, fig. 74 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 3, 30**)

Year 64(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**

Walker p. 74, nos 110–111; *ENIS* II p. 65, fig. 77 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 3, 31-32**)

Year 65(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**

Walker p. 87, no. B.28 (Berlin); Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) no. 36 (= ANS.1954.119.70); Gaube pl. 2, no. 21 (Haddad); *ENIS* II p. 65, fig. 78 (Mochiri)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**

Walker p. 88, nos 154–155; ANS.1984.196.5; *ENIS* II p. 65, fig. 79 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 3-4, 33-36**)

Year 68(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**

Walker p. 88, no. B.29 (Berlin); *ENIS* II p. 65, fig.80 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 4, 37**)

Year 69(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**

Walker p. 88, nos 156–157; ANS.1975.238.7; *ENIS* II p. 65, fig.81 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 4, 38**)

Year 73(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**

(**Pl. 4, 39**) (date uncertain, but 72H is an alternative reading)

[62] This seems to be a mule with the obverse of a regular Khusrau II drachm die paired with a later Arab-Sasanian reverse die. An example was in the Bāb Tūmā hoard: Gyselen and Nègre 1982, p. 97 and pl. 2, no. 715.

ʿ**Abd al-Malik b. Abī** (**Shaykh**)
Album auction 17 (19 September 2013), lot 104[63]

All the drachms of **APLŠ** and **APLŠT** have Hijrī dates. The issues are generally not rare, save for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (especially 53H).

7.10A APNWLAN (ʾ**pnwlʾn**) 𐭠𐭯𐭭𐭥𐭠𐭭 (uncertain location, probably in north eastern Khurāsān)

APWNLAN or **SPWNLAN** (**spnwlʾn**) is found on a, so far, unique but poorly preserved drachm. The coin is dated 39 and this may be a PYE date equivalent to 71H. The reverse marginal legend is in Pahlavi and Bactrian, similar to the style of coins from Anbīr and certain issues from Marw in the 60s Hijrī. The coin is in the name of an unidentified official the letters of whose name can be variously read, but Kurm-zād is plausible.[64] There is another related drachm of the same official and date with mint signature **ANBYR**. It is probable that **APWNLAN** represents a place nearby in the vicinity of north eastern Khurāsān.

7.11 ARCN / ALCN 𐭠𐭫𐭣𐭭 (see under **SLCN**, 7.88)

7.14 ART (ʾ**rt**) 𐭠𐭫𐭬 (Ardashīr-Khurra, Fārs)

7.12 Ardaxšīr (ʾ**rthštr**) 𐭠𐭫𐭣𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭫

7.13 Ardaxšīr-Xvarrah (ʾ**rthštr GDH**) 𐭠𐭫𐭣𐭲𐭧𐭩𐭫 𐭪𐭣𐭧

From the time when mint signatures became a regular feature of coins in the Sasanian period **ART** has been one of the most common, on both silver drachms and small copper issues. It must have been an important mint in terms of output from Pērōz's reign until the early years of Yazdgard III.[65]

The attribution, in Sasanian times, is confirmed by the seal evidence. Official seals are known with the abbreviation in the middle and the full name around.[66] Ardashīr-Khurra (**Ardaxšīr-Xvarrah**, 'the splendour of Ardashīr') was the name of one of the five districts (*shahr* in Middle Persian and *kūra* in Arabic) of Fārs,[67] in southern Iran, as well as the name (according to some sources) of the chief town of the district. The chief town was also called Gūr (Jūr), but by Islamic times the name was replaced by the current name of Firūzābād. The town of Ardashīr-Khurra is said to have been founded by the first Sasanian king, Ardashīr I (224–40).[68] Much of what is called Ardashīr I's castle still stands, a massive structure reflecting how advanced the early Sasanians were both in terms of culture and architecture. Ardashīr-Khurra resisted the invasion and was initially captured by the army of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir in around 23H, but it had to be recaptured by them seven years later.[69]

[63] Illustrated in Chapter 9, section 15, p. 267, fig. 9.15.

[64] ANS 000.999.20048, illustrated and considered in more detail in Chapter 14, section 6, p. 405, fig.14.6.1. Walker 1941, p. 127, no. ANS.17 read the mint signature as **APNURAN** (?).

[65] Prior to Pērōz the signature is rarely encountered. For an example of Vahrān V see *SNS* 3/2, pl. 59, no. A2.

[66] Herzfeld 1938, p. 423; Gaube 1973, p. 86; Gyselen and Kalus 1983, p. 114; Frye 1973, p. 63, fig. D219, official seal with ʾ**rt** (**ART**) in centre and ʾ**rthštr GDH** ʾ**ndlhpt** (**Ardaxšīr-Xvarrah** chief counsellor) around, illustrated above, p. 80, fig. 7.1.

[67] They were Istakhr, Ardashīr-Khurra, Dārābgerd, Bīshāpūr (Sābūr) and Arrajān. The area of Ardashīr-Khurra extended south from Shīrāz towards the sea, and included islands of the Persian Gulf: Barthold (trans. Soucek, 1984), pp. 152–3; Le Strange 1930, p. 248. During the caliphate each district was called a *kūrah*.

[68] Miri 2009, pp. 6–8; *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, line 44: Daryaee 2002, p. 50.

[69] Rossi 2018, p. 4 who notes that the historical accounts concerning the Arab campaigns against this city are confused and contradictory.

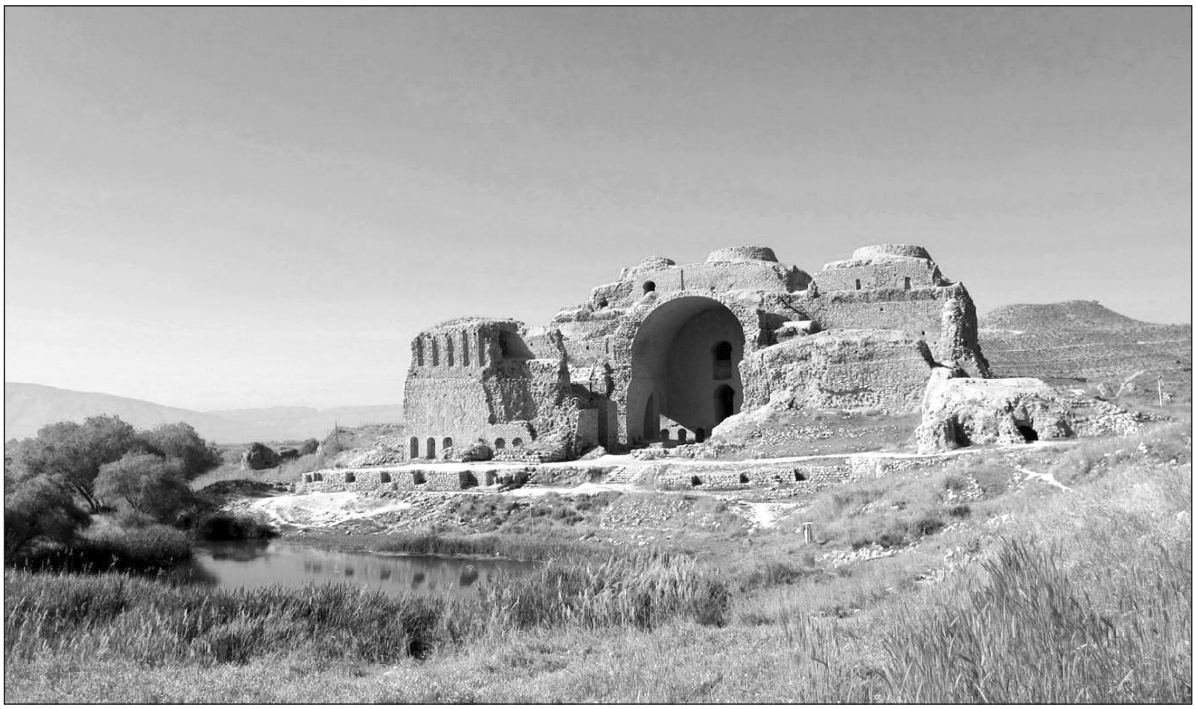


Fig. 7.7. Castle of Ardashīr I at Ardashīr Khurra (Photo Vandaee)

The pattern of striking both silver drachms and bronze issues under the Sasanians (e.g. bronze issues are known for both Khusrau II (590–28) and Yazdgard III (632–51)), continued for the Arab-Sasanian series. Some Arab-Sasanian copper issues use the abbreviation **ART** but some have the mint place written in full: **Ardaxšīr-Xvarrah**. As can be seen from the known mint and date combinations, Ardashīr-Khurra was a major mint throughout the early Islamic period. It includes some of the earliest known types of Arab-Sasanian coins. Post-reform Islamic dirhams for this mint are known for 79H, a time when Arab-Sasanian drachms were still being struck.[70]

Year 21	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 32H)	Warden-Album (noted, not illustrated, subject to confirmation)
Year 23	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 34H)	Eshragh pl. 11, no. 11 (date not entirely clear)
Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H)	ANS.1992.40.1; Paris (BN 1965.433); (**Pl. 4, 40**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	Mochiri 1987 p. 97, no. 80, pl.10, no. 56
	Anonymous Yazdgard type with ***bism allāh***
	Warden-Album (date written as **pnčyst**)
Year 26	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H)	(**Pl. 4, 41**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	Paris (BN 1965.437)
Year 26	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(unknown era)	*SICA* 1, p. 19 (Warden-Album, noted but not illustrated; although dated year 26 this is not a true date and this must be a later issue); *SNS* (Israel), pl. 12, no. 169

[70] Klat 2002, pp. 39–43, nos 29–44 (79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 90–9, 129H); *SICA* 2, pls 15–16, nos 364–382 (90, 91, 94–8H). It is also found on ʿAbbāsid dirhams: *SICA* 3, pls 11–12, nos 279–83 (134, 136, 144–6H). The name 'Ard' is found on dirhams dated 79 and 82, which is also probably a reference to Ardashīr-Khurra.

	Salm b. Ziyād[71]
	Walker p. 75, no. 112 = Gaube, pl. 6, no. 71 (London); (**Pl. 4, 42**) (although these coins are apparently dated year 26 they are obviously from a later period than would be indicated by either a Hijrī or YE date, the date may be a defectively written 66, but 26 is probably the better reading)
Year 27	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 38H)	Walker p. 7, no. RB.1 = Gaube pl. 1, no. 3 (London)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	(**Pl. 4, 43**)
Year 28	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 39H)	*SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (Warden-Album, clipped)
Year 29	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 40H)	Walker p. 9, no. M.6; British Museum (BM 1964, 0423.1); (**Pl. 4, 44**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	ANS 1999.54.2
Year 30	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 41H)	ANS.1944.100.51220; Mochiri 1987 p. 98, no. 81, pl. 19, no. 49; (**Pl. 4, 45**)
Year 31	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 42H)	Tozen 2 (Yapi ve Kredi Bank)
Year 33	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 44H)	(**Pl. 5, 46**)
Year 35	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 46H)	ANS.1989.12.1; (**Pl. 5, 47**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
	Tozen 5 (Yapi ve Kredi Bank, listed as year 50); Album 1992 pl. 23, no. 24
Year 36	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***[72]
(YE = 47H)	British Museum (BM 1955, 1103.3); *SICA* 1 pl. 1, no. 10 (Shamma); (**Pl. 5, 48**)
	ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir[73]
	Paris (BN 1965.515, 1970.559)
Year 37	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 48H)	Mochiri 1987 p. 94, no. 46, pl. 10, no. 57;[74] Warden-Album (date in large letters); (**Pl. 5, 49-50**)
Year 39	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(YE = 50H)	Walker p. 16, no. M.13 (unconfirmed; may be a misreading as rather early to have *rabbī* in margin; if in fact dated 39 then it would probably be a YE date)
Year 42(H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
	Eshragh p. 14, no. 29
	Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān
	Eshragh p. 14, no. 30 (date read as 42, but seems unclear and thus doubtful; year 42 would be too early for this governor and appears out of sequence)

[71] The same year for Salm b. Ziyād is known for mint signature 7.36 **DA**.

[72] *SICA* 1, p. 10 suggests that this may be a Hijrī date, listing it as year 36(H?). This is possible.

[73] ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir was initially made governor of Basra in 29H, but this is unlikely to be 36H. First, the earlier issues in his name simply refer to ʿAbd Allāh and do not name his father until 41H). Second, there are drachms with the full name ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, for Bīshāpūr dated 47H, another city in Fārs province.

[74] The date is defectively written as if it is 37, then the first letter **h** is missing (**ptsyh**). Mochiri's view is that it is not a date at all, but **ptsyh** (*pattāyistan*), meaning endure/ remain. There is a similar issue with the mint signature 7.36 **DA**: Mochiri 1987, p. 94, no. 45, pl. 9, no. 51.

ʿAbd Allāh
Mochiri 1987 p. 91, no. 17, pl. 7, no. 38;[75] ANS 1986.162.2; (**Pl. 5, 51**) (crudely engraved date)

Year 47(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** / ***al-aʿlā***
SICA 1 p. 13 (noted but not illustrated); ANS 1963.170.8
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir
Walker p. 47, no. 67; Mitchiner 1978 p. 212, no. 1353; *SICA* 1 pl. 1, nos 11 (Shamma), 12 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 5, 52**)

Year 48(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** / ***illā ʿalī***
Amini and Dashkov 2013 p. 59, no. 81 (subject to authentication)

Year 51(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
SICA 1 pl. 1, no. 13 (Shamma); (**Pl. 5, 53**)

Year 52(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(**Pl. 5, 54**)

Year 53(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(**Pl. 5, 55**)

Year 54(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 46, no. M.25 (not illustrated); British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.1); (**Pl. 5, 56**)

Year 58(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Mochiri 1987 p. 97, no. 70, pl. 14, no. 79 (with **gw** in Q3 obverse); Eshragh p. 20, no. 66; (**Pl. 5, 57**), (**Pl. 6, 58**) (with **ʾw** (?) in Q3 obverse) ; Johnson 0791-0077 (with **gw** and pellet in Q3 obverse)

Year 63(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** (Q2 margin missing)
Mochiri 1987 p. 99, no. 95, pl. 17, no. 97

Year 65(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 29, no. M.19 (not illustrated); Gaube pl. 2, no. 23 (Lindpaintner); Mochiri 1987 p. 100, no. 106, pl. 17, no. 101;[76] *SICA* 1 pl. 1, nos 14–15 (Shamma); (**Pl. 6, 59, 61-62**); (**Pl. 6, 60**) (with **dwwyst** in Q3 obverse)

Year 66(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 29, no. I.14 (Istanbul; not illustrated); Miles *Persepolis* (1959), p. 95, no. 31 (Naqshi Rustam); Eshragh p. 25, no. 93; (**Pl. 6, 63-64**); (**Pl. 6, 65**) (with **dwwyst** in Q3 obverse)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 30, no. B.4 (Berlin; not illustrated); *SICA* 1 pl. 2, nos 16–18 (Shamma); (**Pl. 6, 66-68**); (**Pl. 6, 69**) (with **dwwyst** in Q3 obverse)

Year 68(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Walker p. 98, no. 193; ANS.1965.243.405; *SICA* 1 pl. 2, nos 19–21 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 28, no. 114; (**Pl. 7, 70-72**)

Year 69(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Walker p. 98, nos B.33, ANS.14 (= ANS.1917.215.3359), Cam.8 (= Fitzwilliam Museum, CM. IS.17-R); *SICA* 1 pl. 2, nos 22–24 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 30, no. 121; (**Pl. 7, 73-77**)

Year 70(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Walker p. 99, nos Cam.9 (= Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.18-R), B.34; British Museum (BM 1956, 0409.41); Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.IS.19-R; CM.IS.20-R); Miles *RIC* p. 7, no. 23; Gaube pl. 9, no. 99 (Haddad); *Damascus* p. 194, nos AS.89–90 (not illustrated); *SICA* 1 pl. 2, nos 25–28 (Shamma), 29 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 7-8, 78-84**)

[75] Mochiri read date as **ʾylt'n** = *ērtān*(*ih*) = humanity. This is an unlikely reading as the date is clearly 42.

[76] Mochiri 1987, pp. 66–7 considers the word in Q3 obverse margin is **dlwyst** for *durst* (meaning well / right / healthy). The word may be transliterated as **dwwyst** for 22, a more probable reading.

Year 72(H) **Humrān b. Abān**
Walker p. 110, nos 0.8, Cam.13 (= Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.30-R); ANS.1976.274.6; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 203, no. 41 (= ANS.1953.9.3); Gaube pl. 5, no. 55 (Paris); Mitchiner 1978 p. 213, no. 1360; *SICA* 1 pl. 3, nos 30–31 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 32, no. 135; (**Pl. 8, 85**) (with *humrān b. abān* in Q3 obverse); (**Pl. 8, 86**) (blank in Q3 obverse)

Year 73(H) **ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān**
Walker p. 27, no. 37; ANS.1975.238.27; Gaube pl. 3, no. 36 (Paris); (**Pl. 8, 87-89**) (with **dwwystwy** in Q3 obverse)
ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd Allāh
Walker p. 123, no. M.54 (unconfirmed)

Year 74(H) **ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
Walker p. 96, no. Sch.4 (doubtful and not illustrated); *SICA* 1 p. 25 (noted but not illustrated)

Year 75(H) **Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa**
Walker p. 112, no. N.2 (not illustrated); Mitchiner 1978 p. 214, no. 1368; *SICA* 1 pl. 3, nos 32–34 (Shamma); (**Pl. 8, 90-91**)
Khārijite issue[77] (in place of official's name is Pahlavi legend **lwyt' dʾtwbl / blʾ yyzt'** 'There is no justice except from God')
Walker p. 123, no. T.18 (not illustrated); ANS.1973.3.1; Gaube pl. 10, no. 116 (Haddad); Eshragh p. 35, no. 156; (**Pl. 8, 92**)

Year 76(H) **Khārijite issue** (obverse as year 75)
Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 16
al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra
British Museum (BM 1977, 1004.110; Farrukhzād in Q3 obverse); Walker p. 113, ANS.15 (=ANS.1917.215.3360); ANS.1975.238.30; ANS.1975.238.31 (Farrukhzād in Q3 obverse); *SICA* 1 pl. 3, nos 35–39 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 36, no. 160; (**Pl. 8-9, 93, 95**); (**Pl. 9, 94**) (Farrukhzād in Q3 obverse)
al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf
Guillou 94 (defective date legend which may be 76)

Year 77(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**
Walker p. 118, no. Sch.7 (unconfirmed); British Museum (BM 1984, 0535.1); Mitchiner 1978 p. 214, no. 1362; *SICA* 1 pl. 3, no. 40 (Shamma) (obverse marginal legend non-radial); (**Pl. 9, 96**) (obverse marginal legend radial type); (**Pl. 9, 97**)

Year 78(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**
Walker p. 118, no. 229; Weber p. 74, no. 174; (**Pl. 9, 98**)

Year 79(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**
Walker p. 117, no. Do.5 (unconfirmed); ANS.1983.95.1; Warden-Album (with Pahlavi letter **n** or **g** or Arabic *ā* or *yā* in Q1 reverse); (**Pl. 9, 99**)

Year 80(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**
ANS.1957.84.15; *SICA* 1 pl. 3, no. 41 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 9, 100**)

Year 81(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**
(**Pl. 9, 101**)

[77] *SICA* 1, pp. 30–1 refers to this as an extremely rare coin. Walker 1941, pp. 122–3, nos M.53 and T.18, refers to two coins of an uncertain ruler dated 69 and 75 respectively, with **ART** mint signature. These may this Khārijite issue, certainly in the case of the second coin. Mochiri 1987, pp. 59–60 explains the Khārijite origin, protesting at the decision to submit the dispute between Muʿāwiya and ʿAlī to arbitration.

Judging from the number of surviving examples, the mint output was large for Ardashīr-Khurra. This was one of a number of mints in Fārs with large outputs, the others being 7.34 **BYŠ** (Bīshāpūr), 7.36 **DA** (Dārābgerd), and 7.89 **ST** (Istakhr). The mints in Fārs were numerous. Those which struck drachms were the following:

1. Ardashīr-Khurra – 7.14 **ART**
2. Bīshāpūr – 7.34 **BYŠ**
3. Dārābgerd and specific places within that district (Jahrōm and Fasā) – 7.36 **DA**, 7.37.1 **DA-G**, 7.37.4 **DA-GALWM**, 7.37.3 **DA-GH**, **DAP** / **DA-P**, 7.38.3 **DP** and 7.40 **DL**.
4. Kavād-Khurra (Kavād-Xvarrah) – 7.59 **KWAT**
5. Rēv-Ardashīr – 7.65 **LYW**
6. Istakhr – 7.89 **ST**
7. Shīrāz (?) – 7.101 **ŠY**
8. Tawwaj (?) – 7.103 **TART**
9. Arrajān – 7.110.2 **WYHC**
10. Yazd – 7.114 **YZ** and 7.115 **YZD**

All the anonymous Khusrau type drachms for **ART** up to year 39 probably use the YE, that said there is an element of uncertainty for the issues dated 35 to 39, which could conceivably have Hijrī dates. The anonymous Khusrau issue of 42, probably has a Hijrī date. The drachms in the names of governors have Hijrī dates, except for those of year 26 in the names of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and Salm b. Ziyād. The era used on these is unknown, but the coins may be unofficial issues struck later as the two governors were not contemporaries. Similar problems arise for drachms from Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA** and related) dated 43 and Sīstān (7.87 **SK**) dated 56.

Copper. In addition to the coins noted above, there are copper issues which are usually undated. The mint signature is either abbreviated (**ART**) or the full name (Ardashīr-Khurra).

1. ʿ**Abd Allāh**. *Obv*. Bust right, ʿ**Abd Allāh** on right, **GDH ʾpzwt** (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased') on left, *bism allāh* in Q2. *Rev*. Fire altar and attendants, **ART** on right, unclear legend on left. Gyselen type 101. (**Pl. 116, 1353-1359**)
2. Year 60, ʿ**Umar**. *Obv*. Bust right, ʿ**Umar** on right, **GDH ʾpwzt'** on left. *Rev*. Fire altar and attendants, **ART** on right, 60 on left. (**Pl. 116, 1360**)
3. Year 65, ʿ**Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād**. *Obv*. Bust right, ʿ**Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād** (**ʾwbytʾlʾ** / **Y zyyʾtʾn**) on right, **GDH ʾpzwt'** on left. *Rev*. Fire altar and attendants, **ART** on right, 65 on left. Gyselen type 1. (**Pl. 116, 1361-1363**)
4. **Farroxzād** (**Farrokhzād**) *Obv.* Bust right, **Farroxzād** (**plʾwzʾt**) on right, **GDH ʾpzwt** on left. *Rev*. *simorgh* (sēnmerv), legend **ʾpʾt ʾrthštr GDH** (*ābād ardaxšīr-xvarrah* 'may Ardashīr-Khurra be prosperous'). Gyselen type 2.
   Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.971-1996; CM.970-1996); *SICA* 1 pl. 35, no. 496 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 116, 1364-1366**)
5. Unidentified governor or official (**dwnystny**?). *Obv*. Bust left. *Rev*. Facing winged nimbate angel, **ʾpʾtk'** (*āpātk'*, *ābādag* or *āzādag*) on left, **Ardashīr-GDH** (*ardaxšīr-xvarrah*) on right ('may Ardashīr-Khurra be prosperous [or free]'). Gyselen type 103. (**Pl. 116, 1367-1368**)
6. As above but bust facing right on obverse. Gyselen type 103. (**Pl. 116-117, 1370-1377**)
7. As 6 above but legend on reverse **ʾpʾtk'** (*āpātk'*, *ābādag* or *āzādag*) on left and *ardaxšīr* (**Ardashīr**) on right. (**Pl. 116, 1369**)
8. Unidentified governor or official. *Obv*. Facing bust, unread legend left and right. *Rev*. Fire altar and attendants, unread legend left, **ART** on right. Gyselen type 102.

9. Unidentified governor or official. *Obv*. Facing bust, cross on left and right. *Rev*. Fire altar and attendants, unread legend left, **ART** on right. (**Pl. 117, 1378**)
10. Unidentified governor or official. *Obv*. Bust right, **ʾpʾt MNW** on right, **GDH ʾpzwt** on left ('prosperous', 'the royal glory has been increased'). *Rev*. Facing bust, **lwbʾk** (*ravāg*, current) on left, unread legend on right, in Q1 reverse **ʾrt'** ⁚ ·. Gyselen type 126.

7.15 AT 𐬀𐬉 (see under **ST**, 7.89)

7.16 AW (ʾw) 𐬀𐬉 (probably Ahwāz, Khūzistān)

AW (**ʾn** or **ʾr** are possible transliterations)[78] represents a major mint in the Sasanian and early Islamic periods. It must have been one of the principal mints from Vahrān IV (AD 388–99) to Borān (AD 629–30). The abbreviation **AWH** (**ʾwh**) is found on official administrative seals together with the name in full, *Ohrmazd-Ardaxšīr* (Hormizd-Ardashīr).[79] **AWH** appears on drachms of Vahrān IV and Yazdgard I[80] whereas for Vahrān V, for example, the abbreviation is **AW**.[81] The existence of both forms of abbreviation, **AW** and **AWH** under certain Sasanian kings, raises the question as to whether one is dealing with two separate mint places.[82] The abbreviation **AW** probably denotes Hormizd-Ardashīr (Ohrmazd-Ardaxšīr),[83] modern Ahwāz (Ahvāz) which lies on the Kārūn river in Khūzistān in south west Iran.[84] Hormizd-Ardashīr was an important centre in Sasanian times and is said, according to some sources, to have been founded or rather rebuilt during the reign of Ardashīr I (224–41).[85] During the Arab invasion of Khūzistān, the administrative part of the town was destroyed by the commander ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, who left intact the commercial district. It was still flourishing three centuries later and was described as a prosperous city.[86]

The abbreviation **AW** is scarce for the early Islamic period. A number of YE dates are found on the anonymous Khusrau types up to year 35. The only known issues in the name of any governor, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, bear Hijrī dates and are particularly rare.

Year 21	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 32H)	Warden-Album (date probably 21 as written **ʾyčwyst**, rather than 23)
Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE – 36H)	Album 1992 pl. 23, no. 25; (**Pl. 9, 102**)
Year 26	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE – 37H)	(**Pl. 9, 103**)

[78] Bivar 1963, p. 161; Mochiri *ENIS* II, pp. 341–63 (refers to abbreviation as **AO** and attributes it to Ohrmazd-Ardaxšīr); Gyselen and Kalus 1983, p. 143; Sellwood 1985, p. 47 (refers to the abbreviation as **AU**); *SNS* 3/1, p. 151; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 120.

[79] Gignoux and Gyselen 1987, p. 74, no. MOT 16 for a seal of *Ohrmazd-Ardaxšīr* with **ʾwh** in centre.

[80] *SNS* 3/2, pl. 36, nos 26–30 (examples of Vahrān IV with **AWH**), pl. 48, nos A9–20 (example of Yazdgard I with **AWH**).

[81] For examples see Malek 1995a, nos 33–41 (nine drachms of Vahrān V from a hoard of fifth century drachms). For a scarce example of Vahrān IV with **AW**, see *SNS* 3/2, pl. 36, no. A21.

[82] **AW** and **AWH** are both mint signatures under Vahrān IV and Yazdgard I, however from Vahrān V on only **AW** is known. It is a commonly encountered mint signature in the late Sasanian period up to Bōrān: see Malek and Curtis (Bōrān), p. 120, nos 10–14.

[83] In Sasanian times it was also known variously as Hormuz-Shahr and Hurmuz Awshīr: Wheatley 2001, p. 428.

[84] After the Islamic conquest the town was renamed Suq al-Ahwāz, which subsequently became Ahwāz (pronounced Ahvāz in Farsi): Le Strange 1930, pp. 232–4. Post-reform Islamic dirhams of Suq al-Ahwāz are known from 79H: Klat 2002, nos 483–495 (79–81, 83, 90–8H); Eshragh 2010, pp. 54, 58, 61, nos 235 (79H), 257 (80H), 276 (81H); *SICA* 2, pls 36–7, nos 787–796 (90–2, 94–6, 98H). For the ʿAbbāsid period, see *SICA* 3, pl. 41, no. 932 (134H); *SICA* 4, pl. 28, nos 593–5 (292, 299H), 597 (313H). For conventional Islamic coins with mint signature al-Ahwāz: *SICA* 4, pls 5–8, nos 100–3 dirhams (256–8, 260H), 105–6 dinars (267, 269H, 107 dirham (269H), 108–10 dinars (270, 273–4H), 111–125 dirhams (274, 276, 288, 292, 294, 298, 300–1, 307–8H), 126 dinar (309H), 127–9 dirhams (309–10H), 130–136 dinars (317–20H), 137–140 dirhams (320H), 141–144 dinars (321–2H), 145–146 dinars (322H), 147 dinar (322H), 148–149 dirhams (323H), 150–151 dinars (324–5H), 152–153 dirhams (325–6H).

[85] c.f. *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, line 46, Daryaee 2002, p. 51 (states it was founded by Hormizd I).

[86] Wheatley 2001, p. 141.

Year 29 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 40H) Mochiri *ENIS* II p. 363, fig. 1270; (**Pl. 9, 104**)
Year 30 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 41H) ANS.2000.33.1; (**Pl. 9, 105**)
Year 33 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 44H) (**Pl. 10, 106**)
Year 34 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 45H) (**Pl. 10, 107**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
SNS (Israel) pl. 12, no. 170
Year 35 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 46H) *SICA* 1 pl. 3, no. 42 (Shamma); (**Pl. 10, 109**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
(**Pl. 10, 108**)
Year 51(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(**Pl. 10, 110**)
Year 56(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(**Pl. 10, 110A**)

7.17 AWNW (?) 𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭥 (uncertain location)

The meaning of this abbreviation is unknown. It is only known for one rare type which is in crude style. The mint legend is equivocal: it may be read as **AWNW**, but other readings are possible.

Year 42(H) **ʿAbd Allāh**
(**Pl. 10, 111-112**)

7.18 AWSYWN (?) 𐭠𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭭

It is not known what this name denotes. It is only known for one unique and unusual type with an equivocal date which could be read as 39. This may be a Hijrī date, but it is uncertain. *Tabarak allāh* means 'Blessed God', a phrase used to praise God.[87]

Year 39(?) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***tabarak allāh***[88]
(**Pl. 10, 113**) (uncertain date)

7.19 AY (ʾy) 𐭠𐭩 (probably Ērān-Khurra-Shāpūr, Khūzistān)

AY (sometimes transcribed as **AB** or **AI**) has not been conclusively attributed. In the past the signature has sometimes been considered to represent the same location as that denoted by the signatures 7.21 **AYL** (**AYR**) **ʾyl** and 7.22 **AYLAN** (**AYRAN**) **ʾylʾn**.[89] The existence of drachms for each of these three signatures for many of the same dates under Khusrau II (590–628), for example, indicates that the three signatures may represent different places. Similarly, as noted below, there are overlaps in dates in the Arab-Sasanian series between these mint signatures. **AY** is fairly common, indicating a major mint location with a high output, for the period from Yazdgard I (399–421)[90] until Khusrau II. Examples are known in the period immediately after the downfall of Khusrau II, for Kavād II (628), Ardashīr III (628–30) and Hormizd V

[87] *Qurʾān*, verse 7.54.

[88] Peus auction 333 (6 May 1992), lot 981: mint read as **AVRAN** or **HVYAN** and date as 39H(?). An alternative reading is 34. There was another example in the Warden-Album collection, where Album read the mint signature as **AYLAN**.

[89] Walker 1941, p. cvii; c.f. Album 1992, p. 166 who is loath to accept that all three signatures represent the same mint.

[90] Malek 1993b, p. 87; Malek 1995a, p. 69.

(*c*.631). It is not known for Bōrān (630–1) or Yazdgard III (632–51), which is consistent with the mint being located in southern Iran, an area taken relatively early in the Islamic conquest. Various locations have been suggested. Abarshahr (Nīshāpūr) in Khurāsān,[91] based on a probably incorrect reading of the signature of **AB**, is implausible.

AY probably represents a place commencing with Ērān. It has been argued with some force that the signature denotes Ērān-Khurra-Shāpūr (Ērān-Xvarrah-Šābuhr),[92] the *Shahrestān* containing Karka (the provincial or district capital) and Susa in Khūzistān (south west Iran). Susa (Shūsh; al-Sūs) was taken by the Arabs in 17H, albeit it was fought over in the years following by an army led by the Sasanian general Hormizdān.[93] This attribution may be correct. First, the signature is not used under Yazdgard III and is found on Arab-Sasanian coins as early as year 23. Second, the coins with this signature are relatively common for the late Sasanian period suggesting it represents an important centre, and Susa was a major city. Third, significant proportions of drachms of Khusrau II with this signature were found in the Susa I (6.25%) and Susa II (3%) hoards.[94] Fourth, there is a drachm of Shāpūr II (309–79), after whom the city was named, which has the inscription **AY** right of the altar flames on the reverse.[95] Al-Sūs is a mint signature found on post-reform Islamic dirhams from 79H.[96]

Year 23	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 34H)	(**Pl. 10, 114**)
Year 24	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 35H)	(**Pl. 10, 115**)
Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H)	(**Pl. 10, 115A**)
Year 26	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H)	(**Pl. 11, 116**)
Year 29	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 40H)	Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 22 (25 September 2012), lot 3007 (mint signature read as **ŠY**)
Year 37	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with Sogdian legend **rtwy**(?)[97]
(YE? = 48H)	(**Pl. 11, 117-118**)
Year 62(H)	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
	(**Pl. 11, 119**)

AY is particularly scarce for the early Islamic period when both **AYL** and **AYLAN** are more frequently encountered. Most of the anonymous Khusrau types have YE dates, but the issue of year 37 could either bear a Hijrī date or a YE date equivalent to 48H (the latter interpretation is followed here) but given the Sogdian marginal legend the era is uncertain, and this may be an imitative coinage struck significantly later.

There is an extremely rare copper issue with a facing nimbate bust on the obverse, and fire altar with attendants on the reverse, with the mint signature **AY**.[98] There are also various types of Arab-Sasanian copper issues with the name Susa in full (Shūsh; **šwš**). These are considered under the mint signature **ŠWŠ** (7.100).

[91] Bivar 1963, p. 160; Göbl 1971, p. 82; c.f. Mordtmann 1879, p. 118, attribution to Abiverd (northern Khurāsān); see also *SNS* 3/1, p. 152 who thinks **AY** should be located in Khūzistān.

[92] Mochiri *ENIS* II, pp. 311–38; Tyler-Smith 2017, pp. 120–1.

[93] *Khūzistān Chronicle* (trans. Jullien), pp. 182–3.

[94] Malek 1995a, p. 69. For the Susa I hoard other mints with 6% or more of the hoard were: **AHM** (6.54%), **DA** (6.59%), **LD** (6.2%), **WYHC** (11.64%) and **YZ** (6.1%). For the Susa II hoard ther mints with 3% or more of the hoard were: **AHM** (3.79%), **ART** (5.47%), **AT** (3.62%), **BYŠ** (10.58%), **DA** (14.11%), **GD** (10.58%), **LD** (3.44%), **ML** (4.76%), **ŠY** (12.79%), **WH** (3.17%) and **WYH** (11.82%).

[95] Johnson collection.

[96] Klat 2002, nos 473–482 (79–81, 83, 90, 91, 94–7H); *SICA* 2, pl. 36, nos 780–786 (80, 81, 90, 94, 96, 97H).

[97] The presence of a Sogdian legend could indicate that this coin was not struck in Khūzistān and the mint-signature, if **AY** denotes Ērān-Khurra-Shāpūr, is thus spurious. Alternatively, this coin could support the argument that the signature represents a place in Khurāsān, but this is impossible.

[98] (**Pl. 117, 1379**)

7.20 AY or ŠY (ʿy or šy) (?) 𐬀𐬌𐬌 (uncertain location)

There is a series of unusual and often crudely inscribed drachms with the name Muhammad, either in the field right of the bust, or in Q2 of the margin. The mint signature on these coins is uncertain, **AY** or **ŠY** both being possible readings.[99] On some issues the mint signature could even be read as **AYL** or **HYL**, raising the possibility that al-Hīra is intended.[100] These are almost certainly not denoting the same location as the regular Arab-Sasanian coins with **AY** noted above. There is an anonymous Khusrau type drachm issue, dated 26, 29(?) and a blundered date, with Muhammad in Q2 of the obverse margin, where the signature is a clearly **ŠY** (listed also under **ŠY**). In addition, there is such a coin with year 2 for **SYWY**. All these coins may be related and the dates imitative, not representing the actual dates the coinage was struck. The mint signature may be spurious if not meaningless on all these coins with Muhammad.[101] An uncertain location in Azerbaijān (Ādharbayjān) has been suggested.[102]

Year 4(?) / Undated	**Muhammad** with ***wāf*** in **Q2** of obverse margin[103] British Museum (uncertain / meaningless date legend; BM 1997, 0509.1); *SICA* 1 pl. 34, no. 494 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 10, no. 5 (year read as 4); (**Pl. 11, 121**) (uncertain date), (**Pl. 11, 120**) (without date)
Year 20	**Muhammad** with ***wāf*** in **Q2** of obverse margin (**Pl. 11, 122**)
Year 26	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***muhammad*** in **Q2** of obverse margin Eshragh p. 12, no. 17 (signature clearly **ŠY**; year read as 28)
Year 29(?)	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***muhammad*** in **Q2** of obverse margin Ilisch 2007 p. 20, fig. 11 (Irāq Museum) (signature clearly **ŠY**); Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 26 (with Greek letter **T** in place of star at 6h obverse margin).[104]
Undated:	**Muhammad** with ***muhammad*** in **Q2** of obverse margin with **narrow bust**[105] *SICA* 1 pl. 34, no. 495 (Shamma); Ilisch 2007 p. 19, fig. 8 (= Timmerman *ONSN* 92–93, 1984)
Year 47(?)	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***muhammad*** in **Q2** of obverse margin with **broader bust**[106] (**Pl. 11, 123**)
Date unclear	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***muhammad*** in **Q2** of obverse margin Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 27 (signature clearly **SY**; year blundered; with letter **M** in place of star at 3h reverse margin).[107]

All these issues are scarce. One cannot be confident that the dates relate to any particular era, and if so, which one or ones. Judging by the crude style they may have been struck after the 70s Hijrī. Modern forgeries of these types are known with a combination of legends in Pahlavi, Arabic and Greek.

[99] *SICA* 1, pl. 34, no. 494.

[100] Ilisch 2007, p. 22.

[101] Ilisch 2007, p. 19 considers nothing can be made of the mint signature unless taken as another Pahlavi ***alif*** or **ha** in which case the meaning is still obscure.

[102] Sears 1995. However, Ilisch 2007, pp. 21–2 has given reasons why Hīra is, in his view, more plausible.

[103] *Wāf* may be a reference to full. Album classifies these issues as being Arab-Armenian: Album auction 19 (15 May 2014), lot 144.

[104] This coin is doubtful and probably a modern forgery.

[105] This follows the style of Khusrau II's early coinage with a narrow bust on the obverse and bonnet type headgear for the attendants on the reverse.

[106] The bust on the obverse and headgear of the attendants on the reverse follows the style of Khusrau II's later coinage. The date is unclear. On another example of this type the date has been read as 37: Album auction 14 (21 September 2012), lot 98.

[107] This coin is doubtful and probably a modern forgery. For another example of this doubtful coin: Numismatica Genevensis auction 8 (24 November 2014), lot 225, catalogued as an Arab-Armenian issue from *c*.80H.

7.21 AYL (ʾ**yl**) 𐭠𐭩𐭤 (uncertain location; possibly Ērān-Khurra-Shāpūr, Khūzistān)

AYL (sometimes transcribed as **AYR**) has in the past been equated with **AY** and **AYLAN** as discussed above under **AY** (7.19 above). It is not as common as **AY** and **AYLAN**, but is often found in the Sasanian period from Vahrān IV (388–99)[108] to Ardashīr III (628–30).[109] **AYL** is likely to denote a place beginning with Ērān. Its location is uncertain, but in the early Islamic period it probably represented a place within the Kūfan prefecture. If **AY** is correctly attributed to Susa, then **AYL** is unlikely to be the same location. The fact that there were so few Khusrau II drachms of **AYL** in the Susa I (0.48%) and Susa II (0.09%) hoards is another pointer against Susa.[110] Thus, for now, the location can be described as unknown. Examples are known as follows.[111]

Year 23	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 34H)	*SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (Warden-Album, date possibly 21)
Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H)	Walker p. 6, no. 11 (= Gaube pl. 1, no. 4, London)
Year 26	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H)	(**Pl. 11, 124**)
Year 27	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 38H)	(**Pl. 11, 125**)
Year 29	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 61H)	Walker p. 52, no. M.33 (noted without illustration); Morton and Eden auction 52 (30 November 2011), lot 806 (date defectively written, listed as 29?, but may be 20)
Uncertain	**Muhammad** with ***muhammad*** in Q2 obverse margin
	Warden-Album (both date and mint crudely inscribed and uncertain)
Year 30	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(uncertain era)	Mochiri 1987 p. 96, no. 60, pl. 12, no. 68; (**Pl. 11, 126**)
Year 35	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H)	ANS.1971.31.4; (**Pl. 12, 127**)
Year 37	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 48H)	Walker p. 14, no. I.6; British Museum (BM 1949, 0803.197); Gaube, pl. 1, no. 5; Album 1992 pl. 23, no. 26; (**Pl. 12, 128**)
Year 46(?)(H)	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
	SICA 1 p. 15, fn[59] (Warden-Album, date crudely written as **šč**h?)
Year 52(H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type**[112]
	(**Pl. 12, 129**)
	Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān
	Eshragh p. 18, no. 50; (**Pl. 12, 130**)
Year 59(H)	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
	Walker p. 53, no. M.35 (noted without illustration; doubtful)

[108] For examples of drachms of Vahrān IV with **AYL**, see *SNS* 3/2, pl. 37, nos A23 and A24; c.f. Mochiri *ENIS* II, p. 464.

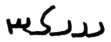
[109] For example of a drachm of Ardashīr III with **AYL**, see *SNS* (Israel), pl. 11, no. 161.

[110] Malek 1993b, pp. 85–7. Göbl 1971, p. 82 treated both **AYL** and **AYLAN** as representing Susa in Khūzistān; followed by Gaube 1973, pp. 87–8; for further discussion see *SNS* 3/1, pp. 152–3; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 121.

[111] In addition there is an anonymous issue with *mhammad rasūl allāh* with a legend on the reverse which could possibly be read as the mint signature **AYL**, but the epigraphy does not quite fit this reading and it may not even be a mint signature: Ilisch 2007, fig. 4 (see below under issues 7.120 Without Mint).

[112] This is a late date for a coin in the name of Khusrau, and hence the date may not be authentic.

The drachms with mint signature **AYL** are all scarce, particularly those of the anonymous Khusrau type. The era for the earlier (23 to 27) anonymous Khusrau type is probably YE. It is uncertain whether those of years 35 or 37 are Hijrī or YE. Both are possible, but the latter interpretation is followed here.[113] Most coins of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād bear Hijrī dates, but those of years 25 to 31 use PYE dates, an era usually encountered with Tabaristān drachms of the Dābūyid Ispahbads and early ʿAbbāsids. The drachms dated 30 for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān are of an unknown era or lack an authentic date, the same date legend is found for 7.34 **BYŠ**, 7.36 **DA**, 7.44 **GD**, 7.63 **LD**, 7.75 **NY** and 7.89 **ST**.

7.22 AYLAN (ʾ**yl**ʾ**n**)  (probably Hulwān, Jibāl)

AYLAN (sometimes transcribed as **AYRAN**) has in the past been equated with **AY** and **AYL** as discussed under **AY** (7.19 above). The signature first appears on coins towards the end of Kavād I's second reign (499–531).[114] After that it appears on coins fairly regularly until the turbulent period immediately after Khusrau II's death in 628 when it is found on drachms of Kavād II, Ardashīr III, Hormizd V and Khusrau V, but not Bōrān or Yazdgard III. It probably represents a place beginning with Ērān, possibly Ērān-āsān-kar-Kavād, meaning 'Kavād has made Ērān peaceful' (Hulwān) in western Jibāl along the east side of the river Tigris by the current village of Sar-ī Pul-ī Dhuhāb.[115] This attribution is supported by the first appearance of the mint signature under Kavād I after whom the city and district was named. The word **AY** / **LAN** is found on two lines in the centre of some administrative seals with the name in full around **ʾylʾn ʾsʾn kl kwʾty** (Ērān-āsān-kar Kavād).[116] The mint name Hulwān appears on post-reform Islamic dirhams from 81H.[117] Hulwān was captured during the latter part of the caliphate of ʿUmar, when the population capitulated and agreed to pay tax.[118] Al-Yaʿqūbī writing in the third century Hijrī described Hulwān as being large and beautiful, whose inhabitants were a mixture of Arabs and non-Arabs who were Persians and Kurds.[119] Hulwān was destroyed by the Saljuks in 437H and there was an earthquake three years later.[120] The view has been expressed that the signature denotes the Court but, judging from hoard evidence and extant examples in collections, output seems too small.[121] Also this identification would not explain the non-existence of **AYLAN** under Yazdgard III.

Year '2'	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
	SICA 1 p. 16, fn[64] (Warden-Album; date **TLYN** for 2 is of an uncertain era; *al-rahmān* in Q2 obverse)[122]
Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H)	*SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)
Year 25	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 57H)	(**Pl. 12, 132**)
Year 27	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 59H)	(**Pl. 12, 133**) (**yzʾn** in Q1 obverse)

[113] Walker 1941, p. cvii noted that Susa was captured in 17H, leaving open the possibility that all the anonymous Khusrau type drachms of mint signature **AYL** bear Hijrī dates.

[114] For examples of drachms of Kavād I, see *SNS* 3/2, pl. 122, nos 100–105 (years 33, 35 and 39).

[115] *SICA* 1, p. 53; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 122.

[116] Gyselen 2007b, pp. 92–3, no. 00.3; illustrated above p. 80, fig. 7.2.

[117] Klat 2002, nos 278 (81H), 279 (90H), 280 (91H), 281 (93H); *SICA* 2, pl. 25, no. 556 (91H); New York Sale 25 (5 January 2011), lot 504 (95H). For the ʿAbbāsid period: *SICA* 4, pl. 15, nos 299–302 (294, 302–3, 307H).

[118] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), p. 130.

[119] Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 270, (trans.), vol 1, p. 104.

[120] Ducène 2009, p. 66. For a brief description of Hulwān in the centuries after the Arab conquest, see Le Strange 1930, p. 191.

[121] An analysis of a number of major hoards of Khusrau II drachms shows only a small percentage of coins with **AYLAN**, see Malek 1993b, p. 87; Malek 2013, p. 470.

[122] Illustrated below, Chapter 9, section 9.53, p. 319, fig. 9.53.3.

Year 29 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 61H) *SICA* 1 p. 16, fn[64] (noted without illustration)
Year 30 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 62H) Walker p. 53, no. I.23 (not illustrated); Mochiri 1987 p. 91, no. 12, pl. 2, no. 9 (who, in place of a date, read **sl** = *sraw* = word)[123] (**yzʾn** in Q1 obverse); *SICA* 1 pl. 3, no. 44 (Shamma); (**Pl. 12, 136**)
Year 31 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād** with (**yzʾn** in Q1 obverse)[124]
(PYE = 63H) Walker p. 53, no. I.24 (not illustrated); Mochiri 1987 p. 91, no. 13, pl. 2, no. 10; *SICA* 1 pl. 3, no. 45 (Shamma); (**Pl. 12, 137**)
Year 32 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 43H) (**Pl. 12, 131**)
Year 32 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād** with (**yzʾn** in Q1 obverse)[125]
(PYE = 64H) Walker p. 53, no. Th.10 (= Gaube pl. 8, no. 86); Mochiri 1987 p. 91, no. 14, pl. 2, no. 11
Year 35 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād** (with **yzʾn** in Q1 obverse)[126]
(PYE? = 67H) CNG auction e394 (29 March 2017), lot 566
Year 37 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād** with (**yzʾn** in Q1 obverse)[127]
(PYE? = 69H) *SICA* 1 p. 35 (noted without illustration)
Year 56(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād** with (**yzʾn** in Q1 obverse)
SICA 1 p. 16, fn[64] (noted without illustration); Mochiri 1987 p. 91, no. 10, pl. 2, no. 7 (date read as 56, but 53 also possible)[128]
Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād** with (**yzʾn** in Q1 obverse)
Walker p. 54, no. I.25 (not illustrated); (**Pl. 12, 134-135**)
Year 61(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 54, no. J.2 (not illustrated)

The drachms with the mint signature **AYLAN** are all scarce. The issues of ʿUbayd Allāh are dated by a mixture of eras, using both PYE and Hijrī dates, as in the case of his drachms from **AYL**. The issue reported for year 37 (if correctly read) does not fit as PYE date would be 69H, well after the death of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

7.23 AYPTAK (ʾyptʾk) 𐭠𐭩𐭯𐭬 (possibly Itāk, Khurāsān)

AYPTAK (which may also be transcribed as **SYPTAK**) is not known for the Sasanian period. In the early Islamic period it is rare, being known for one date under Salm b. Ziyād, indicating a location in Khurāsān where he governed. It has been tentatively suggested that it may represent Itāk (Etek, meaning the foot of a mountain), the name for the region around Abivard in Khurāsān.[129]

Year 64(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 84, no. Ox4 = *SICA* 1 pl. 4, no. 43 (Ashmolean);[130] Fitzwilliam Museum (CM. IS.14-R); (**Pl. 12-13, 138-139**)

[123] Mochiri 1987, p. 91 read **sl** = *sraw* = word instead of a date. The date, albeit crudely inscribed, is more likely to be PYE year 30 (= 62H), which is plausible for a coin of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. It is one of a series of drachms with PYE dates of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād with a word read as **yz**ʾ**n** for *yazdān* (God or Gods) in Q1 of obverse margin.

[124] **yz**ʾ**n** for *yazdān* (God or Gods).

[125] **yz**ʾ**n** or **yzd**ʾ**n** (Gods).

[126] **yz**ʾ**n** or **yzd**ʾ**n** (Gods). The date is likely to be PYE35, equivalent to 67H, which is after ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād's death.

[127] **yz**ʾ**n** or **yzd**ʾ**n** (Gods). As the coin has not been illustrated it is impossible to verify the date.

[128] **yz**ʾ**n** or **yzd**ʾ**n** (Gods).

[129] *SICA* 1 p. 22, fn[111]. Abivard lay to the east of Nisā, beyond the mountain ridge and on the edge of the Merv (Marw) desert, Le Strange 1930, p. 394.

[130] Walker interpreted the mint signature as possibly being the date **špt**ʾ**t** (73), which seems implausible. It is hard to see why a drachm would have two dates. Year 73 would not fit with Salm b. Ziyād's dates.

7.24 AYWL (ʾywl)(?) 𐭮𐭮𐭠𐭪 (unknown location)

AYWL is known from an unclear Arab-Sasanian copper issue. The mint legend may be read in more than one way and it is uncertain whether this is a mint place at all.

Copper. **AYWL** (?). *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend **GDH ʾpzwt'** (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased') on left, unread word (possibly intended for Khusrau) on right. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, Pahlavi legend **ʾt** or **st** on left, **ʾywl**(?) on right. Gyselen type 120.

7.25 BAB (bʾb) 𐭥𐭠𐭥 (probably Bāb)

BAB is found on a unique drachm of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. It could be a defectively written **BYŠ** (or even **BHY**?). A more probable reading is Bāb, which is also known as the mint al-Bāb on a post-reform Islamic dirham dated 93H.[131] Bāb (Bāb al-Abwāb; 'the Gate of the Gates') is in the Darband (Derbent / Derbend) area in Shirwān on the south western shores of the Caspian Sea, where the Sasanians had built a fortress with a long wall from the sea to the spur of the mountains. The fortress seems to have been handed over without a fight by the Sasanian commander Shahrbarāz.[132] Derbend was a port and a stone wall enclosed the town. It had a Water Gate so no ship could come in or out without permission. It also had two further gates: the Great Gate and the Little Gate.[133] It is said that some 24,000 Syrians were settled in the city of Bāb al-Abwāb by Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik and assigned stipends.[134]

Year 50(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Eshragh p. 17, no. 46

7.26 BBA (bbʾ) 𐭥𐭥𐭠 (possibly camp itinerant mint; probably within Khurāsān)

BBA is a well known mint signature, which most frequently appears on the coinage of the governors of Khurāsān, Salm b. Ziyād, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim and Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh. Some numismatists have attributed the signature to Balkh in Khurāsān,[135] which cannot be entirely excluded. For the Sasanian period the signature regularly appears on drachms from Vahrān IV until Pērōz. The signature reappears under Khusrau II (590–628), then ceases for a time after his reign and does not pick up again until years 15, then 18 to 20 of Yazdgard III, by which time most of the Sasanian empire had been taken by the Umayyads.[136] In Khusrau II's later years, the coins with **BBA** are in a distinctive style, different from other drachms of that period. The signature which means *dar* ('the Gate') may represent the court / camp mint, probably originally at Ctesiphon, but for the later years of the Sasasian period could have been an itinerant mint.[137] In the early Islamic period its location in Khurāsān is supported by a number of factors. First, Arab-Sasanian drachms with this signature are known for both Salm b. Ziyād and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim who were both governors of Khurāsān. Secondly, the coins are often found with Hephthalite countermarks with Bactrian legends typically found on Arab-Sasanian drachms from Khurāsān. Thirdly, the undated issue in the name of Khusrau with no marginal legends has both **BBA** and **ANBYR** (7.6 Anbīr) on the reverse.[138] The attribution to the court is strengthened by the use of the ideogram **BBA** (**bb'**, gate), on some inscriptions as representing the royal residence such as on Kerdir's inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam.[139] The signature should not be confused with **BHL** which is a different signature, no doubt for Balkh (see 7.29 below).[140]

[131] Klat 2002, no. 141 (93H). It is also a mint signature for later years: Klat 2002, nos 142–154 (114, 115, 117–126, 128H); *SICA* 2, pl. 19, nos 437–446 (119–121, 123, 125, 126H).

[132] Kennedy 2007, p. 365.

[133] Le Strange 1930, p. 180.

[134] al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti 1916), p. 325.

[135] Walker 1941, pp. cxii–cxiii. Walker read the signature as **BLH** rather than **BBA**.

[136] This raises the question as to whether or not these issues in the name of Yazdgard III were struck under his authority.

[137] Göbl 1971, p. 82; Mordtmann 1879, p. 114; Gaube 1973, pp. 88–9; Gyselen and Kalus 1983, pp. 146–7; Gurnet 1991; *SICA* 1, pp. 53–4; *SNS* 3/1, pp. 154–5; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 122; c.f. Paruck 1944, pp. 98–100.

[138] (**Pl. 2, 13A**). **BBA** is paired with another Khurāsān mint on a copper reading (obv.) *baraka* / *min allāh* / **BBA** and (rev.) ʾ**pzwt'** / **MLW** / (?).

[139] Herrmann 1989, p. 39, section 2, line 3.

[140] Mochiri *ENIS* II, pp. 106–17 which reads the signature as **BLX** for Balkh and regards **BBA** and **BHL** as interchangeable.

Undated	**Anonymous Khusrau type** (**Pl. 2, 13A**) (with **ANBYR** left and **BBA** right of attendants on reverse)
Year 27 (YE = 38H)	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** Warden-Album (no marginal legend, but presumably a posthumous issue as Yazdgard was killed in year 20 of his era)
Year 44(H)	**ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir** Eshragh p. 16, no. 37; (**Pl. 13, 140**)
Year 62(H)	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād** British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.19); Walker p. 54, no. ETN.11; *ENIS* II p. 117, fig. 290 (Mochiri); *SICA* 1 pl. 4, nos 46–47 (Shamma), 48 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 13, 141**)
Year 64(H)	**Salm b. Ziyād** *SICA* 1 p. 22, fn [111] (Warden-Album)
Year 67(H)	**ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim** Walker pp. 88–9, nos 158–162; Miles *RIC* p. 5, no. 18; *ENIS* II, p. 117, fig. 291 (Mochiri); Mitchiner 1978 p. 215, no. 1375 (date read as 70); Album 1992 pls 30–1, nos 115–117; Eshragh p. 27, no. 103; (**Pl. 13, 142-146**) **Salm b. Ziyād** Walker p. 75, no. 113 (uncertain date, written similar to 37, but should be 67); Mitchiner 1978 p. 220, no. 1406; Album 1992 pl. 29, no. 95; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 12, no. 171; (**Pl. 13, 147**) (uncertain date, possibly 70 rather than 67); (**Pl. 13, 148**) (without obverse marginal legend)
Year 68(H)	**ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim** Walker p. 89, nos 163–165; *ENIS* II p. 118, fig. 292 (Mochiri); Album 1992 pl. 31, no. 118; (**Pl. 13-14, 149-151**) **Salm b. Ziyād** Walker p. 75, no. B.23 (uncertain date, written similar to 38, but should be 68)
Year 77(H)	**Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh** Walker p. 106, no. I.44 (not illustrated); Gaube pl. 9, no. 98 (Haddad); *ENIS* II p. 117, fig. 293 (Mochiri); *Damascus* pl. 25, no. AS.93; Eshragh p. 38, no. 170; (**Pl. 14, 152-155**) (with **dʾwynt'** or **yʾnbwt'** in Q3 obverse)

The production of drachms at the mint **BBA** appears to have been at its highest in 67 and 68H. Otherwise output seems to have been modest. All the issues bear Hijrī dates.

7.27 BCLA (**bčlʾ**) (Basra, Southern Iraq)

The mint name **BCLA** (which may be transcribed **BCRA**) represents the garrison town of Basra.[141] The Arabs started building Basra, located just to the south of modern Basra in southern Iraq, in about 16H and the lands around were divided among the Arab tribes who were garrisoned there.[142] It was one of the three great towns built in southern Iraq (Lower Mesopotamia) soon after the Arab conquest, the first two being Kūfa and Basra, later followed by Wāsit.[143] Basra and Kūfa were the two eastern capitals of the Umayyad empire. The battle of the Camel, in which ʿAlī gained a victory in 36H, was fought near Basra.[144] Basra became famous for its ports and canals.

The signature is not, of course, known for the Sasanian period. Examples in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād from 56 to 63H are particularly common. Those in his name dated 51 and 52 should not be Hijrī

[141] Mordtmann 1879, p. 131; Gaube 1973, p. 89.

[142] al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti 1916), pp. 410–11; al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), p.60, narrates that it was built by ʿUtba b. Ghazwān starting in 14H. Some sources refer to its foundation being in 16 or 17H: Le Strange 1930, p. 44; Hanaoka 2016, pp. 174–5.

[143] Wāsit was built in the beginning of the 80sH under al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. Le Strange 1930, p. 3. The Arabs called the northern half of Mesopotamia, al-Jazīra (the island) and the southern half, al-ʿIrāq (the cliff or shore): Le Strange 1930, p. 24.

[144] Le Strange 1930, p. 44; Chapter 3, section 4, p. 22 above.

dates as his father Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān was governor then.[145] Coins of the Arab-Sasanian type continued to be struck even after the striking of post-reform Islamic dirhams began in 79H.[146]

Year 26 (PYE = 58H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**[147] (**Pl. 15, 165**)

Year 52 (YE = 64H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**[148] Walker p. 57, no. To.1 (unconfirmed); (**Pl. 18, 199**) (blundered date)

Year 53(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** (**Pl. 14, 156**) (no visible obverse marginal legend and blundered date)
Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān
Walker p. 40, no. 57

Year 55(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**[149]
Walker p. 40, no. Cam.2 (= Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.3-R); Album 1992 p. 180, no. 70; (**Pl. 14, 157-158, 159-159A**) (with *rabbī allāh* in Q3 reverse), (**Pl. 14, 158A**)

Year 56(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 57, nos 77–78; ANS.1971.316.1417; Album 1992 p. 184, nos 87–88; *SICA* 1 pl. 4, nos 49–51 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 19, no. 56; (**Pl. 14-15, 160-161**)

Year 57(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
British Museum (BM 1977, 1004.5); ANS.1971.316.1418; Walker p. 58, no. Ox.2 = *SICA* 1 pl. 4, no. 52 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 15, 162**)

Year 58(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 58, nos 79–80, Miles *RIC* p. 5, no. 15; Gaube pl. 8, no. 87 (Dr Lindpaintner); *SICA* 1 pl. 4, nos 53–54, 56 (Shamma), 55 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 12, no. 172; Eshragh p. 21, nos 67–68; (**Pl. 15, 163-164**)

Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 58, nos 81–82; Walker, p. 57, no. O.4 (read as 51); British Museum (BM 1977, 1004.6); Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.IS.5-R); Album 1992 p. 184, no. 89; *SICA* 1 pl. 4, nos 57–58 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 12, no. 173; Eshragh p. 21, no. 70; (**Pl. 15-16, 166-174**)

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 58, nos 83–84; p. 59, nos RB.8 and ETN.12; Miles *RIC* p. 5, no. 16; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 200, no. 34; *Damascus* pl. 34, nos AS.70–71; Album 1992 p. 184, no. 90; *SICA* 1 pls 4–6, nos 57–74, 76 (Shamma), 75 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 12, no. 174; Eshragh p. 21, no. 73; (**Pl. 16, 175-179**)

[145] Walker 1941, p. cxi.

[146] *SICA* 1, p. 27, fn[146] which notes that post-reform Islamic dirhams dated 79H are relatively common for Basra; Klat 2002, nos 168–176 (79–82, 100, 101, 103, 128H); *SICA* 2, pls 19–22, nos 449–494 (79–82, 100, 101, 128H). There is an unusual conventional Islamic dirham of 40H: see Klat 2002, no. 167 (40H). Al-Basra is also commonly found on ʿAbbāsid dirhams: *SICA* 3, pls 22–8, nos 504–640 (133–148, 160–7, 181–2, 185–6, 198–200, 204H); and for dinars and dirhams: *SICA* 4, pls 8–12, nos 158–228 (235, 239, 241–2, 245, 247–252, 270, 285, 287, 291–6, 300–3, 305, 307–9, 311, 313–5, 317–20, 322–5, 328, 330, 332H).

[147] This must be a PYE date and thus equivalent to 58H or imitation 'FLC' (funny looking coin; a term devised by Album to denote crude coins or those of an unusual style which were probably struck later than indicated by the date on the coin or were unofficial issues).

[148] Walker, p. 57, O.4 (51) and To.1 (52) listed drachms under 51 and 52 respectively as YE dates equivalent to 63H and 64H. The first coin is in fact dated 59H. The second was not illustrated. The date of the example in the Johnson collection ((**Pl. 18, 199**) 0100) looks more like 52 (**dwpnčh**), but Bates in a personal communication is of the view that it should be read as 59 (**nwpnčh**) as he reads the first two strokes as **nw** for 9 (rather than **dw** for 2). The difficulty with that reading is that the first two strokes touch each other at the bottom whereas **nw** should be two separate horizontal strokes. Further, for other coins of Basra dated 59H the form of 9 is **n'w** not **nw**. A YE date is plausible, as there are relatively plentiful issues with 7.36 **DA** mint signature dated 52H in the name of ʿUbayd Allāb b. Ziyād.

[149] This is the only known issue for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (or indeed anyone else) dated 55H. One type has an unusual style, exemplified by the hairball on the obverse. The issues dated 55H are posthumous issues, if not contemporary imitations, as he died before 55H.

Year 61(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 59, nos 85–86; Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.IS.7-R; CM.IS.6-R); *Damascus* p.189, no. AS.72 (not illustrated); Gaube pl. 8, no. 88 (Haddad); Mitchiner 1978 p. 213, no. 1358; *SICA* 1 pl. 6, nos 77–86 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 13, nos 175–177; Eshragh p. 22, no. 77, Weber p. 35, nos 84–85; (**Pl. 16-17, 180-185**)

Year 62(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 59, nos 87–88; British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.9); ANS.1976.274.10; ANS.1972.169,176; ANS.1972.169.177; Miles *Persepolis* (1959) p. 96, no. 34 (Naqsh-i Rustam); Mochiri 1987, no. 71, pl. 14, no. 82 (with **hw** for *hu* (good) in Q3 obverse); *SICA* 1 pls 6–7, nos 87–91, 93–94 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 23, no. 80; Weber pp. 36–7, nos 86–88, 90 (year read as 63); (**Pl. 17, 186-191**)

Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 59, no. RB.9; p. 60, nos Ox.3, B.13; British Museum (BM 1949, 0803.270; BM 1961, 0506.1); Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.TM.20-R; T-20-1918); ANS.1971.316.1427; *Damascus* pl. 34, no. AS.73; *SICA* 1 pl. 7, nos 99–104 (Shamma), 105 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 13, nos 178–179; Eshragh pp. 23, 26, nos 83, 101 (read as year 66); Weber p. 37, no. 89; (**Pl. 17-18, 192-197**)

Year 64(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 60, nos O.5, Cam.4 (= Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.8-R); (**Pl. 18, 198**)

Year 65(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Walker, p. 106, no. Th.16 (not illustrated); (**Pl. 18, 201**)
al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh
Mochiri 2000, p. 46, no. 25, pl. 19, no. 40 (Warden-Album); (**Pl. 18, 200**) (with *rabbunā* or **d'w**? in Q3 obverse)

Year 66(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**[150]
(**Pl. 18, 202**)

Year 66(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 102, no. I.42 (not illustrated); (**Pl. 18, 203**)

Year 67(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 60, no. M.38 (noted as questionable, not illustrated)

Year 68(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 60, no. T.8 (noted as doubtful, not illustrated)

Year 73(H) **Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh**
Damascus p. 197, no. AS.94 (not illustrated), pl. 35, no. AS.95; Gaube pl. 5, no. 53 (Haddad); (**Pl. 18, 204**)

Year 74(H) **Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh**
SICA 1, p. 32 (Warden-Album)

Year 75(H) **Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh**
Walker p. 109, no. So.1; British Museum (BM 5601-0285); Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) pl. 27, no. 39 (Azizbeglou); *SICA* 1 pl. 8, no. 106 (Shamma); (**Pl. 18, 205**)
Bishr b. Marwān with **Caliph Orans** reverse[151]
Walker *NC* (1952) pl. 9, no. 2 (Azizbeglou); ANS.1975.270.1; *SICA* 1 pl. 8, no. 107 (Shamma); (**Pl. 18, 206**)

[150] Silver plated, probably a contemporary counterfeit.

[151] This reverse style is also known for 7.4 **AWKLA** dated 73–5H. For an important discussion of these issues, see Treadwell 1999. In 2019 a modern forgery of this type (probably cast) was circulating in the market.

al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf
Al-Qazzaz 1973 p. 21, Iraq Museum 14123 (obverse *shahāda* in margin in radial form; date and mint in Arabic on reverse)

Year 83(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān**
Weber p. 81, no. 193 (read as year 81); (**Pl. 18, 207**)

In addition to the above there is a copper issue in the name of Bishr b. Marwān dated 75(H) of the same type as his silver drachms of that date, struck on a thick flan. This may be a pattern striking in copper of the drachm issue or a trial strike of a copper coinage in companion to the silver.[152]

Basra was one of the most prolific mints striking Arab-Sasanian type drachms under the Umayyads. This was mostly because of the large output in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. By contrast Kūfa, also in Iraq, struck drachms in much smaller numbers. With a few rare exceptions all the issues bear a Hijrī date. There is an extremely rare issue in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād with a PYE date (26) equivalent to 58H. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād's drachms for the period 56 to 64 are particularly common. There are unconfirmed issues dated 67 and 68H. ʿUbayd Allāh died in 67H and it is questionable whether any coins were struck in his name in Basra in either 67 or 68H.

The drachm in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād for the year 52 raise the question of what era was being used. According to the written sources, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād was not appointed governor of Basra until 55H.[153] A YE era date is plausible (= 64H),[154] which is unusual for ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād's coinage which generally only uses PYE or Hijrī dates.[155]

Production of drachms in Basra fell dramatically from 64H. In 65 and 66H coins were struck in the names of Zubayrid governors. After 66H (or 68H if Walker's doubtful reference to the ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād coin can be confirmed) no coins are known to have been struck at Basra until the issues in the name of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh (73 to 75H).

There are three different rulers named on drachms dated 75H. The first is in the name of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh and bears the normal design for Arab-Sasanian drachms, with the mint and date in Pahlavi and fire altar with attendants on the reverse. The second is in the name of Bishr b. Marwān and has the Caliph Orans reverse in place of the fire altar. The third is even more unusual as the legends on both obverse and reverse are entirely in Arabic (apart from **GDH ʾpzwt**). This issue, the only one known for Basra with the mint and date written in Arabic, is in the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf who was appointed of Kūfa and Basra on the death of Bishr b. Marwān.

After 75H the mint in Basra ceased activity for three years. The only known Arab-Sasanian issue after that is dated 83H. It is in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who was an opponent of the Umayyads and had briefly taken control of Basra from al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf's cousin. In the interim there had been a relatively plentiful post-reform dirham issue from 79 to 82H.

7.28 BH (bh) 𐭱𐭲 (uncertain location)[156]

BH is a very scarce Sasanian mint briefly active under Khusrau II (590–628).[157] It does not appear again until 60H when it strikes for ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. Walker suggested that it may represent Bihqubādh (Bih-Kavād or Weh-Kavād/ Veh-Kavād, named after the Sasanian king) in Iraq. There were three sub-districts of Bihqubādh along the Euphrates: Upper (Bihqubādh al-Aʿlā), Middle (Bihqubādh al-Awsat) and

[152] Shah Firzan collection (14.63g). Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 24, p. 276, fig. 9.24.2.

[153] Al-Tabarī, ii, 175; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 180; Khalifa (trans.), p. 83.

[154] Walker 1941, p. cxi. It is possible that the engraver forgot which era to use.

[155] The coins in his name of 7.36 **DA** mint signature generally use YE.

[156] See under 7.35 **BYW** below for coins dated year 35 with a signature read in the past as **BH**.

[157] For example, year 7 (Johnson 022161).

Lower (Bihqubādh al-Asfal).[158] Mochiri rejected this view and contended that the signature is in fact **GH** for Jahrōm.[159] One cannot be confident of either interpretation and for now the location is best regarded as uncertain.[160] Bihqubādh al-A'la,[161] Bihqubādh al-Aswat[162] and Bihqubādh al-Asfal[163] appear on post-reform Islamic dirhams.[164]

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 55, no. B.12 (= Gaube pl. 8, no. 89); (**Pl. 18, 208**)
Year 61(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 55, no. I.27; British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.10); (**Pl. 19, 209-211**)
Year 62(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
SICA 1 p. 16, fn[64] (Warden-Album)
Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(**Pl. 19, 212**)
Year 68(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
Weber p. 65, no. 156; (**Pl. 19, 213**) (with *musʿab* on obverse Q3)

Coinage with the mint signature **BH** is scarce. The dates are all Hijrī. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād was made governor of al-Kūfa and its dependencies in 60H and the first coin in his name with **BH** mint signature is of the same year.

7.29 BHL (**bhl**) (probably Balkh, Khurāsān)

BHL is a very rare mint signature for the early Islamic period and should not be confused with **BBA** (see 7.26 above).[165] For the Sasanian period the signature is primarily known for coins of Hormizd IV (579–90)[166] and Vahrān VI but not thereafter. The signature probably represents Balkh in Khurāsān. A location in Khurāsān is supported by the presence of countermarks with Bactrian legends on the only known Arab-Sasanian example. Such countermarks are also found on drachms from other mints in Khurāsān (e.g. **MLW** for Marw, see 7.68 below). Post-reform Islamic dirhams for Balkh are known for the late Umayyad period.[167]

The only known Arab-Sasanian drachm is in a name which is not entirely clear. Khusrau may have been intended. It is dated 68(H) and thus is late for an issue in Khusrau's name, which largely disappeared in the late 40sH (save for Sīstān).

Year 68(H) **Unidentified official** (or **anonymous Khusrau type**)
(**Pl. 19, 214**)

[158] From the names of the various districts, it can be deduced that the divisions were taken over by the Umayyads from the Sasanians: Le Strange 1930, p. 81.

[159] Mochiri 1987, p. 61.

[160] Gaube 1973, p. 89. Sears 1997, p. 67 suggests Weh-Ardashīr in central Iraq.

[161] Klat 2002, nos 194–195 (79H, 90H).

[162] Klat 2002, no. 193 (90H).

[163] Klat 2002, no. 192 (90H).

[164] Walker 1941, p. cix.

[165] Some numismatists equate 7.26 **BBA** with **BHL**, see for example Mochiri *ENIS* II, pp. 106–10, who points out that while **BHL** is found on coins of Hormizd IV and Vahrān VI, the signature **BBA** is not known for those rulers. He surmises that **BHL** is simply another form of the more commonly encountered **BBA**, which he places at Balkh.

[166] Hormizd IV, years 9–12 in particular: see Mochiri *ENIS* II p. 110, figs 252–255. Paruck 1944, p. 86 also refers to coins of Vahrān IV and Khusrau I (year 11).

[167] Klat 2002, nos 178–189 (113–16, 120–2, 124, 128, 130–2H); *SICA* 2 pl. 22, nos 496–500 (115, 122, 128H). Klat 2002, nos 176–177 (111–12H for Balkh al-Baydā); *SICA* 2 pl. 22, no. 495 (111H for Balkh al-Baydā). For a dirham of Balkh probably dated 82H: Horizon auction 1 (2 October 2016), lot 254 (previously listed as 87H).

7.30 BN (bn) ب (uncertain location within Kirmān)

There has been much speculation regarding reading and identification of this mint signature.[168] It has previously been read as **GN**[169] and **GW**.[170] The reading of **BN** is preferred here. The signature is well attested in Sasanian times, from Pērōz (457–84)[171] to Yazdgard III (632–51). **BN** is also found as a suffix on Arab-Sasanian drachms with mint signature **KRMAN**, forming **KRMAN -BN**. This pattern of a signature either found on its own or as a suffix with **KRMAN** is noted for other mint signatures (see 7.58.3–34). It is therefore best regarded as unlocated, but within Kirmān.[172]

Year 20	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** with ***jayyid***
(YE = 31H)	Walker p. 3, no. Th.1; Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.301-1997); ANS.1986.126.11; Nikitin and Roth, nos 9–10, 14; Eshragh p. 10, no. 6; (**Pl. 19, 215-216**)
	Anonymous Yazdgard type with ***bism allāh***
	Gyselen and Nègre 1982, pl. 5, no. 256 (Qamišliyya hoard)
	Anonymous Yazdgard type with ***bism***
	Album auction 16 (17 May 2013), lot 63 (obverse marginal legend in Q2 with *bism* only)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism***
	Xinjiang p. 237, no. WQ-II-1-3
	ʿAbd Allāh
	Walker p. 50, no. Th.8 (read as ʿAbd Allāh)[173]
Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H)	(**Pl. 19, 217**)
Year 26	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H)	Paris 1965.430 (*SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[15])
Year 30	**ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
(YE = 41H)	*SICA* 1 p. 10, fn[30] (noted as doubtful and without illustration)[174]
Year 32	**Anonymous Yazdgard type**
(YE = 43H)	(**Pl. 19, 218**) (date clearly 32)
Year 33(?)	**Anonymous Yazdgard type**[175]
(YE = 44H)	(**Pl. 19, 219-220**)

[168] **Bn'tʾrthšyr** has been suggested but there is no evidence to support this view, Bivar 1963, pp. 162–3. In a private communication, Professor Bivar has stated he no longer supports this view, but has suggested instead **BW** for Būkht-Ardashīr (Bushire). Yet another view is to suggest a location in Khurāsān, but this is impossible. Paruck 1944, pp. 87–8 made this suggestion on the basis that the mint signature is known for last years of Yazdgard III's reign.

[169] This incorrect reading has been identified with Gondeshāpūr (Gondišāpūr) in Khūzistān. Mochiri *ENIS* II, pp. 403–4; Gondeshāpūr, which may have been founded by Shāpūr I (241–72) was an important centre in Sasanian times. Its ruins lie near the village of Shāhābād some 14km south-east of the town of Dizfūl. Junday Sābūr is a mint place for post-reform Islamic dirhams: *SICA* 2 pls 23–4 nos 529–536 (80, 91, 93–6H).

[170] **GW** could represent Gwāshīr in Kirmān, see Mochiri 1985, pp. 117–18; see also Gaube 1973, pp. 90–1; Gyselen 1983a, p. 147. Gwāshir (Bardasīr or Bardashīr) stood on the site of the modern city of Kirmān. This attribution is plausible, but uncertain. Barthold (trans. Soucek 1984), p. 138; Le Strange 1930, p. 303. According to the fourth century Hijrī historian Hamzah, the first Sasanian king Ardashīr built a city there called Bih-Ardashīr (Weh-Ardashīr), which the Arabs corrupted to Bardasīr or Bardashīr. The Persians pronounced it Guwāshir (or Gwāshir) from Weh-Ardashīr.

[171] *SNS* 3/2, pl. 86, no. 109.

[172] Gaube 1973, p. 91; *SNS* 3/1, p. 155; Tyler-Smith 2017, pp. 122–3.

[173] *SICA* 1, p. 10, fn[30] refers to a coin of ʿAbd Allāh, which may be the same coin. The name legend is defectively written if indeed it is ʿAbd Allāh.

[174] Presumably this is a reference to Walker 72, which in fact has the mint signature **GW**.

[175] Album reads the date on a coin of this type as 33 (**syʾčsy**): Album auction 21 (15 January 2015), lot 55. Amini and Dashkov 2013, p. 45, no. 38 read the date as 33 or 36. Heidemann, Riederer and Weber 2014, pp. 86–7, read the date as 12. However, it could also be read as **dwʾčsy** for 32. Tyler-Smith 2000, p. 150 finds none of the readings convincing in itself, but opts for 16 as the most likely reading.

Year 33 **ʿAbd Allāh**
(YE = 44H) (**Pl. 20, 221**)
Year 35 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H) *Xinjiang* p. 237, no. WQ-II-1-4
Year 42(H) **ʿAbd Allāh**
Morton and Eden auction 49 (9 June 2011), lot 386
Year 6(?) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**[176]
Mochiri 1987, no. 8, pl. 7, no. 37 (in place of date he read **dyd**ʾ = *didā*(*r*) = visible)
Year 52(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd**
Walker p. 84, no. 151 (= Gaube pl. 4, no. 43); *SICA* 1 pl. 8, no. 108 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 20, 222-223**)
Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān
Mochiri 2000, p. 42, no. 3, pl. 17, no. 27 (Mochiri, mint signature read as **GV**); (**Pl. 20, 224**)
Year 53(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(**Pl. 20, 225**)
Al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs
(**Pl. 20, 227**)
ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd
Walker p. 84, no. Dam.5; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 13, no. 180 (date read as 51H and name Ziyād rather than Zayd); (**Pl. 20, 226**)
Year 54(H) **Al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
(**Pl. 20, 228**)
ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd
SICA 1 p. 17, fn[73] (Warden-Album); (**Pl. 20, 229**)
Year 56(H) **Al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
SICA 1, p. 17, fn[73] (noted without illustration)

The mint signature **BN** is scarce for Arab-Sasanian coinage. The dates from 20 to 33 are probably using the YE era. From 52 to 54H more than one official strikes coins in certain years, with Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd all striking coins dated 53H. This may reflect the turbulent times or, less likely, the continued use of old reverse dies before they were worn out.

7.31 BPA (bpʾ) 𐭱𐭯𐭠 (unknown location)

This signature may be read as **BPA**. Its location is unknown. This extremely rare type has a Hijrī date.

Year 53(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(**Pl. 20, 230**)

7.32 BŠ (bš) 𐭱𐭱 (possibly Bīshāpūr, Fārs)

The signature **BŠ** (**BSh**) is only known for one type. It is uncertain what place this signature represents unless it is an abbreviated or defectively written **BYŠ** (7.34) for Bīshāpūr.[177]

Year 27 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 38H) *SICA* 1 pl. 8, no. 109 (Shamma)

[176] The date on this coin is crudely written and could be 6, possibly for 46, as the letters can be read as **STA**. Mochiri does not consider this to be a date legend at all. It could also be a reference to year 30 of an unknown era, which is referred to below.

[177] Gaube 1973, p. 91. Gaube's table (without provenances) lists a number of examples where the signature is said to be **BŠ** (most of these may simply be **BYŠ**). For another coin which is probably a poor rendering of **BYŠ**, see Morton and Eden auction 59 (13 November 2012), lot 154 (read as **BŠ**, year 37 but in fact a defective 47).

7.33 BST (bst) (Bust, Sīstān)

BST clearly represents Bust in eastern Sīstān, which is modern Qal'a-yi Bist,[178] located on the Helmund river where it is joined by the Kandahār river.[179] In the Sasanian period it is a rarely encountered mint name on drachms of Kavād I and Khusrau I.[180] On Arab-Sasanian coins it is found only in the obverse or reverse margin of drachms of Salm b. Ziyād of **SK** (for Sīstān; 7.87) for year 56 (YE = 68H).

Year 56 (H, or YE = 68H)
Salm b. Ziyād with **bst** on reverse
SICA 1 p. 22 fn[111]; p. 25, fn[115] (noted without illustration; Warden-Album)
Salm b. Ziyād with **bst** on obverse
(**Pl. 85, 990**)

Salm b. Ziyād (see 9.46) did not receive his commission from the Caliph Yazīd until 60/1H, so the era on this coin is uncertain. A Hijrī date of 56H is too early, unless this was an appointment not reflected in the written sources. If it is a YE date (= 68H), it is four years after he is said to have left Khurāsān. Another possibility is that the coins in the name of 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād and his brother Salm b. Ziyād from Sīstān (7.87 **SK**) dated year 56 bear a frozen date. Judging by their style they could have been struck in the 60sH. These issues with **BST** on the margin are very rare.

7.34 BYŠ (byš) (Bīshāpūr, Fārs)

BYŠ (**BYSh**) represents the important city of Bīshāpūr (Bišabuhr) in Fārs (south Iran). The attribution is confirmed by seal evidence published by Herzfeld, where the abbreviation is in the centre of administrative seals with the full name around.[181] Additional evidence is provided by a drachm of Vahrān IV where the abbreviation **byš** appears to the left of the altar flames on the reverse and the remainder of the name (**hpwl**) is found on the altar shaft, making **byšhpwl**.[182] Thereafter the signature **BYŠ** regularly appears on Sasanian coins. In the early Islamic period the mint must have had a prolific output as it is one of the most commonly encountered mint signatures. Post-reform Islamic dirhams with the Arab name of the city, Sābūr, were struck from 79H[183] and thus overlap with the Arab-Sasanian drachms with the mint signature **BYŠ**.

Bīshāpūr was founded as a capital city in about 266 by the Sasanian king, Shāpūr I, and the current site is one of the most important archaeological sites from the Sasanian period.[184] The name derives from the Middle Persian, *bay-šāpūr* ('Lord Shāpūr').[185] Bīshāpūr was the name of one of the five districts (*shahr* / *kūra*) in the province of Fārs as well as the chief town in that district.[186] It was taken and retaken by the Arabs in the period 23 to 26H with the support of forces from Basra.[187] It was subsequently called Sābūr

[178] Barthold (trans. Soucek 1984), p. 71.

[179] Le Strange 1930, pp. 339, 344.

[180] For example, Kavād I, years 32, 40–42 (Mochiri *ENIS* II, p. 153, figs 411–413 for years 40–42; *SNS* 3/2, pl. 123, no. A9 for year 40) and Khusrau I, years 14 and 16 (Mochiri *ENIS* II, p. 153, fig. 414 for year 14), years 12 and 29 (noted by Paruck 1944, p. 88). In addition the Johnson collection has Kavād I, year 12 (Johnson 025244).

[181] Herzfeld 1938, p. 418, fig. 6; Frye 1973, p. 63, fig. D216 (illustrated above, p. 80, fig. 7.3); Gignoux and Gyselen 1987, p. 26, no. MFT3. Gaube 1973, pp. 91–2; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 123.

[182] Mochiri 1972, p. 23. See also *SNS* 3/2, pl. 37, no. 35 (**BŠHP**) and pl. 37, no. A28 (**BŠHPW**) for drachms of Vahrān IV from Bīshāpūr. By the time of Yazdgard I the form of the signature is **BYŠ**, see *SNS* 3/2, pl. 50, no. A16.

[183] Klat 2002, nos 415–430 (79–84, 90–8, 129H); Eshragh 2010, nos 233 (79H), 255 (80H), 274 (81H), 284 (82H); *SICA* 2, pls 33–4, nos 717–746 (80, 81, 90–8H).

[184] Callieri 2009, p. 52.

[185] E. Keall, Bīšāpūr, in Encyclopaedia Iranica IV, fasc. 3, pp. 287–9 and http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bisapur-town (consulted 18 April 2018)

[186] Le Strange 1930, p. 262.

[187] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), p. 131 records that in 23H (some say 24H) 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Ās attacked Bīshāpūr and made a treaty with its inhabitants that they should not be enslaved, but should pay a lump sum immediately. The populace later rebelled and the city was reconquered in 26H.

under the Arabs. In the Islamic period it continued to be an important centre. The city was located close to the royal road which linked Istakhr and Gūr (Fīrūzābād) with Ctesiphon. It was rectangular in shape measuring 1.5 by 0.8 kilometres. The city was well protected. On the northern side there was a river, on the eastern side a fortified hill, and in the south and west a deep ditch. The ruins of what may have been the royal palace and administrative centre (and hence perhaps the mint), popularly called Qal' a-ye Dokhtar, are located in the northern part of the town.[188]

Year 20 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** / ***rabbī***[189]
(YE? = 31H) Paris (BN 1968.188) (= *SICA* 1, p. 7, fn[16] not illustrated)
Year 22 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 33H) Mochiri 2010a, p. 197, no. 45 (Mochiri; attributed to Khusrau IV)
Year 23 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 34H) *Xinjiang* p. 237, no. WQ-II-1-5
Year 25 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H) Walker p. 6, no. ANS.1 (= ANS.1944.100.613); ANS.1976.275.1; *Damascus* pl. 31, no. AS.3; Album 1992 p. 167, pl. 23–4, nos 27–30; *SICA* 1 pl. 8, no. 110 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 12, no. 14; Weber p. 4, no. 6; (**Pl. 20-21, 231-233**)
Year 25 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(unknown era) British Museum (BM 1949, 0803.368); (**Pl. 21, 234-235**)
Year 25 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 57H) Amini and Dashkov 2013, p. 60, no. 82.[190] Probably a modern forgery.
Year 26 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H) Walker p. 7, no. M2 (not illustrated); (**Pl. 21, 236**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***rabbī allāh***
Paris (BN 1965.438); Album auction 18 (16 January 2014), lot 133
Year 27 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 38H) Album 1992 pl. 24, no. 31; (**Pl. 21, 237**)
Year 28 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 39H) *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (Warden-Album); ANS 1923.150.99 (date 28?); (**Pl. 21, 238**)
Anonymous Yazdgard type with **no marginal legend**
Amini 2008, p. 275, fig. 127
Year 29 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(YE = 40H) Weber 67 (name read as ʿAbd Allāh);[191] (**Pl. 21, 239**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
(**Pl. 21, 240**)
Year 30 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 41H) Eshragh p. 13, no. 20; (**Pl. 21, 241**)
Year 30 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(unknown era) (**Pl. 21, 242**) (date unusually written, possibly blundered date)
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir[192]
SICA 1 pl. 8, no. 111 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 13, no. 181

[188] Callieri 2009, pp. 56–9 (the building is yet to be fully excavated).

[189] In view of the style and presence of *rabbī* in obverse Q3, this was struck well after the 30sH.

[190] This coin has the name ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād reversed with the legend **zyy' t** / **'wbyt'l' y**. There is no obverse marginal legend. Personal examination reveals it to be an imitation, probably modern. It is crude in style.

[191] The initial letters of the official's name are unclear with both Khusrau and ʿAbd Allāh possible.

[192] This may be a contemporary imitation. The style is different from, and inferior to, other coins of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir from Bīshāpūr (as noted in *SICA* 1). The date could be YE (= 41H).

Year 31 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 42H) Paris (BN 1973.108.60)
Year 32 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 43H) *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (Warden-Album)[193]
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Warden-Album (date legend **dwʾčwy** for 32, but could be read as a defectively written 42 **dwʾčhl**)
Year 33 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 44H) Warden-Album (date could be read as 31); (**Pl. 21, 243-244**) 0146, 0877
Year 34 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(YE = 44H) (**Pl. 22, 245**)
Year 34 **ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
(YE = 45H) *SICA* 1 p. 10, fn[30] (Warden-Album, read by Album as dated 34, but may be a defectively written 44 as **čhlyh**(?) rather than **čhlsy**[**h**] for 34)
Year 35 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H) Paris (BN 1969.66; BN 1971.95); Walker p. 13, no. Zam.1 (doubtful, may be year 50); *SICA* 1 p. 9, fn[27] (Warden-Album, date possibly 25 as unclear); Weber p. 5, no. 10 (read as 35, but in fact unclear, possibly 25); Album auction 28 (18 May 2017), lot 189
Year 35 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(unknown era) (**Pl. 22, 246**)
Year 37 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(unknown era) Warden-Album (date legend incomplete **hpts**)
Year 37 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(H or YE = 48H) *SICA* 1 p. 60, fn[313] (Warden-Album); Album auction 14 (21 September 2012), lot 67
Year 37 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(YE = 48H) (**Pl. 22, 248**)
Year 38(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
Walker p. 16, no. ANS.2 (= ANS.1923.150.99; probable imitation; doubtful reading; c.f. *SICA* 1 p. 8, fn[20] – suggests year 60?)
Year 39(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Walker p. 16, no. M.14 (unconfirmed)
Year 41(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh al-malik***
Walker p. 17, no. M.15 (doubtful reading)
Year 42(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Walker p. 17, no. M.16 (unconfirmed); Paris (BN 1965.445); Album 1992 pl. 24, no. 32 (72H hoard; listed as year 32)[194]
ʿAbd Allāh
(**Pl. 22, 249-250**) (date legend **čhylTLYN**)
Year 43(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
Album 1992 pl. 26, no. 60; *SICA* 1 p. 10, fn[30]; p. 11, fn[40] (= Paris 1969.887)
Year 44(H) **ʿAbd Allāh**
Walker p. 50, no. 73

[193] Note also Album 1992, pl. 24, no. 32, whose date may be 42H.

[194] Album 1992, pp. 167–8. The date is unusually written and may be read as 32 or 42, albeit 42 seems more plausible on epigraphic grounds.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir
Walker p. 47, nos 68–69; Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.2271-1997); ANS.1957.108.6; Miles *RIC* p. 4, no. 14 (= ANS.1944.100.51212; ANS.1976.275.4); Album 1992 p. 180, pl. 26, nos 61–66; *SICA* 1 pl. 8, nos 112–113 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 13, no. 182; Eshragh p. 16, no. 38; Weber p. 28, no. 65; (**Pl. 22-23, 251-257**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh rabbī***
SICA 1 p. 9, fn[25] (= Paris 1965.458)

Year 45(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Walker p. 18, no. ANS.3 (= ANS.1917.215.3350; date equivocal)

Year 47(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
ANS.1957.11.17; ANS.2002.50.2 (silver plated copper contemporary counterfeit); Album 1992 p. 180, pl. 27, nos 67–69; *SICA* 1 pl. 8, no. 114 (Shamma); (**Pl. 23, 265-268**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh al-malik***
Walker p. 19, nos 22–23; ANS.1971.31.11; Gaube pl. 1, no. 6 (Paris); *SICA* 1 pl. 8, nos 115–118 (Shamma), 119 (Ashmolean); Eshragh pp. 16–17, nos 42–43; Weber p. 8, no. 19; (**Pl. 23, 258-263**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh rabbī***
ANS.1971.316.1313; (**Pl. 23, 264**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
Eshragh p. 16, no. 41
Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān
Walker p. 37, no. M.22 (not illustrated); Album 1992 pl. 27, no. 71; *SICA* 1 pl. 8, no. 120 (Shamma); (**Pl. 24, 269**)

Year 47 (YE = 59H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
SICA 1 pl. 9, no. 121 (Shamma; date equivocal);[195] (**Pl. 24, 270-271**)

Year 48(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Walker p. 19, no. 25; p. 20, no. RB.4; Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.301-1994); Gaube pl. 1, no. 7 (Paris); *Damascus* pl. 31, no. AS.5; Miles *RIC* p. 3, nos 7–8 (= ANS.1944.100.51213, ANS.1944.100.51214); ANS.1971.316.1314; Album 1992 p. 176, nos 50–52; *SICA* 1 pl. 9, nos 122–126 (Shamma), 127 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 13, no. 183; Eshragh p. 17, no. 44; Mochiri 2010a, p. 197, no. 47 (Mochiri, attributed to Khusrau IV); Weber p. 9, no. 20–21; (**Pl. 24, 272-278**)

Year 49(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Walker p. 21, nos 30–32; Album 1992 p. 176, nos 53–54; *SICA* 1 pl. 9, nos 128–132 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 13, no. 184; Weber pp. 6–7, nos 12–15 (year read as 43); (**Pl. 24-25, 279-282**)
Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān
Paris (BN 1965.492); *SICA* 1 p. 15, fn[59] (noted without illustration)

Year 50(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Walker p. 21, nos 33–34; Gaube pl. 1, no. 8 (Trade 1968); Miles *RIC* p. 3, nos 9–10 (= ANS.1944.100.51215, ANS.1944.100.51216, ANS.1944.100.51217); ANS.1989.81.2; *Damascus* p. 161, no. AS.4 (year read as 35); Album 1992 p. 176, pl. 26, nos 55–57; *SICA* 1 pls 9–10, nos 133–139 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 13, nos 185–186; Eshragh p. 13, no. 22 (year read as 35); Weber p. 11, no. 26; (**Pl. 25, 283-286**); (**Pl. 25, 288-289**); (**Pl. 25, 291**); (**Pl. 25, 287**) (date 50 **pnč'h** or **pnčsyh**); chap. 6, p. 65, fig. 6.3 (Johnson)

[195] Album considers this may be a muling of a Basran obverse of about 60H with an old Bīshāpūr reverse.

Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh*** **p**[196]
Mochiri 1987 p. 98, no. 90, pl. 13, no. 74; (**Pl. 25, 290**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh al-malik***
Walker p. 18, no. ANS.3 (unclear, year read as 45, but probably dated year 50; c.f. *SICA* 1 p. 12, fn[50-51]; possible muling with a year 47 obverse)
Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān
Walker p. 37, no. Z.3; (**Pl. 25, 292**)

Year 51(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 37, nos B.7, ETN.6; Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.IS.4-R); Album 1992 pl. 27, no. 72; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 14, no. 187; Eshragh p. 17, no. 48; Weber p. 21, no. 45; (**Pl. 26, 293-296**) 0177, 0178, 0179, 0180
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh rabbī***[197]
SICA 1 pl. 10, no. 140

Year 51 (YE = 63H) **ʿUbayd allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 55, no. Cam.3

Year 52(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 38, no. ANS.9; Miles *RIC*, p. 4, no. 13 (= ANS.1944.100.51218); Album 1992 pl. 27, no. 73; *SICA* 1 pl. 10, nos 141–142 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 18, no. 49; Weber p. 21, no. 46; (**Pl. 26, 297-298**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with **ʾpd**
(**Pl. 26, 299-300**)

Year 53(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 38, nos 51–54, RB.7; ANS.1944.100.25; ANS.1917.215.3351 (ex E.T. Newell); Gaube pl. 9, no. 108 (Haddad; possibly year 52); *Damascus* pl. 33, no. AS.58; Album 1992 p. 182, nos 74–75; *SICA* 1 pl. 10, nos 143–145, 147 (Shamma), 146 (Ashmolean); Weber pp. 21–2, nos 47–49; (**Pl. 26, 301-303**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr
Walker p. 33, no. Do.1 (doubtful)

Year 53 (YE = 65H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 55, no. 76; Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.IS.9-R; IS-0015); *SICA* 1 pl. 10, nos 148–149 (Shamma);[198] (**Pl. 26, 304**)

Year 54(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 39, nos 55–56, B.8; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 196, no. 21; *Damascus* p. 184, no. AS.58A; Album 1992 p. 182, nos 76–80; *SICA* 1 pl. 10, no. 150 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 14, no. 189; Weber pp. 22–3, nos 50–51; (**Pl. 27, 305-306**)

Year 55 (H or YE = 67H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
SICA 1 p. 16, fn[68] (Warden-Album; on obverse Q2 margin *allāh al-malik*); Eshragh p. 19, no. 55

Year 56(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**[199]
Walker p. 39, no. T.6 (unconfirmed)

[196] This coin has an unusual group of symbols in obverse Q3 margin. There are three small circles (followed by a pellet), one of which has a long stroke. It could represent the Pahlavi letter **p**, but equally it may not be a letter at all.

[197] This is the latest confirmed anonymous issue of this type. Weber 2013, p. 11, no. 28 has read a crudely inscribed date as 63, but this reading is doubtful and it is difficult to discern what date is intended.

[198] Date listed in *SICA* 1 as a Hijrī date 53H, but this seems too early for ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and would provide an overlap with issues in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. Walker 1941, p. cx correctly regarded it as a YE date.

[199] The written sources state that Ziyād died in 53H, albeit it may have been 54H judging by the numismatic evidence. 56H appears to be too late to have been issued in his lifetime.

Year 66(H) **ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh**
Walker p. 97, no. Sch.5; Gaube pl. 3, no. 35; *SICA* 1 pl. 11, nos 151–154 (Shamma); Weber 128; (**Pl. 27, 307**)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh**
ANS.1975.238.12; Mitchiner 1978 p. 214, no. 1365; *SICA* 1 pl. 11, no. 155 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 294, no. 1753; Weber p. 54, no. 129; (**Pl. 27, 308**)
ʿUbayd allāh b. Ziyād
Eshragh p. 295, no. 1754
ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh
Walker p. 99, no. 194; ANS.1975.238.13; ANS.1976.274.5; Miles *RIC* p. 7, no. 24 (= ANS.1917.215.3352); Miles *Persepolis* (1959) – Istakhr, p. 26, nos 103–107, Naqsh-i Rustam, p. 97, nos 35–36; Mitchiner 1978 p. 214, no. 1366; Album 1992 p. 193, no. 138; *SICA* 1 pl. 11, nos 156–158 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 28, no. 111; Weber p. 57, no. 134; (**Pl. 27, 309**)

Year 68(H): **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Walker p. 99, nos 195–196; Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.IS.23-R; CM.IS.22-R; CM.IS.21-R); Miles *RIC* p. 7, no. 25; Miles *Persepolis* (1959) – Istakhr, p. 26, nos108, 108a; Naqsh-i Rustam, p. 97, nos 37–38; *Damascus* pl. 35, no. AS.91; Gaube pl. 9, no. 100 (Tehran, private); Album 1992 p. 193, no. 139; *SICA* 1 pls 11–12, nos 159–170 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 14, no. 190; Eshragh p. 29, no. 115; Weber p. 57, nos 135–136; (**Pl. 27, 310-313**)

Year 69(H) **Qatarī b. al-Fujā'a**[200]
Walker p. 112, no. I.46 (not illustrated; subject to confirmation as date appears too early for a coin of Qatarī)
ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh
Walker p. 100, no. 197; Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.IS.24-R); ANS.1959.130.387; Miles *RIC* p. 7, no. 25; Miles *Persepolis* (1959) – Naqsh-i Rustam, p. 97, nos 39–40; *SICA* 1 pl. 12, nos 171–173 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 26, no. 102 (year read as 66); Weber p. 58, nos 137–138; (**Pl. 27, 314-316**)

Year 70(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Walker p. 100, nos 198–201; British Museum (BM 1949, 0803.201); Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.TM.21-R; CM.IS.25-R); ANS.1973.12.11 (cast forgery, probably modern); ANS.1972.169.179; ANS.1972.169.180; Miles *Persepolis* (1959) – Istakhr, p. 27, nos 109–134; Naqsh-i Rustam, p. 97, nos 41–48; *Damascus* p. 195, no. AS.92 (not illustrated); Mitchiner 1978 p. 214, no. 1367; Album 1992 pl. 32, no. 140; *SICA* 1 pls 12–13, nos 174–188 (Shamma), 189 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 14, nos 191–192; Eshragh pp. 30, 295, nos 122, 1755; Weber pp. 59–60, nos 139–142; (**Pl. 28, 317-319**)

Year 72(H) **Muqātil b. Mismaʿ**
Walker p. 105, no. Ties.3 (unconfirmed); ANS.1975.206.1; ANS.1975.238.19; Eshragh p. 295, no. 1756; (**Pl. 28, 320**)

Year 73(H) **Muqātil b. Mismaʿ**
Walker p. 105, no. 208 (year read as 71 = Gaube pl. 6, no. 64); *SICA* 1 pl. 13, no. 190 (Shamma); Weber p. 66, no. 158; (**Pl. 28, 321**)
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān
Walker p. 27, no. V.1 (doubtful)

[200] The style of this coin is that of the later issues dated 75H of Qatarī b. al Fujā'a and not of the issues of 'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allāh of the period of 67–70H. The date may be a misreading or a die cutter's error. Another possibility, as suggested by Album, is the coin could simply be an imitation: *SICA* 1, p. 30. Walker read the mint signature as **BŠ** for Bīshāpūr.

Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh

Walker p. 108, nos 213 (year read as 71) and M.51; ANS.1975.275.2; ANS.1976.112.3; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), p. 201, no. 38 (Azizbeglou; read as year 71); *SICA* 1 pl. 13, no. 191 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 295, no. 1757; (**Pl. 28, 322-323**)

Year 74(H) **Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh**

Walker pp. 108–9, nos 214–215; ANS.1975.238.21; 1975.238.20; Mitchiner 1978 p. 213, no. 1361; *SICA* 1 pl. 13, no. 192 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 33, no. 144; (**Pl. 28, 324-326**)

Year 75(H) **Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa**

Walker p. 113, no. 219; ANS.1957.108.8; ANS.1971.316.1320; ANS.1971.316.1321; ANS.1964.12.5; ANS.1972.169.183; *Damascus* pl. 33, no. AS.57A; *SICA* 1 pls 13–14, nos 193–197 (Shamma), 198 (Ashmolean); Eshragh p. 34, no. 146; (**Pl. 28, 327**)

al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra

Walker p. 114, nos 221–223; Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.1107-1999); ANS.1975.238.22; ANS.1972.169.184; Miles *RIC* p. 8, no. 30; *Damascus* p. 198, nos AS.96–104 (AS.98 only illustrated); Gaube, pl. 5, no. 60; *SICA* 1 pl. 14, nos 199–208 (Shamma), 209–210 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 14, nos 193–195; Eshragh p. 35, no. 151; (**Pl. 28-29, 328-331**)

Year 76(H) **al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra**

Walker p. 114, nos 224–226; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), p. 204, no. 43 (= ANS.1954.119.72); *Damascus* p. 119 AS.105–106 (not illustrated); Mitchiner 1978 p. 215, no. 1369; *SICA* 1 pl. 15, nos 211–214 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 14, nos 196–198; (**Pl. 29, 332-334**)

al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf

Walker pp. 118–19, nos 230–231 (obverse margin radial legend); Miles *RIC* p. 8, no. 31 (radial); *Damascus* pl. 36, nos AS.109 (radial); *SICA* 1 pl. 15, no. 215 (Shamma) (radial); Weber p. 74, no. 175 (radial); (**Pl. 29, 335-336**) (radial)

Year 77(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**[201]

Walker p. 119, no. 232 (obverse margin legend radial); Walker p. 119, no. 233 (non-radial); ANS.1975.275.3 (radial); ANS.1971.316.1325; ANS.1956.137.76 (non-radial); *Damascus* pl. 36, no. AS.110 (non-radial); Mitchiner 1978 p. 214, no. 1363 (radial); *SICA* 1 pl. 15, nos 216–217 (Ashmolean) (radial); *SICA* 1 pl. 15, nos 218–219 (Shamma) (non-radial); Eshragh p. 38, no. 169 (non-radial); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 15, no. 199 (radial); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 15, no. 200 (non-radial); Weber p. 75, no. 176 (non-radial); (**Pl. 29, 337**) (radial); (**Pl. 29, 338-339**) (non-radial)

Year 78(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**

Walker p. 119, nos 234–235; ANS.1972.169.186; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) pl. 205, no. 46; *SICA* 1 pl. 15, nos 220–221 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 15, nos 201–202; Eshragh pp. 35, 38, nos 156, 171 (listed as 76); (**Pl. 29-30, 340-341**)

Year 79(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**[202]

Walker pp. 119–20, nos 236–237; Walker p. 119, no. Th.16 (Farrukhzād in Q3 obverse); ANS.1957.108.10; ANS.1971.316.1326; ANS.1971.316.1327; ANS.1991.3.254 concentric *shahāda*); Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 205, no. 47 (ANS.1953.9.1); *Damascus* p. 203, nos AS.111–113 (not illustrated); Gaube pl. 4. no. 47 (Haddad; name of governor in Pahlavi); *SICA* 1 pl. 15, nos 222–224 (Shamma); *SICA* 1 pl. 15, no. 225 (Shamma; with Farrukhzād in Q3 obverse); Eshragh p. 38, no. 173; Weber pp. 75–6, nos 177–180; (**Pl. 30, 342-345**)

[201] The coins of this date are known for both types of the obverse *shahāda* marginal legend, the first where the Arabic legend is in radial form and the second in concentric / non-radial form.

[202] Name in Arabic unless otherwise noted.

Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra[203]
(**Pl. 30, 346**) (perhaps 76 was intended)

Year 80(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**[204]
Walker p. 120, nos 238–240 (listed as year 83); p. 120, Do.6; ANS.1976.275.10, ANS.1977.158.1353; ANS.1971.316.1329 (*lillāh al-hamd* Q2 obverse); Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 206, no. 48 (listed as year 83) (= ANS.1951.181.3); *Damascus* p. 204, nos AS.115–117 (listed as year 83, AS.115 only illustrated pl. 36); *SICA* 1 pl. 16, nos 226–228 (Shamma); Eshragh pp. 41, 295, nos 187, 1759 (read as year 83); Weber pp. 77–8, nos 183–186 (*bism allāh* Q2 obverse; listed as year 83); Weber p. 79, nos 187–189 (*lillāh al-hamd* Q2 obverse margin; listed as year 83); (**Pl. 30, 347-349A**) (*lillāh al-hamd* Q2 obverse); (**Pl. 30, 350**) (*bism allāh* Q2 obverse)

Year 81(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**
Walker p. 120, no. Th.17 (**hst'** in Q3 obverse margin); ANS.1977.235.2; ANS.1971.316.1328 (with **hšt** in Q3 obverse margin); ANS.1957.84.22 (with **hʾgʾg** for Hajjāj Q3 obverse margin); *Damascus* pp. 203–4, no. AS.114 (incorrect coin illustrated); Gaube pl. 4, no. 48 (Paris), pl. 4, no. 49 (Haddad); *SICA* 1 pl. 16, no. 239 (Shamma); Weber p. 77, no. 181–182 (**hst'** in Q3 obverse margin); (**Pl. 30, 351**), (with **hʾgʾg** for Hajjāj in Q3 obverse margin); (**Pl. 31, 352**) (with **hšt'** for 8 in Pahlavi Q3 obverse margin)
ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad
SICA 1 p. 30, fn[164] (= Spink Zurich auction 31 (20 June 1989), lot 409)

Year 82(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad**
Walker p. 117, no. I.50 (not illustrated); *SICA* 1 pl. 16, no. 230 (Shamma); Weber p. 73, no. 171; (**Pl. 31, 353-354**)

Year 83(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad**
Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 204, nos 44–45 (read as year 81); (**Pl. 31, 355**); (**Pl. 31, 356**) (with **mnswl** in Q3 obverse)

Bīshāpūr was one of the most prolific mints both under the Sasanians and the Umayyads. Like the other major mints, Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**), Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA**) and Istakhr (7.89 **ST**), it was located in Fārs. The anonymous Yazdgard drachms of year 20 are probably using a frozen date in the YE. The anonymous Khusrau type coins, up to about year 37, are probably all dated by the YE and thereafter by the Hijrī era, but there is a degree of uncertainty, particularly for those with years in the late 30s. In general (apart from in Sīstān) the anonymous Khusrau type was phased out by the end of the 40sH. Bīshāpūr struck coins in the name of Khusrau from 49 to 51H. These overlap with those in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, whose **BYŠ** drachms for 49 and 50H are rare, but relatively plentiful for 51H. In contrast, they are rare in the name of Khusrau dated 51H, but common for 49 and 50H. This indicates that this was a transitional phase and it is possible that dies were being used interchangeably within the mint.

There are some crude issues in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān with years 25 (also known for 7.77 **NYW**), 30 (also known for 7.21 **AYL**, 7.36 **DA**, 7.44 **GD**, 7.63 **LD**, 7.75 **NY** and 7.89 **ST**) and 35 which do not fit in with any known era. The drachms of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād of years 47, 51 and 53 probably bear YE dates as he was not appointed governor of Basra until 55H and was killed in 67H, so his coinage should fall between those dates.[205] Thus there are examples from different mints with coins in his name using various eras: Hijrī, YE and PYE.

[203] This is the only known issue for al-Muhallab dated after 78H. It is possible that 76H was intended, but if so the legend would be defective. The date is written as **· nwhpt't**.

[204] Alternative readings have been given for coins listed here as 80. Others have read either 81 or 83. For example, ANS.1972.169.187 was read as 81 by Miles and 83 by Bates. No coins are known for him dated 82H and there is a clear run of drachms from Bīshāpūr from 76 to 81H. Album probably is correct in reading year 80, for date legends which have been read by others as 83: *SICA* 1, p. 29, fn[158].

[205] An alternative analysis is that these dates are not YE dates, but merely represent the use of old reverse dies or they may simply be local imitations.

The drachms of Bīshāpūr illustrate the development of the various types used during the Umayyad period, from the anonymous issues in the name of Khusrau, through to the first use of Arabic for the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf in 76H. Most of al-Hajjāj's drachms bear a Hijrī date and have his name in Arabic, but there is a drachm type of Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) of 79H and one of Fasā (7.38 **DA-P**) of YE71 (= 83H) where his name is written in Pahlavi.

Copper. In addition to the drachms noted above, there are undated copper issues with the mint signature in three forms: abbreviated as **BYŠ**, written in full as Bīshāpūr, or with the new name given by the Arabs, Sābūr (for the latter see under 7.86A Sābūr).

1. **Khālid b.** ʿ**Abbd**. *Obv*. Bust right. *Rev*. Fire altar and attendants, **BYŠ**. Gyselen type 3.
2. Uncertain official. *Obv*. Bust, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt** (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased') on left, **nspw** (?) on right. *Rev.* Fire altar with attendants, **BYŠ** and 60. (**Pl. 117, 1380**)
3. Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust, **GDH** (*xvarrah*) on left, *jā'iz* (current) on right. *Rev*. Winged horse right, **BYŠ**. Gyselen type 4. (**Pl. 117, 1381**)
4. Anonymous type with *bism allāh* in Q2 margin. *Obv*. Facing bust. *Rev*. Cross on steps, legend (possibly a date) on left, **BYŠ** on right. Gyselen type 5. (**Pl. 117, 1382-1383**)
5. **Abzāy**. *Obv*. Two heads back to back, **GDH** (*xvarrah*) on left, ʾ**pz**ʾ**y** (Abzāy) on right. *Rev*. Zebu with man's head right, ʾ**p**ʾ**t** [or ʾ**c**ʾ**t**] **byš**ʾ**p**[**w**]**hr** ('may Bīshāpūr be free').[206] Gyselen type 6. British Museum (BM 1984, 0719.20); *SICA* 1 pl. 35, nos 500–501 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 117, 1384-1386**)
6. **Dārāy**. *Obv*. Nimbate facing bust, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt** on left, **d**ʾ**l**ʾ**y** (Dārāy) on right. *Rev*. Zebu with man's head right, ʾ**p**ʾ**t** [or ʾ**c**ʾ**t**] **byš**ʾ**p**[**w**]**hr** ('may Bīshāpūr be free') around. Gyselen type 7. *SICA* 1 pl. 35, nos 498–499 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 117, 1388**)
7. **Ābāy**. *Obv*. Two facing busts, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt** on left, ʾ**p**ʾ**d** (Ābāy) on right. *Rev*. Zebu with man's head right, ʾ**p**ʾ**t** [or ʾ**c**ʾ**t**] **byš**ʾ**p**[**w**]**hr** ('may Bīshāpūr be free'). Gyselen type 8. *SICA* 1 pl. 35, no. 497 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 117, 1389**)

7.35 BYW (byw) 𐭁𐭉𐭅 (unknown)

This mint signature is not known for Sasanian coins, but only for the anonymous types in the name of Khusrau for the early Islamic period. Its location is not known, but it may have been within the Kūfan prefecture because of the anonymous Khusrau type issues with years 35 and 37.[207] The signature has been confused by some with the quite separate mint abbreviation **BH** (see 7.28 above).

Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H)	(**Pl. 31, 357**)
Year 30	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 41H)	Paris (BN 1965.442); *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)
Year 35	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H)	Walker p. 13, no. 19 (mint signature read as **BH**); ANS.1971.31.1; (**Pl. 31, 358-359**)
Year 37	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 48H)	*SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)

[206] The word before Bīshāpūr can be read as ʾ**b**ʾ**t** (*ābād*, meaning 'inhabited' and in this context 'prosperous' or 'town' or 'place') or ʾ**c**ʾ**t** (*āzād*, meaning 'free'). Gyselen 2009, p. 85 leaves open whether this formula is meant to be a wish (i.e. 'may Bīshāpūr be prosperous (or free)', or an administrative term, 'town of Bīshāpūr'. Daryaee 2016c, p. 74 prefers to regard the formula as 'Bīshāpūr is free', and thus suggesting that Bīshāpūr is in the hands of local nobility or is being ruled freely and not directly under Umayyad control.

[207] *SICA* 1, p. 54 (on the basis that coins with those years are known for other mints in areas administered from Kūfa).

7.36 DA (d’) دب (Dārābgerd, Fārs)

DA is generally regarded as denoting the mint of Dārābgerd (Dārābjird) in Fārs.[208] This is confirmed by a drachm of Yazdgard I with the letters **d’** (**DA**) behind the king’s head on the obverse and the mint place written in full on the reverse as **dl’l’pklt**[209] or **d’l’pk** (Dārāpk[ert]).[210] The abbreviation **d’** (**DA**) is also found in the centre of Sasanian administrative seals with the place name written in full around: **d’l’pklt**.[211] It no doubt also represents the same mint place in the early Islamic period.[212]

Dārābgerd is the name of the chief town as well as one of the five districts of Fārs in the south of Iran. Dārābgerd was a slightly oval shaped city, almost two kilometres in diameter, with a fortress in its centre. The city had four gates but, unlike those in Gūr, they did not point to the four cardinal directions of the compass (north, south, east and west). According to the *Šahrestānihā-i Erān-šahr*, Dārābgerd was built by Dārā, no doubt a fictional account. It was surrounded by fortifications. By the sixth century Hijrī the city was mostly in ruins.[213] These lie southwest of modern Dārāb. There is little visible on the surface apart from the vestiges of what must have been a massive rampart and the remains of the columns of the aqueduct that supplied water. It may have been founded in the Parthian period. The first Sasanian king, Ardashīr I, was sent to Dārābgerd and became its *argbad* before expanding his power.[214] Dārābgerd appears to have been a major city throughout the Sasanian period. By late Sasanian times the district encompassed Fasā and Jahrōm and, as noted below, they are both known as mints from Arab-Sasanian coins. After the fall of the Sasanians the main settlement moved outside the Sasanian city and fortifications.[215] In 23H the local head of Dārābgerd and Fasā surrendered those towns to the Arab general ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀs.[216] The districts seem to have soon broken away as the histories refer, in 29H, to the governor of Basra sending troops to conquer Sābūr (Bīshāpūr), Dārābgerd, Fasā and Istakhr in Fārs province.

The mint signature first appears on coins of Vahrān IV (388–99)[217] and continues until Yazdgard III (632–51). It is a common Sasanian mint, indicating a major place with a high output.[218] For the early Islamic period it is one of the most common signatures and is found for various governors and officials for the same dates, particularly the frozen year 43. The town may have been in rebellion from 66 to 69H as no coins of **DA** and related mints such as **DAP** and **DA-GH** are known. ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh was appointed governor of Fārs in 67H and struck at other mints in Fārs, such as 7.14 **ART** (Ardashīr-Khurra), 7.34 **BYŠ** (Bīshāpūr) and 7.89 **ST** (Istakhr), but not the **DA** group.[219] Many of the dates on Arab-Sasanian drachms are from the Yazdgard era, but others have Hijrī dates. Post-reform Islamic dirhams with the mint name in Kufic are known from 79H.[220] It is a reflection of the decline in importance of Dārābgerd that it does not feature as a mint in ʿAbbāsid times.

[208] Mordtmann 1879, p. 116; Paruck 1944, p. 103; Göbl 1971, p. 259; Gaube 1973, pp. 93–4; Gyselen and Kalus 1983, p. 148; *SNS* 3/1, pp. 156–7; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 123; Mochiri 2006 (detailed discussion).

[209] Mochiri 1996, nos 3 and 17.

[210] Mochiri 1972, p. 24. For seal of Istakhr and Dārābgerd, see Gignoux and Gyselen 1987, p. 40, no. MFT 43.

[211] Gyselen 2007b, pp. 220–1, no. I/138; example illustrated above, p. 80, fig. 7.4.

[212] Paruck 1944, p. 103; Walker 1941, pp. cxvi–cxvii; Gaube 1973, pp. 93–4.

[213] Le Strange 1930, pp. 288–9.

[214] Miri 2009, pp. 11–12.

[215] Karimian and Seyedein 2011.

[216] This was on condition that the inhabitants paid a sum of money to ʿUthmān and that they should have the same rights as the other cities conquered in Fārs: al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), p. 130.

[217] *SNS* 3/2, pl. 37, no. A29 (Vahrān IV); pl. 50, nos 44–45 (Yazdgard I); pl. 62, nos A12–A14, 40 (Vahrān V).

[218] In large hoards of drachms of Khusrau II there are significant percentages of coins with **DA** ranging from 4.75% to 14.11%: see Malek 1993b, p. 85.

[219] Mochiri 2006, p. 34.

[220] Klat 2002, nos 288–302 (79–81, 90–98, 102, 128–129H); *SICA* 2, pls 25–6, nos 559–579 (90–8H).

There are certain peculiarities of the coinage of Dārābgerd. First, no other place has so many different issues with the same frozen year (43). These were struck in the names of Khusrau, ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, Samura b. Jundab, Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. Second, there are issues in the names of three different caliphs, Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (rival caliph) and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. Third, as noted above, there are various suffixes added to **DA**, to form mint signatures for specific places within the district of Dārābgerd, such as **DA-G** (7.39.1), **DA-GH** (7.37.2-3) and **DA-GALWM** (7.37.4), probably all Jahrōm, and **DAP** (7.38) and **DP** (7.38.3), probably Fasā.

Undated	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** with **no marginal legend** Mochiri 2006, p. 54, no. 4; pl. 3, no. 13 (*allāh* in place of date, which Mochiri assumed had originally been 20 but replaced by recutting the die)
Year 20	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** with ***jayyid***[221]
(YE = 31H)	Walker, p. 1, no. a = Nikitin and Roth, no. 13 (British Museum)
Year 23	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 34H)	(**Pl. 31, 360**)
Year 24	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** with **no marginal legend**
(YE = 35H)	Amini 2008 p. 275, fig. 125
Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 36H)	*SICA* 1 pl. 16, no. 231 (Shamma); Mochiri 1987, p. 98, no. 82, pl. 10, no. 58
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
	(**Pl. 31, 361**)
Year 26	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H)	Gaube pl., no. 9 (Dr Lindpaintner; possibly year 36); Album 1992 pl. 24, no. 33; *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19]; (**Pl. 31, 362**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with **ʾpd *lillāh***
	Mochiri 1987 p. 98, no. 83
Year 26	**Salm b. Ziyād**[222]
(unknown era)	Walker p. 75, no. 114
	Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān
	Warden-Album
Year 26	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 58H)	Walker p. 62, no. Cam.5 (= Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.10-R); *SICA* 1 p. 16, fn[64] (noted without illustration)
Year 27	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(YE = 38H)	Mochiri 2006, p. 54, no. 3, pl. 3, no. 16 (date could be defectively written **hptwys** for 27, but 47 may have been intended as there is no **t** for last letter). Album auction 14 (21 September 2012), lot 74 (listed as year 47)[223]
Year 28	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 39H)	*SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (Warden-Album)
Year 29	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 40H)	Album 1992 pl. 24, no. 34; (**Pl. 31, 363**)

[221] The word in Q2 obverse margin is equivocal. An alternative reading is to treat it as **šl** in Pahlavi, rather than *jayyid* in Arabic. Bates in a personal communication is doubtful that the legend is Arabic.

[222] The same year for Salm b. Ziyād is known for mint signature **ART** (7.14).

[223] This coin is dated rather early for the *bism allāh rabbī*, marginal legend, so although the date looks like 27, in fact 47 may have been intended.

Year 30 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 41H) Walker p. 10, nos 14, ETN.3 (= ANS.1917.215.3296); Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.302-1997); ANS.1976.275.15; ANS.1944.100.51222; ANS.1973.119.1; ANS.1975.238.40; Gaube pl. 1, no. 10 (Paris); Album 1992 p. 169, pl. 24, nos 35–36; Eshragh p. 13, no. 21; Weber pp. 4–5, nos 8–9; (**Pl. 32, 364-367**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
Damascus pl. 31, no. AS.6; Mochiri 1987, p. 92, no. 23, pl. 10, no. 60;[224] *SICA* 1, pl. 16, nos 232–235 (Shamma); (**Pl. 32, 368-370**)
ʿAbd Allāh
(**Pl. 32, 371**)
Year 30 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**[225]
(unknown era) Mochiri 1987 p. 96, no. 61, pl. 11, no. 66; *SICA* 1, pl. 17, no. 243 (Shamma)
Year 31 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 42H) *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19]
Year 32 **Anonymous Khusrau type**[226]
(YE = 43H) (**Pl. 32, 372**) (with Sodgian legend **rwtprn** Q4 obverse margin)
Year 33 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 44H) ANS.1971.31.13 (possibly 31); (**Pl. 32, 373**) (possibly 31, same die as ANS coin)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
Gorny and Mosch auction 234 (9 October 2015), lot 5031
Year 35 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE – 46H) ANS.1998.93.1; *SICA* 1 pl. 16, no. 236 (Shamma); Fitzwilliam Museum (CM303-1997); (**Pl. 32, 374-375**)
Anonymous Yazdgard type with **no marginal legend**[227]
Amini 2008 p. 276, fig. 131
Year 36 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 47H) (**Pl. 33, 376**)
Year 36 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(unknown era) (**Pl. 33, 377**) (**d** of mint signature in unusual form)
Year 37 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE? = 48H) *Damascus* pl. 31, no. AS.7; Mochiri 1987 p. 94, no. 45, pl. 9, no. 51;[228] Eshragh p. 13, no. 24; (**Pl. 33, 378-379**)
Year 39 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE? = 50H) *SICA* 1 p. 60, fn[313] (Warden-Album)
Year 41(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***[229]
(**Pl. 33, 380**) (alternative readings are Year 41 or 43)

[224] Mochiri considers that in place of the date and mint signature are the letters **ŠY** and **DA** respectively, denoting *dēw* (devil). This seems implausible.

[225] The same year for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān is known for the mint signatures **AYL** (7.21), **BYŠ** (7.34), **LD** (7.63) and **ST** (7.89).

[226] In view of the Sogdian legend, this is likely to be an imitative issue struck outside of Fārs, and possibly in Khurāsān or the lands in the north east.

[227] Tyler-Smith 2000, nos 131, 135 and 137 lists and illustrates drachms in the name of Yazdgard with **DA** mint signature as being 14, 15 and 16, but noting the dates could also be read as 34, 35 and 36 respectively.

[228] The date is defectively written: if it is 37, the first letter **h** is missing so it reads **ptsyh**. Mochiri's view is that it is not a date at all but **ptsyh** (*pattāyistan*), meaning endure / remain. There is a similar issue with the mint signature **ART**: Mochiri 1987, p. 94, no. 46, pl. 10, no. 57. Another issue dated 37 has the **DA** mint signature and is in the name of Khusrau. It has **∴** in Q1 reverse margin. While it has no Arabic legends it may well be an issue struck after Khusrau II was deposed in 628 and during the period of the Arab conquest (Johnson 025047).

[229] Given the large number of drachms dated 43 in various names, it is possible that year 43 was intended, but the date legend is equivocal.

Year 43(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
Walker p. 17, no. I.9 (not illustrated, but may be year 41 or 43); *Damascus* pl. 31, no. AS.8A; Weber p. 7, no. 16
Anonymous Khusrau type with **no marginal legend**
Mochiri 2012 p. 212, no. 115
ʿAbd Allāh
Walker p. 50, nos 74, Th.9 (year read as 41); ANS.1971.316.1351; Miles *RIC* p. 2, no. 3 (read as Khusrau type year 41); (ANS.1944.100.51223); *Damascus* pl. 31, no. AS.8 (read as Khusrau type year 41); Mitchiner 1978 p. 212, no. 1354; *SICA* 1 pl. 16, no. 237 (Shamma); Weber p. 29, no. 68 (year read as 41); (**Pl. 33, 381**)

Year 43 (frozen year, *c*.44–7H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
Walker p. 48, no. Th.7 (year read as 41); ANS.1971.316.1352; Gaube pl. 2, no. 19 (Haddad); Mitchiner 1978 p. 212, no. 1352; *SICA* 1pl. 16, no. 238 (Shamma); Weber p. 28, no. 66 (year read as 41); (**Pl. 33, 382**)

Year 43 (frozen year, *c*.50–3H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker pp. 40–1, nos 58–60, ANS.10, B.9; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 196, no. 22 (year read as 41; ANS.1954.111.4); ANS.1917.215.3362; ANS.2002.50.1; ANS.1971.316.1347; ANS.1971.316.1345; ANS.1975.238.43; ANS.1976.274.7; ANS.1972.169.172; ANS.1975.238.42; ANS.1975.238.41; ANS.1971.316.1344; *Damascus* pl. 32, no. AS.19 (year read as 41), p. 185, nos AS.60–62 (AS.60 only illustrated pl. 34); Gaube pl. 10, no. 110 (Haddad); Mitchiner 1978 p. 213, no. 1355 (year read as 41); Album 1992 pl. 27, no. 81; *SICA* 1 pls 16–17, nos 239–241 (Shamma), 242 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 15, nos 203–205; Eshragh p. 15, no. 36; Weber p. 23, nos 52 (year read as 41), 53–55; (**Pl. 33-34, 383-394**)

Year 43 (frozen year; *c*.53–4H) **Samura b. Jundab**
British Museum (BM 1977, 1004.3); Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 197, no.23 (year read as 41 = ANS.1951.148.1); Gaube pl. 7, no. 77 (Paris); Mitchiner 1978 p. 213, no. 1357 (year read as 41); *SICA* 1 pl. 17, no. 244 (Shamma); (**Pl. 34, 395-396**)

Year 43 (frozen year; *c*.54–5H) **Muʿāwiya**
Walker p. 26, no. B.3, p. 27, no. ANS.6; ANS.1971.316.1350; ANS.1971.316.1349; ANS.1956.137.78; ANS.1957.108.14; ANS.1971.316.1348; *Damascus* pp. 170–1, nos AS.14–16 (year read as 41) (AS.14 only illustrated on pl. 32); Gaube pl. 5, no. 56 (Paris); Mitchiner 1978 p. 212, no. 1348 (year read as 41); *SICA* 1 pl. 17, nos 245 (Shamma), 246 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 16, no. 211 (read as ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr); Eshragh p. 15, no. 33; (**Pl. 34-35, 397-403**)

Year 43 (frozen year; *c*.55–6H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 62, no. B.14 (year read as 41), p. 62, no. M.41 (not illustrated); ANS.1957.108.15; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 198, no. 25 (= ANS.1951.185.80; date equivocal, 46 also possible); *Damascus* pl. 34, no. AS.74; (**Pl. 35, 404-405**)

Year 45 (YE = 57H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 63, no. 90; ANS.1971.316.1353; ANS.1957.11.18; *Damascus* p. 190, nos AS.75–77 (AS.76 only illustrated on pl. 34); Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1959) p. 198, no. 26 (not illustrated) (ANS.1951.185.79); Gaube pl. 8, no. 90 (T); *SICA* 1 pl. 17, no. 247 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 16, no. 40; (**Pl. 35, 406-407**)
Muʿāwiya
Mochiri 1987 p. 96, no. 58, pl. 15, no. 90; (**Pl. 35, 408**)

Year 46 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 58H) Walker p. 63, no. B.15; ANS.1965.243.406; ANS.1971.316.1354; ANS.1971.316.1355; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 198, no. 27 (= ANS.1951.181.4; date unclear, 48 also possible); *Damascus* pp. 190–1, nos AS.78–80 (not illustrated), pl. 35, no. 87 (year read as 53 or 46?); Gaube pl. 8, no. 91 (Paris); *SICA* 1 pl. 17, no. 248 (Shamma); (**Pl. 35, 409-411**)

Year 46(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***[230]
Walker p. 19, no. Ties.1 (not illustrated; unconfirmed)

Year 47 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 59H) British Museum (BM 1977, 1004.7); Walker p. 63, no. O.6; ANS.1971.316.1356; ANS.1973.244.70; (**Pl. 36, 412-415**)

Year 48 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 60H) Walker p. 63, no. I.30 (not illustrated); ANS.1976.275.17 (**šw** or **šn** either side of altar shaft); Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p.198, no. 28 (= ANS.1951.9.5); Mochiri 1987 p. 97, no. 74, pl. 7, no. 40; *SICA* 1 pl. 17, nos 249–250 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 15, nos 207–208; (**Pl. 36, 416-420**)

Year 49 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 61H) *Damascus* pl. 34, no. AS.81 (**šw** or **šn** either side of altar or reverse);[231] *SICA* 1 pl. 17, no. 251 (Shamma); (**Pl. 36, 421-423**)

Year 49 **ʿAbd Allāh**
(doubtful) Walker p. 50, no. M.31 (doubtful; year probably 43)

Year 50 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 62H) Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 198, no. 29 (= ANS.1951.148.2); *Damascus* pl. 35, no. AS.82; *SICA* 1 pl. 17, no. 252 (Shamma); (**Pl. 37, 424-426**)

Year 51 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 63H) Walker p. 63, no. 91 (= Gaube pl. 8, no. 92); ANS.1971.316.1357; *Damascus* p. 192, nos AS.83–86 (not illustrated); *SICA* 1 pl. 17, nos 253–255 (Shamma); (**Pl. 37, 427-429**)

Year 51 **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**[232]
(YE = 63H) ANS.1971.316.1358; *Damascus* pp. 172–3, nos AS.26–27 (pl. 32, no. AS.26 only illustrated, photo unclear); *SICA* 1 p. 20, fn[99] (Warden-Album; date read by Album as **ʾywpnč**ʾ for 51 but **sywpnč** for 53 is also possible)

Year 52 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 64H) Walker p. 64, no. P.4; ANS.1971.316.1358; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 199, no. 30 (= ANS.1954.111.5); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 15, nos 209–210; (**Pl. 37, 430-430A**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr
Damascus p. 173, nos AS.28–28A (pl. 32, no. AS.28 only illustrated, photo unclear)

Year 53 **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**[233]
(YE =65H) Walker p. 33, nos ANS.7, ANS.8 (= ANS.1917.215.3363); ANS.1971.316.1361 (possibly year 56 or 58); ANS.1971.316.1359 (possibly year 56 or 58); ANS.1971.316.1360 (possibly year 56 or 58); British Museum (BM 5601-0063); Miles *RIC* p. 4, no. 11 (= ANS.1953.9.6); Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 194, nos 9–11 (9 read as year 51) (= ANS.1951.148.3; ANS.1957.84.14; ANS.1953.9.7, 19 (ANS.1949.163.944 read as 60, but either 53 or

[230] Paruck 1944, p. 103 lists 45 to 49 (YE) for Khusrau types.

[231] The significance of **šw** on coins of years 48 and 49 for Dārābgerd is unknown. It may represent a place or town within the district, as do other letters found either side of the altar. The only other issue with those letters is a drachm of Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa dated 69H with the letters located in the normal place for the mint signature.

[232] If these coins are in fact dated 51 (which is uncertain) this appears to be too early for a caliphal type coin. This date has often been confused with 53 and 59 in various catalogues. The examples catalogued in the past as 51 have on examination been found to be misreadings. It is possible that the date is an error or merely the use of an old reverse die, the latter is suggested in *SICA* 1, p. 20.

[233] 53 and 56 on coins of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr can be difficult to distinguish. Thus some coins noted here may possibly be dated year 56 or 58 due to the equivocal date legend: ANS.1971.316.1361; ANS.1971.316.1359; ANS.1971.316.1360.

56); *Damascus* pl. 32, nos AS.29–30; Gaube pl. 3, no. 33 (Paris); *SICA* 1, pl. 18, no. 256 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 16, nos 212–213; Weber p. 17, no. 38; (**Pl. 37-38, 431-440**)

Year 54 (YE = 66H) — **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
ANS.1971.316.1366 (date legend defective **čhpnč'**); ANS.1971.316.1364; (**Pl. 38, 441**)

Year 54(H) — **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd**
Walker p. 85, no. T.14 (not illustrated; doubtful)

Year 56 (YE = 68H) — **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), p. 194, nos 12 (not illustrated = ANS.1951.181.5, in fact **DA(G)**), 13 (year may be 53), 14 (not illustrated, year may be 53), 15; ANS.1971.316.1373; *Damascus* p. 175, nos. AS.37–40 (AS.38 only illustrated on pl. 33); *SICA* 1, pl. 18, no. 257 (Shamma)

Year 57 (YE = 69H) — **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker pp. 34–5, nos 45–46; ANS.1965.243.407; ANS.1973.290.1; ANS.1954.11.6; ANS.1971.316.1370; ANS.1971.316.1371; ANS.1971.316.1372 (date equivocal); ANS.1971.316.1373; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), p. 195, no. 16 (= ANS.1954.111.6); *Damascus* p. 176, no. AS.42; Gaube pl. 3, no. 29 (Haddad); *SICA* 1, pl. 18, no. 258 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 20, no. 65; (**Pl. 38, 442-444**)

Year 58 (YE = 70H) — **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
ANS.1971.316.1361; ANS.1971.316.1259; ANS.1971.316.1360; (**Pl. 38, 445**)[234]
Various coins traditionally dated 53 or 56 may in fact be dated 58, thus removing the gap between the relatively plentiful issues dated 57 and 59. This can be done by reading the first letter as **h** being an abbreviation of **hšt** to make **hpnč**ʾ.

Year 59 (YE = 71H) — **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
British Museum (BM 1961, 0208.2); ANS.1975.238.45; ANS.1971.316.1378; ANS.1971.316.1377; ANS.1971.316.1374; ANS.1971.316.1376; ANS.1971.316.1375; ANS.1971.316.1379; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 195, no. 17 (= ANS.1953.38.3); *SICA* 1 pl. 18, nos 259–261 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 16, nos 214, 217 (read as **DA-GH**); Eshragh p. 21, no. 72; Weber p. 18, no. 40; (**Pl. 38-39, 446-453**)

Year 60 (YE – 72H) — **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Warden-Album; *Damascus* p. 176, no. AS.49 (not illustrated), pl. 33, no. AS50; (**Pl. 39, 454**)

Year 64 (YE = 76H) — **ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān**
Album auction 18 (16 January 2014), lot 139; ANS.1956.137.79 (date unclear, either 64 or 65 possible); (**Pl. 39, 455**) (date clearly 64)

Year 65 (YE = 77H) — **ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān**
Warden-Album (· above mint signature)

Year 70 (YE = 82H) — **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad**
Walker p. 117, Mar.3 (not illustrated; (**Pl. 39, 456**)

Year 75(H) — **Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa**
(**Pl. 39, 457-458**)

Year 76(H) — **Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa**
ANS.1972.169.182 (**p** at 12:30 reverse margin); Eshragh p. 37, no. 166; (**Pl. 40, 459**)

al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra
Walker p. 114, no. 227; ANS.1971.316.1380; ANS.1957.108.17; ANS.1958.222.19; *Damascus* pl. 35, no. AS.107 and p. 200, no. AS.108 (not illustrated); *SICA* 1, pl. 18, nos 262–263 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 16, no. 215; Eshragh p. 37, no. 164; (**Pl. 40, 460-461**)

Year 71 (YE = 83H) — **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf** (name in Pahlavi)
Lofti collection (**mn** in obverse Q2 margin)

[234] All reattributed by Bates to year 58. However they are all also noted under year 53 above as that is the traditional reading. Either 53 or 58 are both plausible readings.

The mints of Dārābgerd and its vicinity generally follow the same style and dating system for all mints. Most coins bear YE dates. The mint of Dārābgerd itself (**DA**) is one of the most prolific mints, alongside those of Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**), Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**) and Istakhr (7.89 **ST**), all within Fārs.

The problematic issues are the series dated year 43 in the names of different officials: ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, Samura b. Jundab, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and Muʿāwiya. The era on these issues could be a mixture of Hijrī and YE. The officials named on the coins could not all have been in power in the same year. The style of the issues dated year 43 is strikingly similar. Does this mean that they were all struck around the same time? This is not necessarily the case. More likely, we are dealing with a frozen date with the earliest issues in the name of ʿAbd Allāh struck around 43H, and the others in the following years. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir was governor of Basra and its dependencies, including Dārābgerd, by 43H so the coins in his name may have been struck using the Hijrī era in that year and possibly the next. Muʿāwiya was Umayyad caliph from 41 to 60H so those in his name could have been struck theoretically using the Hijrī era (i.e. around 43H), but it seems more likely that these issues are using the YE era, thus giving a date of around 54–5H. Coins in the names of Samura b. Jundab, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād were possibly struck in the YE era, equivalent to 54H, but it is more plausible that they were struck over a number of years: Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (*c*.50–3H), Samura b. Jundab (*c*.53–4H) and then ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (*c*.55–6H).[235] Whether the coins in the name of Muʿāwiya came just before, concurrently or after those of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād is uncertain.[236] The coins in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dated 45 have an authentic YE date equivalent to 57H, so the year 43 issues in his name probably stopped being struck in about 56H. The fact that these coins dated 43 are out of sequence is illustrated by the table of drachms from Dārābgerd mints.[237] The issues dated year 26 also pose a difficulty. Salm b. Ziyād is generally known for coins from Khurāsān, but there are rare drachms in his name dated 26 for **ART** (7.14) and **MLW** (7.68) as well as **DA**. The style is crude and the era is unknown, and it is probable that these were issues not struck under Salm b. Ziyād. Walker's suggestion that these issues may be using the PYE, thus giving a date of 58H, and that Salm b. Ziyād may have deputised for his brother in Fārs seems speculative.[238] There is no reference to Salm b. Ziyād doing so in the written sources, but a gap in the written sources cannot be excluded. Album's suggestion that these are unofficial issues seems more likely, but his point that the reverse dies are almost certainly from year 26 of Khusrau II is doubtful.[239] If old dies from the Sasanian era were used, it seems odd that dies dated year 26 from different mints were used, let alone available. Further research on this issue is needed to see if a die match can be found with a drachm of Khusrau II. The drachm of the same date in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh probably follows the PYE era, equivalent to 58H.

Another issue where the era is unknown are the drachms in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān dated year 30, also known for **AYL** (7.21), **BYŠ** (7.34), **GD** (7.44) and **LD** (7.63). The style of these coins is crude.

The later issues are interesting, where drachms with a YE date are followed by those with a Hijrī date, then YE date again: ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, year 60 (YE = 72H), Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa years 75 and 76(H), al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra year 76(H), ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad year 70 (YE = 82H). The coins of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra are plentiful but those of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad and Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa are rare.

[235] ʿUbayd Allāh was appointed governor of Basra in 55H so his coins from Dārābgerd would not have been struck before then.

[236] Bates, in a personal communication, places the coins dated year 43 with Muʿāwiya's name after those of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

[237] Mochiri 1987, p. 53 reads these coins as being dated 41YE, equivalent to 53H and the numerous personalities named is a reflection of endemic disorder in the region.

[238] Walker 1941, p. 1. For a discussion, see Chapter 8, section F3, p. 249.

[239] *SICA* 1, p. 22.

Name	20 (31H)	23 (34H)	25 (36H)	26 (37H)	27 (38H)	28 (39H)	29 (40H)
1. Yazdgard – *jayyid*	**DA**						
2. Khusrau – *lillāh*		**DA**	**DA**				
3. Khusrau – *bism allāh*			**DA**	**DL**		**DA**	**DA**
4. Khusrau – ʾ**pd** *lillāh*				**DA**			
5. Khusrau – Sogdian)							
6. Khusrau – *bism allāh rabbī*				**DL**	**DA**		
7. ʿAbd Allāh							
8. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir							
9. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān							
10. Samura b. Jundab							
11. Muʿāwiya							
12. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād							
13. Salm b. Ziyād							
14. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr							
15. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān							
16. Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa							
17. al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra							
18. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad							
19. al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf							

Table 7.1. Drachms from Dārābgerd mints

	30 (41H)	41 H	31 (42H)	32 (43H)	43 H	43 (frozen)	33 (44H)	35 (46H)	46 H (36)	36 (47H)
1.										
2.	**DA**						**DA**	**DA**		**DA**
3.	**DA** **DP**		**DA**		**DA** **DP**		**DA**		(**DA**)	**DP**
4.										
5.				**DA**						
6.		(**DA**)								
7.	**DA**					**DA**, **DAP**, **DP**				
8.						**DA**, **DAP**, **DP**				
9.						**DA**, **DAP**, **DP**				
10.						**DA**, **DAP**				
11.						**DA**, **DAP**				
12.						**DA**				
13.										
14.										
15.										
16.										
17.										
18.										
19.										

	37 (48H)	39 (50H)	45 (57H)	46 (58H)	26 (58H)	47 (59H)	48 (60H)	49 (61H)	50 (62H)
1.									
2.	**DA**	**DA**							
3.				(**DA**)					
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									
11.			**DA**						
12.			**DA**	**DA**	**DA**	**DA**	**DA**	**DA**	**DA**
13.					**DA**(?)				
14.									
15.									
16.									
17.									
18.									
19.									

	51 (63H)	52 (64H)	53 (65H)	54 (66H)	55 (67H)	56 (68H)	57 (69H)	58 (70H)	59 (71H)
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									
11.									
12.	**DA**	**DA**							
13.									
14.	(**DA**)	(**DA**) **DA-P**	**DA** **DA-G** **DAP**	**DA** **DA-G** **DAP**		**DA** **DA-G** **DAP**	**DA** **DA-G**	**DA**(?)	**DA** **DA-P**
15.									
16.									
17.									
18.									
19.									

	60 (72H)	61 (73H)	62 (74H)	63 (75H)	64 (76H)	65 (77H)	75 (H)	76 (H)	65 (77H)	70 (82H)	71 (83H)
1.											
2.											
3.											
4.											
5.											
6.											
7.											

	60 (72H)	61 (73H)	62 (74H)	63 (75H)	64 (76H)	65 (77H)	75 (H)	76 (H)	65 (77H)	70 (82H)	71 (83H)
8.											
9.											
10.	**DA**, **DA-P**										
11.											
12.											
13.											
14.	**DA** **DA-GH** **DA-P**										
15.	**DA-GH** **DA-P**			**DA-GH**	**DA**	**DA** **DA-P**			**DA-P**		
16.							**DA** **DA-GALWM**	**DA**			
17.								**DA**			
18.										**DA** **DA-GH**	
19.											**DA** **DA-P**

Notes to Table 7.1: The dates in the top line are the dates on the coin followed in brackets with the Hijrī equivalent where applicable. No Hijrī equivalent dates have been assigned to the frozen year 43. For the table it is assumed that the anonymous Khusrau types dated 33, 35, 36, 37 and 39 bear YE dates, but Hijrī dates are also possible. The table omits the coins of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān dated 26, 30 and 36 of an uncertain era, because these are likely to bear non-authentic dates. The coin of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dated 26 is not included even though it may represent a PYE date equivalent to 58H, but this is only one of a number of possibilities.

Copper. In addition to the drachms noted above, there are various copper issues which are both dated and undated with the mint signature **DA**. In summary, these types are as follows:

1. Year 46 (PYE = 78H). Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust right, **GDH** (*xvarrah*) on left, **ʾpzwt'** (*abzūd*) on right (‘the royal glory has been increased’), no visible marginal legend. *Rev*. Fire altar, 46 on left, **DA** on right, no visible marginal legend. (**Pl. 117, 1390**)
2. Year 47 (PYE = 79H). Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust right, **GDH** on left, **ʾpzwt′ on** right, *bism allāh* in Q2. *Rev*. Fire altar, 47 on left, **DA** on right, **ʾpzwt′** in Q2. Gyselen type 10a. (**Pl. 118, 1391-1392**)
3. Year 48 (PYE – 80H). Anonymous. As 2 above save for date. Gyselen type 10a.
4. Year 60 (YE = 72H). Anonymous. As 2 above save for date. Gyselen type 10a. (**Pl. 118, 1393**)
5. Year 67 (YE = 79H). Anonymous. As 2 above save for date and reverse margin legend between two outer circles *al-hamd* and **GDH** *illāh* in Q2 and Q3 respectively. (**Pl. 118, 1394**)
6. Year 67 (YE = 79H). Anonymous. As 6 above save for date and in Arabic *baraka* (‘Benediction’) added in Q3 reverse margin. Gyselen type 10b. (**Pl. 118, 1395-1397**)
7. Year 68 (YE = 80H). Anonymous. As 6 above save for date. Gyselen type 10b. Walker p. 125, nos 242–243 (British Museum); ANS.1974.239.1; Mochiri 1987, p. 99, no. 104, pl. 11, no. 62; *SICA* 1 pl. 35, no. 502 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 118, 1398**)
8. Undated. Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust right, unread Pahlavi word on left, Arabic word on right, *bism allāh* in Q2 on obverse. *Rev*. Fire altar, **ʾpzwn** (*abzūn*, ‘growth’) on left, on **DA** right, unread word in Q3. Gyselen type 11
9. Year 72 (YE = 84H). Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust right, **GDH** on left, **ʾpzwt′** on right, *bism allāh* in Q2, letter **m** in Q3. *Rev*. Standing facing figure, 72 on left, **DA** on right. Gyselen type 12

10. Year 94H. Anonymous. *Obv*. As 9 above. *Rev*. Winged horse right, Arabic date above (94, *arbaʾ wa tisʿīn*), Pahlavi **DA** below. Gyselen type 13
11. Undated. Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust right, **GDH** on left, in Arabic *baraka* ('Benediction') on right, *bism allāh* in Q2. *Rev*. Bust right, unread Pahlavi word on left, **DA** on right. Gyselen type 14; (**Pl. 118, 1400**)
12. Undated. Anonymous. *Obv*. Facing bust, illegible legends on left and right. *Rev*. Two-line legend, *allāh* / **DA**. Gyselen type 15; (**Pl. 118, 1401**)
13. Undated. Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust right, **GDH** on left, **ʾw** on right. *Rev*. Bust right, **GDH**(?) on left, **DA** right. (**Pl. 118, 1402**)
14. Undated. Anonymous. *Obv*. Elephant walking right. *Rev*. Legend within two outer circles, **DA** in centre. (**Pl. 118, 1403**)

7.37.1 DA-G (dʾg) 𐬀𐬌 𐬌 (probably Jahrōm, Fārs)

There are various Arab-Sasanian drachm issues with the mint signature **DA**, in the usual place on the reverse, but with additional letters elsewhere on the coin (see also **DA-P**, 7.38.1 below). One of these variations has the letter **G** to the left, or less frequently to the right, of the altar shaft on the reverse. **DA-G** probably represents Jahrōm as do other issues (7.37.2, 7.37.3, 7.37.4) discussed below where additional letters are found. The coins with **DA-G** have the distinctive feature of a pellet on the cheek, which is only occasionally found on coins of **DA** itself. There are copper issues with the mint place of Jahrōm in full.[240] Jahrōm[241] is referred to in the early Arab geographies as being a locality within the Dārābgerd district (*kūra*) of Fārs in the south of Iran. Jahrōm was captured by the Arabs in around 23H by an army under ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀs, although some sources put it earlier, in 20H. Jahrōm evidently declined after the conquest. It is not known as a mint for post-reform Islamic dirhams under the Umayyads, nor the ʿAbbāsids. It is not until the Safavid period that it revived in importance. It is located on the road from Fīrūzābād and Lār to Fasā and Dārāb, around 190 kilometres south east of Shīrāz and 70 kilometres south of Fasā. The name Jahrōm may mean either warm place or green place.[242] The remains of a late Sasanian castle are located about 2.5 kilometres south of modern Jahrōm.

Year 53	**ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(YE = 65H)	*Damascus* pl. 33, no. AS.31
Year 54	**ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(YE = 66H)	Walker p. 33, no. 42 (= Gaube, pl. 3, no. 28, London); ANS.1958.222.18; ANS.1971.316.1365 (letter **g** right of altar shaft); ANS.1971.316.1367 (letter **g** left of altar shaft); *Damascus* pp. 174–5, nos AS.32–36; *SICA* 1 pl. 18, no. 264 (Shamma; letter **g** to right of altar shaft); (**Pl. 40, 462-466**) (letter **g** right), 0308 (letter **g** left)
Year 56	**ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(YE = 68H)	Walker p. 34, no. Z.2; ANS.1951.181.5 (= Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), p. 194, no. 12); ANS.1972.169.170 (letter **g** left of altar shaft); ANS.1971.316.1568 (letter **g** left of altar shaft); ANS.1971.316.1369 (letter **g** left of altar shaft); *Damascus* AS.41; (**Pl. 40, 470**) (letter **g** right of altar shaft), (**Pl. 40, 468-469**) (letter **g** left)
Year 57	**ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(YE = 69H)	(**Pl. 41, 471**) (letter **g** left of altar shaft)

All the drachms of mint signature **DA-G** are in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and bear YE dates. Most of the known examples are dated 54 and 55; those of years 53 and 57 are rare.

[240] Mint signature **YHLWN** considered below.

[241] Shiva Jaʾfari, 'Jahrom', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* vol. 14, fasc. 4, pp. 392–5 (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jahrom, consulted 18 April 2018); Miri 2009, pp. 16–17; Le Strange 1930, p. 254.

[242] In the *Kār-nāmag-i Ardashīr-i Pāpagān*, ch. 6,para. 18, it is referred to as *Zarham*, which means green place.

7.37.2 DA / GH (d'gh) (probably Jahrōm, Fārs)

7.37.3 DA-GH

This mint signature has **DA** in the usual place on the reverse but with the letters **GH** (or alternatively only **H**, it can be read either way) above. On one very rare issue of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad the letters are to the left of the altar shaft. It probably represents Jahrōm within the district of Dārābgerd.[243] They would appear to follow on from those coins with the signature **DA-G** which end in 57H. The view has been expressed that the signature read as **DA-H** (**DAH**) is better read as **DA-LYW**.[244]

Year 60 (YE = 72H)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr
Walker p. 35, no. 47 (read as **DARAV**); ANS.1971.316.1394; ANS.1975.238.49; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), p. 196, no. 20 (read as **DARAV**?) (= ANS.1951.181.6); Gaube pl. 3, no. 30 (V. Zambaur); *Damascus* p. 177, nos AS.52–56A (no. AS.54 only illustrated on pl. 33); Mitchiner 1978, p. 212, no. 1350 (read as **DARA**); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 16, nos 218–219 (read as **DAH**); (**Pl. 41, 473-476**)
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān
Walker p. 28, no. Asc.1 (not illustrated); ANS.1972.169.169; *Damascus* pl. 32, no. AS.24 (read as year 60 or 63); (**Pl. 41, 477-479**)

Year 63 (YE = 75H)
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān
ANS.1971.316.1395; *Damascus* pl. 32, no. AS.25 (probably year 63 rather than 60); (**Pl. 41, 480**)

Year 70 (YE = 82H)
ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad
Mochiri 1987, p. 102, no. 116, pl. 7, no. 42; Gaube, pl. 4, no. 39 (P); *SICA* 1 p. 30, fn[165] (Warden-Album, not illustrated); (**Pl. 41, 481**) (letters **GH** to left of altar shaft)

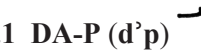
All the issues with mint signature **DA-GH** bear YE dates. Those of year 60 are relatively plentiful.

7.37.4 DA-GALWM (d'g'lwm) (Jahrōm, Fārs)

DA-GALWM (**DA-GARWM**) represents Jahrōm in Fārs. It is found on one issue of Arab-Sasanian drachms. **DA** is written in the usual place on the reverse to the right of the right attendant, with the word **GALWM** is above.[245] **DA** represents the district of Dārābgerd and **GALWM** the name of the town within that district. Jahrōm fell within the Dārābgerd district and is located around 70 kilometres south west of the town of Dārābgerd.

Year 75(H)
Qatarī b. al-Fujā'a
Walker p. 113, no. 220 (= Gaube pl. 6, no. 69); ANS.1956.137.80; Miles *Persepolis* (1959) – Naqsh-i Rustam, p. 100, no. 53; *SICA* 1 pl. 18, nos 265–266 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 35, no. 153; (**Pl. 41, 472**)

The only issue with this signature bears a Hijrī date, which is consistent with other issues of Dārābgerd mints where the later ones usually have Hijrī dates (the earlier ones had YE dates). The issue is scarce. The Arabic word Jahrōm also appears as a countermark on some copper coins of Dārābgerd.

7.38.1 DA-P (d'p)  (probably Fasā, Fārs)

[243] However Mochiri 2006, p. 40 considers the reference is to **dyn** (*dēn*, religion) to make **d'dyn** (**DA** *dēn*). This is unlikely.

[244] Sears 2010, p. 170. This too seems unlikely.

[245] Mochiri 1987 p. 101, no.114, considers the word above **DA** is **ŠLM** for *drōd* (meaning peace / prosperity) and thus not part of the mint signature.

7.38.2 DAP

This mint signature has **DA** in the usual place on the reverse. The additional **P** can be in four different places, making **DAP**. The progression can be seen in three distinct phases: **P** joined to **DA** (all the frozen year 43 issues); **P** above **DA** (issues of years 54 and 56); **P** to either left or right of the altar shaft (issues from year 60). The signature probably represents the town Fasā within the district of Dārābgerd in Fārs region.[246] Fasā is the name of the district or sub-district as well as the chief town of an area, and is located 66 kilometres north west of Dārābgerd itself.[247] Prior to the Islamic period Fasā was known as Pasā. Pasā dates back to at least the Achaemenid period. In 23H the head (*hērbad*) of Fasā and Dārābgerd surrendered those towns peacefully to the Arab general ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀs. It seems that Arab control did not last long. In 29H the Arab general and governor of Basra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir sent troops to conquer Sābūr (Bīshāpūr), Dārābgerd, Fasā and Istakhr in Fārs region. The site of Tal-i Zohak (Tall-i Zahhak), on the Fasā plain, three kilometres south of modern Fasā, is scattered with pottery from the Sasanian and early Islamic periods.[248] Nearby is the Sasanian castle locally known as Qalʾeh Gabri (Zoroastrian Castle). No Sasanian coins are known with the **DAP** mint or any other mint signature for Fasā. Fasā is a mint signature on post-reform Islamic dirhams from 79H.[249] Unlike Jahrōm, it would appear that in the centuries immediately following the conquest, Fasā remained an important centre.

Type 1	**DAP** with letters **DAP** together. All with frozen date 43 [illegible]
Year 43(H)	**ʿAbd Allāh**[250]
	Album 1992 pl. 26, no. 59; (**Pl. 41, 482**)
Year 43	**ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
(*c*.44–7H)	(**Pl. 42, 483**)
Year 43	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(*c*.50–3H)	ANS.1991.3.257; ANS.1971.316.1391; *SICA* 1 pl. 18, nos 267–268 (Shamma); Miles *Persepolis* (1959) – Naqsh-i Rustam, p. 96, no. 33; *Damascus* p. 186, nos AS.63–65 (AS.63 only illustrated pl. 34); Mitchiner 1978 p. 213, no. 1356 (read as mint **DA** and the date as 46); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 16, no. 220; Weber p. 24, no. 56; (**Pl. 42, 484-492**)
Year 43	**Samura b. Jundab**
(*c*.53–4H)	Walker p. 46, nos M.26 and Sch.2 (read as year 41); Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), p.197, no. 24 (read as year 41) (ANS.1953.9.9); *Damascus* pl. 34, no. AS.69 (year read as 41); Gaube, pl. 7, no. 78; Eshragh p. 15, no. 35; (**Pl. 42-43, 493-496**)
Year 43	**Muʿāwiya**
(*c*.54–5H)	Walker pp. 25–6, nos 35–36 and Th. 4 (year read as 41 on all); Gaube pl. 5, no. 58; *SICA* 1 pl. 18, no. 269 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 15, no. 34; Weber p. 13, nos 30–31 (read as **DA**, year 41); (**Pl. 42, 497-498**)

Type 2	**DAP** with **DA** and **P** above [illegible]
Year 53	**ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(YE = 65H)	ANS.1971.316.1393 (**ʾp** at 12.30h reverse margin)

[246] Mochiri 2000, p. 38 considers both **DAP** and **DP** simply to represent Dārābgerd.

[247] In the late Sasanian period Fasā may have been a separate district within the region of Fārs, but for most of the Sasanian period and probably for the Umayyad era it was a sub-district within the Dārābgerd district.

[248] Mīnū Yūsofnežād and Judith Lerner, 'Fasā i. Geography and History', in Encyclopaedia Iranica IX.4, pp. 386–9 (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fasa-i) (consulted 13 August 2018). By the fourth century Hijrī it was the second city of the Dārābgerd district: Le Strange 1930, p. 290.

[249] Klat 2002, nos 510–513 (79–82H); *SICA* 2 pl. 39, no. 804 (80H).

[250] There has been some controversy between numismatists about whether the year on these and other issues of the related mint signatures (e.g. **DA**, **DP**, **DAP**) should be read as 41 or 43: Album 1992, p. 178. Year 43 is the correct reading as the legend is **syčhl** (43), rather than **ʾyčhl** (41) or **yʾzčhl** (41).

Year 54 **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(YE = 66H) Walker p. 34, nos 43, H.1; ANS.1998.80.1; *Damascus* pl. 33, no. AS.51; Gaube pl. 3, no. 31 (Haddad); *SICA* 1 pl. 18, no. 270 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 16, no. 221; (**Pl. 42, 499-500**)
Year 56 **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(YE = 68H) Walker p. 34, no. 44; British Museum (BM 1977, 1004.2); ANS.1971.316.1392; *SICA* 1 pl. 19, nos 271 (Shamma), 272 (Ashmolean); Eshragh p. 19, no. 58; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 16, no. 222; (**Pl. 42, 501**)

Type 3 **DA-P** with **P** left or right of altar shaft
Year 59 **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(YE = 71H) (**Pl. 42, 502**) (**p** left)
Year 60 **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(YE = 72H) Walker p. 35, Th.6 (**p** left); ANS.1953.9.8 (**p** left); ANS.1975.238.46 (**p** left); ANS.1972.169.171 (**p** right); ANS.1957.108.16 (**p** left); *Damascus* p. 177, nos AS.43–48 (**p** left; not illustrated); Eshragh p. 22, no. 75 (**p** left); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 16, no. 223 (**p** left); (**Pl. 42, 503**) (**p** right), (**Pl. 42, 504**) (**p** left)
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (**p** left of altar shaft)
Walker p. 28, no. C.3 (read as **DA**); ANS.1974.75.6; ANS.1989.41.1; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), p. 196, no. 18; *Damascus* p. 171, nos AS.17–23A (no. AS.19 only illustrated pl. 32); Mitchiner 1978 p. 212, no. 1349 (read as **DA**); *SICA* 1 pl. 19, nos 273–276 (Shamma), 277 (Ashmolean); Eshragh p. 22, no. 76; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18, no. 224 (name read as ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubayr); Weber p. 14, no. 32; (**Pl. 42, 506-506**)
Year 65 **ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān** (**p** left of altar shaft)
(YE = 77H) Walker p. 28, no. P.2; (**Pl. 44, 507-509**)
Year 71 **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf** (**p** left of altar shaft)[251]
(YE = 83H) ANS.1984.196.4; *Damascus* pl. 36, no. AS.118; Eshragh p. 31, no. 131; (**Pl. 44, 510-512**)

All the drachms with the **DAP** and **DA-P** mint signature have YE dates, save for those of the frozen year 43. It is likely that those of years 60 and 65 in the name of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān also bear frozen YE dates.[252]

7.38.3 DP (dp) (probably Fasā, Fārs)

This mint signature probably represents Fasā in the Dārābgerd district of Fārs. There are only two known dates: year 30 thus indicating it was prior to type 1 of **DAP** and year 43 which is of the frozen year type.

Year 30 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 41H) Walker p. 10, nos 15, ETN.4 (= ANS.1944.100.51224);[253] Miles *RIC*, p. 1, no. 1 (= ANS.1917.215.3367); (**Pl. 44, 513**)
Year 43(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(**Pl. 44, 514**)
ʿAbd Allāh
Walker p. 50, no. I.22 (read as year 41; not illustrated); Gaube pl. 2, no. 18 (Haddad); Eshragh p. 15, no. 32; (**Pl. 44, 515-517**)

[251] Curiel 1966 (read date as 79); c.f. Walker, p. 117, no. Do.5; *SICA* 1, p. 29. The date is 71YE (= 83H) and unusually for al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf his name is written in Pahlavi.

[252] *SICA* 1, p. 30.

[253] Mochiri 1987, p. 92, no. 24, considers that in place of the date and mint signature are the letters **ŠY** and **DA** respectively, denoting *dēw* (devil). This seems unlikely.

Year 43 **ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
(frozen date, *c*.44–7H Walker p. 48, nos 70–71 (read as year 41), M.27 (not illustrated); ANS.1965.243.408; Eshragh pp. 15, 294, nos 31, 1749; (**Pl. 44-45, 518-521**)
Year 43 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(frozen date, *c*.50–3H) Walker p. 41, no. 61; ANS.1975.238.48; ANS.1971.316.1390; *Damascus* pl. 34, no. AS.66, p. 187, no. AS.67 (not illustrated); (**Pl. 45, 522-523**)

The drachm of year 30 bears a YE date. Those in the names of officials dated year 43 mainly bear frozen or inauthentic dates as different officials would not have had coins struck in their names at the same time. The drachms with **DP** mint signatures are not rare, save for the anonymous Khusrau type issue of 43H.

7.39 *Dimashq* كمسو (Damascus, Bilād al-Shaʾm)

Unusually for Arab-Sasanian issues, there are rare drachms with the full name of the mint in Arabic. One of these mints is Damascus, with *Dimashq* on the reverse. The coins are of an unusual style. The series commenced in 72H, long after the initial conquest of the town in 14H and its adoption as Umayyad capital under Muʿāwiya. It stopped a few years later in 74H (plus mintless type of 75H). It has attracted the attention of numismatists and worthwhile studies have been published.[254] Damascus (in modern Syria) was in the region of Bilād al-Shaʾm, for which the only other issues were struck at Hims. There are also some very rare drachms with no mint or date which are generally attributed to Damascus. They have a standing caliph with sword on the reverse and the legends are entirely in Arabic.[255] Post-reform Islamic dirhams are known from 79H onwards.[256]

Year 72(H) **Anonymous type** with ***muhammad rasul allāh*** in place of officials' name and ***bism allāh*** in obverse margin[257]
SNS (Israel), App.3, pl. 27, no. A1 (= Peus auction 382 (26 April 2005), lot 728 = Peus auction 380 (3 November 2004), lot 988 = Morton and Eden 54 (23 April 2012), lot 20)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh*** / ***muhammad rasūl allāh***[258]
SICA 1 pl. 19, no. 278 (Ashmolean = Bates 1986, pl. 31, no. 5 = *SNS* (Israel), App. 3, pl. 27, no. A2)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh*** / ***muhammad rasūl*** / ***allāh***[259]
Miles *ANSNM* 7 (1957), p. 191, no. 6 (Azizbeglou = *SNS* (Israel), App. 3, pl. 27, no. A3 = BnF 1978.863); Jazzar 2000 (= *SNS* (Israel), App. 3, pl. 27, no. A4); (**Pl. 45, 524**)
Year 73(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** / ***lā illāh illā allāh wa*** / ***hdahu muhammad r*** / ***asūl allāh***[260]
Walker p. 23, no. N1 (not illustrated; now missing); Gaube pl. 2, no. 15 (= *SNS* (Israel), App. 3, pl. 27, no. A8; Paris 1965.471); *SICA* 1, pl. 19, no. 279 (Shamma = *SNS* (Israel), App. 3, pl. 27, no. A7); Eshragh p. 33, no. 139; (**Pl. 45, 525**)

[254] Treadwell 1999; *SNS* (Israel), pp. 16–30, Appendix 3; Ilisch 2007.

[255] See under section 7.120 (without mint) below.

[256] Klat 2002, nos 323–376 (79–132H); *SICA* 2, pls 26–32, nos 590–699 (79, 81–115, 117–23, 125–7, 131H). For ʿAbbāsid dirhams from Dimashq: *SICA* 3, pl. 33, nos 753–762 (133, 185, 204–9, 211, 213H), *SICA* 4, pls 16–17, nos 310 (221H), 312–315 (224H), 317–320 (225–6, 228–9H), 323–325 (245–7H), 327–328 (250–1H), 330 (254H), 332–334 (292–3, 306H), 336 (308H).

[257] This and the following 72H issues of Damascus have an additional outer circle on the reverse, making a total of four circles. The remaining Damascus issues have the usual three.

[258] With additional outer circle on reverse.

[259] From now on the Damascus issues have the usual three outer circles on the reverse.

[260] For examples in trade see *SNS* (Israel), App. 3, pl. 27, no. A5 (CNG auction 69 (8 June 2005), lot 1914); pl. 27, no. A6 (Peus auction 363 (26 April 2000), lot 5649), pl. 27, no. A9 with mint and date reversed, (Peus auction 382 (26 April 2005), lot 729); also Peus auction 378 (28 April 2004), lot 1203; Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 9 (12 October 2004), lot 3173.

Year 74(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** / ***lā illāh illā allāh wahdahu muhammad rasūl allāh***[261]
Walker p. 23, no. DD.1 (= Walker 1934, pl. 9, no. 6 = *SNS* (Israel), App. 3, pl. 27, no. A11);[262] Bates 1986, pl. 31, no. 6 (= ANS 1971.316.35; mint and date in Arabic); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 17, no. 225 (= Balog 1950, cols. 435–6 = Miles 1952, fig. 4; *SNS* (Israel), App. 3, pl. 27, no. A10); Eshragh p. 34, no. 145; (**Pl. 45, 526**)

All the drachms of Dimashq are rare and bear Hijrī dates. They are only known for three years from 72 to 74H. A mintless type of 75H is assigned to Dimashq.

7.40. DL (dl) 𐭣𐭫 (possibly Dārābgerd)

DL (**DR**) may conceivably represent Dārābgerd in Fārs, but this is uncertain. The signature is known for Vahrān V[263] and in the late Sasanian period from Khusrau I until Khusrau II. Thereafter it is only known for Khusrau III (*c*.630). Some numismatists have equated the signature with **KL** (7.57),[264] which may represent Kirmān. This is incorrect as it ignores the differences in the epigraphy between two separate signatures (**DL** does not have the bottom horizontal stroke in the **K** of **KL**), and also the fact that both signatures are found for the same dates under Khusrau I and Khusrau II. Göbl's reading of **DL** is therefore to be preferred.[265] His attribution of the signature to Dārābgerd is open to doubt as **DA** represents Dārābgerd and **DA** overlaps with **DL** for the same regnal years under Khusrau I and Khusrau II indicating that they may represent different places.

The signature is only known for years 24, 26, 36 and 43(?) in the early Islamic period.

Year 24 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 35H) (**Pl. 45, 526A**)
Year 26 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H) (**Pl. 45, 527**) (= Mochiri 2000, p. 42, no. 1, pl. 17, no. 30)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Album 1992 pl. 24, no. 37
Year 36 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 47H) Mochiri 1985, pl. 12, no. 6 (mint read as **KL**)
Year 46 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**[266]
(?Unknown era) Morton and Eden auction 72 (16 December 2014), lot 499 (date noted as a blundered version of 43(?) and coin described as probably a contemporary imitation)

7.41 DŠ (dš) 𐭣𐭱 (possibly Dasht-i Maysān, southern Iraq)

DŠ (**DSh**) is unknown as a Sasanian mint and is only known for the period 57 to 67H for the Arab-Sasanian series. Likewise **DŠT** (see 7.42.1 and 7.42.2 below) is only known for the Arab-Sasanian series. Both are

[261] Walker 1934, pp. 292–4. For other examples, see *SNS* (Israel), pl. 27, no. A12 (Sotheby's auction (14 October 1999), lot 256); *SICA* 1, p. 28, fn[151] (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris 1965.472); Morton and Eden auction 49 (9 June 2011), lot 411 (variation in date legend).

[262] The mint and date on the reverse are written in Arabic.

[263] Malek 1995a, p. 71, no. 58.

[264] Gyselen and Kalus 1983, p. 151; see also Mochiri 1972, p. 42; Mochiri *ENIS* II, p. 453; Sellwood 1985, p. 48; Sears 1997, p. 129, fn[269] (which treats these two coins dated years 26 and 36 as bearing **KL** mint signature). Mochiri 1985 attributes **KL** to Shirgān (Sirjān), Kirmān.

[265] Göbl 1971, p. 82; Mitchiner 1978, p. 420 also equates **DL** (**DR**) with Dārābgerd; c.f. Mordtmann 1879, p. 123, attribution to Derakān.

[266] This is a very odd looking coin. The date is spurious and it is an imitation, at best contemporary, but could be more recent.

likely to represent a place beginning with Dasht, and Dasht-i Maysān is the most likely place.[267] If they represent the same mint it is odd that **DŠ** and **DŠT** are known for the same years. Normally this would lead one to expect that they represent different mints. There is an overlap of officials named on the coins.[268] Dasht-i Maysān was a sub-district within the district of Maysān in southern Iraq on the left bank of the river Tigris.[269] Umayyad post-reform dirhams are known for both Dasht-i Maysān and Maysān.[270]

Year 57(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957) p. 199, no. 33 (read as **BSH**?) (ANS.1954.119.79); *ENIS* II p. 159, fig. 418 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 45, 528**)

Year 58(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(**Pl. 45, 529**)

Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
ENIS II p. 159, fig. 419 (Mochiri); Mochiri 1987 p. 97, no. 72, pl. 13, no. 75 (with **p** in Q1 reverse margin); Eshragh p. 21, no. 71; (**Pl. 46, 530**)

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 61, no. 89 (= Gaube, pl. 8, no. 93); *SICA* 1 pl. 19, nos 280–282 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 17, no. 226; Weber p. 38, no. 91 (mint signature read as **BŠ**); (**Pl. 46, 531-533**)

Year 61(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.11); *ENIS* II p. 159, fig. 420 (Mochiri)

Year 67(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
ENIS II p. 159, fig. 421 (Mochiri); Eshragh p. 27, no. 108; (**Pl. 46, 534**)

Drachms with mint signature **DŠ** are not rare. This indicates a mint with a modest output over a period of ten years. The signature is mainly found in coins of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and for one year of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr.

7.42.1 DŠT (dšt) (possibly Dasht-i Maysān, southern Iraq)

7.42.2 DŠT' (dšt')

The mint signature is variously written as **DŠT** and **DŠT'** and is unknown for the Sasanian period. This signature and **DŠ** (see 7.42 above) may both represent Dasht-i Maysān, but this is not certain. There are copper issues with the signature **DŠT**, but these were probably struck in a different location to the silver drachms (see below).

Year 51(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(**Pl. 46, 535-536**)

Year 52(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 42, no. ETN.7; (**Pl. 46, 537**)

Year 56(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād** (signature **DŠT'**)
Walker p. 69, no. ANS.11 (= ANS.1944.100.51229); ANS.1924.47.7; (**Pl. 46, 538**)

[267] Walker 1941, pp. cxvii-cxviii; Gaube 1973, p. 94. Dasht means 'plain'. There have always been many towns beginning with this word in Irān.

[268] Mochiri's suggestion by that the signature should be read as **KŠ** for Kash (Kaš) in Sīstān province is improbable, Mochiri 1977, pp. 158–9. First, the initial letter is a **D** and not a **K** (which has a downward backwards stroke). Second, coins minted in Sīstān tend to be of a crude and particular style, whereas these coins of **DŠ** appear to be of the usual style of coins minted in the regions west of Sīstān. He later abandoned that suggestion and replaced it by **YŠ** for Reyshahr in Fārs, Mochiri 1987, p. 76. This too seems incorrect. For now Dasht-i Maysān is the most plausible location, albeit uncertain.

[269] The sub-districts were Abarqubādh (Abar Qubād), Maysān, Dasht-i Maysān and Bahman-Ardashīr (Furāt Maysān).

[270] Klat 2002, nos 318–322 (Dasht-i Maysān, 79–82, 97H), 628–635 (79–83, 95–7H Maysān); Eshragh, pp. 107, 110, no. nos 549 (Dasht-i Maysān, 97H), 567 (Maysān, 97H); *SICA* 2, pl. 26, no. 589 (Dasht-i Maysān, 80H).

Year 61(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 70, no. Cam.6 (not illustrated) (= Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.11-R); British Museum (BM 1982.0524.12); ANS.1972.169.178; *SICA* 1 pl. 19, no. 283 (Shamma)

Year 62(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 70, nos I.38 (not illustrated), B.17 (year read as 63); British Museum (BM 1982, 1116.26); *Damascus* pl. 35, no. AS.88; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 17, no. 227; (**Pl. 46, 539-541**)

Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 70, no. 105; *SICA* 1 pls 19–20, nos 284–285 (Shamma), 286 (Ashmolean); Eshragh p. 23, no. 84; Weber p. 39, nos 93–94; (**Pl. 47, 542-543**)

Year 64(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 70, no. I.39 (not illustrated); *SICA* 1 pl. 20, no. 287 (Shamma); Weber p. 39, no. 95; (**Pl. 47, 544-545**)

Year 65(H) **al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿĀmir)**[271]
ANS.1966.200.1 (clipped); Gaube pl. 15, no. 54 (Paris; read as Khalid b. ʿAbdallāh = BN 1965.830)

Year 67(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 104, no. I.43 (not illustrated); ANS.1976.275.21 (*musʿab* in Q3 obverse); *SICA* 1 pl. 20, no. 288 (Shamma); (**Pl. 47, 546**)

The drachms of **DŠT** are mostly in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (as are those of the probably related signature **DŠ**). These drachms are not rare, indicating a mint with a modest output. The signatures **DŠ** and **DŠT** are both known in the name of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr for 67H. In 66H he was appointed governor of Basra, not far from Dasht-i Maysān. All the coins bear Hijrī dates.

Copper. In addition to the coins noted above, there are various copper issues with the mint abbreviation **DŠT'** and a date which may be 104 or even 64. They are of a similar style and same date as bronze coins from Gūr in the name of Farrukhzād (Farroxzād). Thus **DŠT'** on these copper issues is likely to be from the same region as the Farrukhzād coins (Fārs),[272] and probably not the same place as the drachm issues.

Year 64 (or 104) **Farroxzād-i Gušn-anōšān**
Mochiri 1987 p. 102, no. 115, pl. 17, no. 98 (date read as 62); Gyselen type 53 (**Pl. 118, 1404-1405**)

For the date and era used, see the discussion below 7.49 **GWBL**: 64 (YE = 76H) or 104 (Khusrau era = 75/6H).

7.43 GBL ᴗ ᴗ⊥ (unknown location)

GBL can also be read as **GWBL** or even **CBL**. Its location is unknown, albeit Gūr in Fārs is a remote possibility.[273] The only known drachm bears a Hijrī date and is extremely rare.

Year 52(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Gaube pl. 10, no. 111 (Haddad)

[271] *SICA* 1, pp. 24–5.

[272] *SICA* 1, p. 68 summarises the various possibilities within western Fārs, such as Dasht Bārīn suggested by Kolesnikov. Treadwell 2008, p. 352 considers that these copper issues were probably struck within the Ardashīr-Khurra district of Fārs. Mochiri 1987, p. 72 suggests the region of Dashtestān in Fārs.

[273] Gaube 1973, p. 95.

7.44 GD (gd) جد (Jayy, Jibāl)

This mint signature, which is probably best read as **GD**,[274] has in the past been equated with **LD** (**RD**) (7.63), the distinct signature for Rayy.[275] The signature almost certainly represents the sub-district of Jayy (Gay in Pahlavi / Middle Persian) in Ispahān (Spahān) in the centre of the Iranian plateau (Jibāl). According to legend it was founded under Alexander[276] and subsequently rebuilt by the Sasanians. Seal evidence with the name in full **GDY** shows that Gay had a *šahrab* (governor) up to the late Sasanian period.[277] At the time of the Arab conquest of Iran, Jayy was a round fortified city on the banks of the Ziyandeh Rūd. It is said to have had 104 fortified towers and four main gates. The city was taken in 23H by ʿAbd Allāh b. Budayl after a truce under which, in return for tribute, the inhabitants were permitted to keep their property.[278] West of Jayy was Yahūdiyya, the Jewish town.[279]

The signature is first used under the Sasanians by Pērōz (457–84) and is commonly encountered until Ardashīr III (628–30), indicating it denotes a major mint place. It is not known for Yazdgard III. The signature continues to be used in the early Islamic period and is particularly common for ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. Copper Arab-Sasanian issues of Jayy continue to be struck well after the last Arab-Sasanian drachms from that mint. Jayy also struck some of the earliest post-reform dirhams, from 78H onwards.[280] This produced an overlap of types. Although no Arab-Sasanian drachms are known for the period 77–82H there was an isolated issue in 83H.

Year 12	**Abū Khālid** (?)
(unknown era)	Amini and Dashkov 2013, p. 9[281]
Year 20	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with **t** in Q1 obverse
(YE = 31H)	(**Pl. 47, 547**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with **GDH** in Q1, **ʾpd** in Q2 obverse
	ENIS II p. 131, fig. 335
Year 21	**Anonymous Yazdgard type**[282]
(YE =32H)	Paruck 1944, p. 116 (noted without illustration; subject to confirmation)
Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H)	Walker p. 6, no. 12; (**Pl. 47, 548**)

[274] Mochiri 1972, pp. 27–31, 1977, p. 453, where the signature is read as **GY** for Gay (Jay or Jayy); Mitchiner 1978, p. 457, where the signature is read as **GI** for Guey (i.e. Jayy); Sellwood 1985, p. 48; Gyselen and Kalus 1983, p. 147; c.f. Paruck 1944, p. 116, read signature as **ZD** and distinct from **LD** (**RD**); Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 124.

[275] Walker 1941, pp. cxxvi–cxxviii; Gaube 1973, p. 103 (where signature is equated with **LD** / **RD**). Miles 1938 in his seminal work on the coinage of Rayy somewhat tentatively included coins with **GD** in his work appreciating that **GD** and **LD** may represent different places.

[276] *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, line 53: Daryaee 2002, p. 55.

[277] Gyselen 2007a. It was one of the provinces governed by a *šahrab* mentioned in Shāpūr I's (241–72 AD) inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam.

[278] Kennedy 2007, p. 175. There are various versions of the conquest of Ispahān (Isfahān), which included the sub-districts of Jayy and the Jewish settlement which became known as Yahūdiyya: see al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), pp. 485–98. See also Barthold (trans. Soucek, 1984), pp. 169–71. Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 274-5, (trans.), p. 109-110 describes Ispahān in the third century Hijrī, which was split into cantons with Jayy as where the city was located. The land tax was ten million dirhams.

[279] Le Strange 1930, pp. 303–4.

[280] Klat 2002, nos 253–271 (79–83, 90–8, 102, 127–30H); *SICA* 2, pls 24–5, nos 538–554 (79–81, 83, 90, 92–4H); Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 39 (78H). For the ʿAbbāsid period Jayy continued to be a mint place for dirhams: *SICA* 3, pls 32–3, nos 728–751 (162, 170H).

[281] This is an unusual coin, which Amini categories as Arab-Sasanian in view of the name which he read as an Arab name of Abū Khālid. The name legend is equivocal and can be read as '**bwhʾtyt'**, but the fourth letter is not clearly '**h**' and could easily be '**y**' or even '**d**'. The coin is of the early type of Khusrau II with no marginal legend, all legends in Pahlavi and the attendants on the reverse bearing bonnet-type headdresses.

[282] Miles 1938, p. 5, no. 1 is a reference to Mordtmann 1880, p. 160, no. 560 recorded as a drachm of anonymous Yazdgard type dated year 21. This issue is not confirmed.

	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***baraka*** in Q2 obverse[283]
	Warden-Album
Year 26	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***[284]
(YE = 37H)	*SICA* 1, p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)
Year 27	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 59H)	(**Pl. 48, 564**)
Year 28	**Nuʿmān b. Bashīr**
(PYE=60H)	Bates Photo Archive (*al-rahmān al-malik* in Q2 obverse margin)
Year 29	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** in obverse Q2
(YE = 38H)	Walker p. 9, no. M.7 (not illustrated); (**Pl. 47, 549**)
Year 29	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 61H)	(**Pl. 49, 569**)
Year 30	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh*** in obverse Q2
(YE = 41H)	*SICA* 1, p. 60, fn[313] (noted without illustration)
	Anonymous Yazdgard type with ***bism allāh*** in obverse Q2
	Paris (BM 1965.425)
	Anonymous Yazdgard type with **no marginal legend**
	Astan Quds Razavi Museum 5-602 (Amini 2016, p. 346)
Year 30	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān** (crude type with unusual date legend)[285]
(unknown era)	Walker p. 43, nos STA.2, O.2; ANS.1972.169.174; Mochiri 1987 p. 90, no. 3, pl. 1, no. 4;[286] (**Pl. 48, 556-559**)
Year 32	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 43H)	*SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)
Year 35	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 46H)	Mochiri 1987 p. 98, no. 84, pl. 11, no. 63; (**Pl. 47, 550**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
	SICA 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration);[287] (**Pl. 47, 551**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***rabbī allāh*** in obverse Q2
	Mochiri 1987 p. 98, no. 89, pl. 10, no. 55
Year 35	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 67H)	(**Pl. 50, 581**) (**yzʾn** in Q1 obverse margin)
Year 37	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh*** in obverse Q2
(YE = 48H)	Mochiri 1987 p. 98, no. 85, pl. 11, no. 61; Album 1992 pl. 25, no. 38; Walker p. 15, nos RB.3, P.1; (**Pl. 47, 552**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
	British Museum (BM 1949, 0803.178); Eshragh p. 14, no. 25; (**Pl. 48, 555**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***rabbī allāh*** in obverse Q2
	SICA 1 pl. 20, no. 289 (Shamma); ANS.1989.81.1; (**Pl. 47, 553**)

[283] Bates, in a personal communication, has stated that this coin along with the similar coin of **LD** year 29 (see 7.63 below) appear to be normal Khusrau II drachms which have been doctored. In his view *baraka* has been added to these coins in modern times and thus should be regarded as modern forgeries in this respect.

[284] Miles 1938, p. 5, no. 2 is a reference to Mordtmann 1879, p. 84, no. 3 recorded as an anonymous Khusrau type drachm with *bism allāh* / *rabbī* in the margin of a year 26 coin. This is an improbable reading as *rabbī* is generally only found on later types.

[285] There are at least three variants of the date legend, shown in Mochiri 1987, p. 90, nos 3, 6 and 7. Miles 1938, p. 6, no. 4 considered this must be a mistaken reference in Mordtmann 1880, p. 161, no. 562 as it was long before Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān became a governor. The date is crudely written, an alternative reading is 6 for year 46. Mochiri 1987 considers that this is not a date at all, but is a reference to devil, which seems rather unlikely, but it may be meaningless as a date. The same date legend is found for other mints: **BYŠ** (7.34) and **DA** (7.36).

[286] Mochiri read **šydā** = *dēw* = devil instead of a date; an alternative reading is **šš**.

[287] Miles 1938, p. 6, no. 5X also refers to such an issue.

Anonymous Khusrau type with ***sm allāh*** (?)[288]
(**Pl. 48, 554**) (imitation)

Year 38(?) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 68, no. I.35 (not illustrated, year unclear)[289]

Year 43 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(unknown era) (**Pl. 48, 560**) (blundered date legend)

Year 46 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(unknown era) (**Pl. 48, 561**) (blundered date legend)

Year 50(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Paris (BN 1965.492); *SICA* 1, p. 15, fn[59] (noted without illustration)

Year 51(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
SICA 1 p. 15, fn[59] (Warden-Album, crudely inscribed and uncertain date, 53 also possible); *Damascus* pl. 34, no. AS.68 (equivocal date, could be 53)

Year 52(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 44, no. I.18 (not illustrated); ANS.1971.31.7; (**Pl. 48, 562**)

Year 57(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(**Pl. 48, 563**)

Year 60(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**
SICA 1 pl. 21, no. 301 (Ashmolean) (year read as 20); (**Pl. 50, 584**) (crude type with equivocal date either 60 or 69)
Salm b. Ziyād
Baldwin Islamic Coin Auction 18 (26 July 2011), lot 19 (date equivocal)
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād
Walker p. 68, nos 99–100; ANS.1917.215.3325; *SICA* 1 pl. 20, nos 290–292; Weber p. 40, no. 96; (**Pl. 48-49, 565-567**)

Year 61(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 69, no. 102; ANS.1971.316.1263; Album 1992 p. 184, no. 91; (**Pl. 49, 568**)

Year 62(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 69, nos 103–104; Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.IS.12-R); Album 1992 pl. 28, no. 92; *SICA* 1 pl. 20, nos 293–294, 296–297 (Shamma), 295 (Ashmolean); Eshragh p. 23, no. 84; Weber pp. 40–1, nos 97–99; (**Pl. 49, 570-575**) (**štwlʾm** added in Q1 obverse)

Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 69, nos I.37 (not illustrated), 101 (read as 61); Mitchiner 1978 p. 213, no. 1359 (mint read as **RD** and 61); *SICA* 1 pl. 20, no. 298 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 17, no. 228; (**Pl. 49-50, 576-579**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr
SICA 1 pl. 20, no. 299 (Shamma); Mochiri 2000, pl. 44, no. 15, pl. 19, no. 37 (Mochiri, date read as 61, but 63 is more probable reading); Weber p. 16, no. 36; (**Pl. 50, 580**)

Year 67(H) **Asram** (**Aslam**) **b. swphan**[290] (tentatively read name)
Walker p. 122, no. Cam.14 (= Miles 1938, p. 7, no. 11 = Gaube, pl. 4, no. 44 = Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.31-R); ANS.1976.274.3

Year 68(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 69, no. B.16; *SICA* 1 pl. 20, no. 300 (Shamma); (**Pl. 50, 582-583**)

[288] The Q2 obverse legend may well be a corrupted version of *bism allāh*.

[289] Walker 1941, pp. cxxvii–cxxviii.

[290] Miles, 1938, p. 7, no. 11 read this as Eslem b. Sufah and suggested it could be a reference to Aslam b. Zurʿah al-Kilābi. The reading here of Asram b. swphan should be regarded as tentative.

ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ[291]
SICA 1 p. 25, fn[133] (Warden-Album)

Uncertain **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**[292]
(**Pl. 50, 584**) (date crudely inscribed)

Year 70(H) **Musʾab b. Abawra** (or **abwdwra**)[293]
Gaube pl. 6, no. 65 (Paris); Mochiri 1987, p. 101, no. 113, pl. 14, no. 80 (read as 67)

Year 74(H) **Bishr b. Marwān** (with reference to Zayd b. Abī Ziyād in obverse Q1 margin)[294]
Walker p. 109, no. Th.13 (= Walker 1934, p. 9, no. 1 = Gaube pl. 4, no. 46 = Mochiri 1987, p. 102, no.117)

Year 76(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf** (with obverse marginal radial legend and mint Jayy and date both in Arabic)
SICA 1 p. 29, fn[162] (= Curiel 1967 = Paris 1965.571, with Arabic legend *duriba al-barāʾ bin / qabīsa* in Q1 and Q2 reverse);[295] Eshragh p. 36, no. 159 (*duriba al-barāʾ bin / qabāsa* in Q1 and Q2 reverse); Morton and Eden auction 48 (4 April 2011), lot 7 (Arabic legend *duriba al-barāʾ bin / qabīsa* in Q1 and Q2 reverse); Paris (BN 1968.849 with Pahlavi legend **blʾ y kpycʾn** in Q3 obverse)

Year 79(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf** (name in Pahlavi) with Farrukhzād in Q3 obverse
Lofti collection

Year 83(H) **Khālid b. Abī Khālid**
Gaube pl. 10, no. 117 (Paris); *ENIS* II p. 439, fig. 1558 (Foroughi); *SICA* 1 pl. 21, no. 302 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 41, no. 190; (**Pl. 50, 585**)

The issues of Jayy (**GD**) are generally rare except for the drachms of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dated 60–3H. Most, apart from the anonymous issues, use the Hijrī era. Rare issues of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dated years 27, 29 and 35 bear PYE dates, although the majority of his coins bear Hijrī dates. There are various issues of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān where the dates are crudely inscribed and the era unknown. Those dated '30' were probably struck at the same time as issues from other mints, such as **AYL** (7.21), Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**), Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA**), Rayy (7.63 **LD**) and Istakhr (7.89 **ST**). Dates resembling 43 and 46 are in an unknown era. Walker would have treated all these issues as being 46 Hijrī.[296]

Copper. There are various copper fals issues with a Sasanian type obverse with a bust facing right, but with a reverse in a conventional Islamic form (without fire altar) with *muhammad rasūl allāh* in the centre and an outer circular legend of *bism allāh duriba hadhā l-fals bi jayy sanat* ('in the year of') followed by the date in words. The dates are:

1. Year 113H with unread obverse legend. Gyselen types 30–31
2. Year 114H with **plywcyh** (**pērōzih**; 'victory') right of bust. Gyselen type 32
3. Year 119H as 2 above
4. Gyselen type 33

[291] Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 23, p. 274, fig. 9.23.

[292] ʿAbd Allāh b Khāzim was the Zubayrid governor of Khurāsān and the histories do not record his control extending as far as Jayy in the Jibāl. The crudely inscribed date legend, as well as the presence of multiple countermarks (as often found on coins struck in Khurāsān), means that it is improbable that it was struck in Jayy. It may be a contemporary imitation.

[293] *SICA* 1, p. 25, fn[135] suggests the name may be a defectively written Abū Dulaf, which is followed in the table in Foss 2013, p. 13 (year noted as 67). Mochiri 1987, p. 101, no. 113 suggests the name may be Musʾab b. ʿUbayd Allāh (b. Shahriyār). Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 40, p. 305, fig. 9.40.

[294] Walker 1934, pp. 284–8.

[295] These al-Barā b. Qabīsa issues illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 25, p. 279, figs 9.25.1–2.

[296] Walker 1941, p. cxxvii.

7.45 GLM (glm) (Garmsīr, Kirmān)

GLM (**GRM**) undoubtedly represents a location within Kirmān province. After the signature **GLM** ceased to be used by itself, it appears as a prefix or suffix to **KLMAN** / **KRMAN** to form 7.46 **GLM-KLMAN** (**GRM-KRMAN**) and 7.58.18 **KLMAN-GLM** (**KRMAN-GRM**). This identification is further confirmed by its use in the early Islamic period by persons known to have had control over the region of Kirmān, in particular ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd and al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs. **GLM** is a rare mint signature, which most probably represents Garmsīr (Garmšīr) meaning 'warm district', an area in southern Kirmān.[297] More specific suggestions have been made such as Bam[298] and Bizamqubādh derived from Weh-āz-Amid-Kavād,[299] but such specific locations are unproven.[300] The signature is known from Khusrau II[301] and for the later years of Yazdgard III.[302]

Mochiri has published a clay bulla with the impression of an administrative seal. In the centre are the three letters **GLM** and an outer legend **glmklmʾnštlpy**, Satrap of Garm Kirmān.[303]

Year 20	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 31H)	Mochiri 2010a, p. 197, no. 42 (Mochiri; attributed to Khusrau IV)
Year 25	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** with no marginal legend
(YE = 36H)	Tyler-Smith 2000 pl. 28, no. 168 (∴ in Q2 obverse; Schaak)
Year 29	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** with no marginal legend
(YE = 40H)	Amini 2008 p. 276, fig. 129 (∴ in Q2 obverse); *SNS* (Schaaf) pl. 73, no. 711 (∴ in Q2 obverse)
Year 33	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** with no marginal legend[304]
(YE = 44H)	*SNS* (Schaaf) pl. 73, no. 712 (· at 11h reverse margin); (**Pl. 50, 586**)
Year 52(H)	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
	SICA 1 p. 15, fn[15] (= Paris 1965.500); (**Pl. 50, 587**)
Year 53(H)	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
	Gaube pl. 10, no. 109 (Paris, year read as 52); (**Pl. 50, 588**)
Year 54(H)	**ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd**
	Walker p. 85, no. 152
Year 56(H)	**al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
	(**Pl. 50, 589**)
Year 57(H)	**al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
	Album 1992 pl. 28, no. 94; (**Pl. 51, 590**)
Year 58(H)	**al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
	Walker p. 86, no. Dam.7; ANS.1985.100.2

Drachms with the mint signature **GLM** are all rare, indicating a low output. Apart from the anonymous early types, the coins bear Hijrī dates.

[297] *SICA* 1, p. 54; Barthold (trans. Souceck 1984), p. 140.

[298] Sears 1997, p. 138; Mochiri 1985; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 124. An attribution to Bam is supported by the fact that it is a major town in southern Kirmān.

[299] Walker 1941, who read the signature as **BRM**, pp. cxiii–cxvi; c.f. Gaube 1973, p. 92. Paruck 1944, p. 118 read signature as **ZRM**.

[300] Album 1992, p. 185, considers that an attribution to Bam can only be a shot in the dark.

[301] Albeit rarely encountered, such as for years 8–11, 20 and 27. For a very unusual drachm in the name of Khusrau II with a corrupt date and **GDH** (*xvarrah*) in Q2 of obverse margin, see Mochiri 1987, p. 93, no. 29, pl. 4, no. 20. This is likely to have been struck after the Arab conquest.

[302] For example years 13–17, 19 and 20: Tyler-Smith 2000, nos 37, 40, 43, 47, 55, 65, 94. Issues dated years 25, 29 and 33 must be posthumous issues.

[303] Mochiri 1985.

[304] As with other coins bearing the same date legend for **BN** (7.30), the date can be variously read. Others have read the date as denoting 12, 16, 12 and 36.

7.46 GLM-KLMAN (glmklmʾn) (Garmsīr, Kirmān)

The mint signature **GLM-KLMAN** (**GRM-KRMAN**) represents the same place as **GLM** (7.45) and **KLMAN-GLM** (7.58.18). The signature is unknown in the Sasanian period and is only known from 63H onward for the early Islamic period, after the use of **GLM** ceases. It most probably represents Garmsīr (Garmšīr), meaning the warm district in Kirmān. It is a rare mint signature.

Year 63 (YE = 75H)	**ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad** *SICA* 1 p. 31, fn[172] (= Paris BN 1971.133; this is out of sequence with his rule and other coinage, but if it treated as a YE date this would equate to 75H which is possible but unusual)
Year 65(H)	**ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr** Eshragh p. 24, no. 89
Year 67(H)	**ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr** (**Pl. 51, 591**)
Year 69(H)	**ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr** Miles *Persepolis* (1959) – Naqsh-i Rustam, p. 96, no. 32 (= ANS.1959.130.1; **GDH** in Q3 obverse); *SICA* 1 pl. 21, no. 303 (Shamma); (**Pl. 51, 592-593**); (**Pl. 51, 594**) (date equivocal, possibly 62)
Year 70(H)	**ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr** Album auction 18 (16 January 2014), lot 138 **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad** (**Pl. 51, 595**) **Anonymous type** with **mhmt pgtʾmyy dʾt**[305] Shams Eshragh 2004, pp. 45–6; New York Sale 14 (10 January 2007), lot 498 (first type); Eshragh p. 30, no. 123 (second type); Numismatica Genevensis auction 8, 24 November 2014), lot 218 (second type)
Year 72(H)	**ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad** (**Pl. 51, 596**)
Year 78(H)	**Yazīd b. al-Muhallab** *Damascus* pl. 36, no. AS.108A; *SICA* 1 pl. 21, no. 304 (Shamma); (**Pl. 51, 597-598**) (with **šyl** in Q3 obverse margin)
Year 82(H)	**ʿAmr b. Laqīt** St James's Auctions 19 (3 October 2011), lot 1591 (= Triton X (9 January 2007), lot 903 = Wilkes and Curtis auction 3 (8 December 2014), lot 31 = St James's Auctions 35 (9 February 2016), lot 633)
Year 83(H)	**ʿAmr b. Laqīt**[306] ANS.1975.238.1; ANS.1971.316.2; Eshragh p. 41, no. 188; Mochiri 2000, p. 48, no. 40 (Warden-Album); (**Pl. 51, 599**) (with **šylwy** in Q2 obverse)

Drachms with the mint signature **GLM-KLMAN** are dated according to the Hijrī era. The coin apparently dated 63 for ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad, if correctly read, must either have been wrongly dated, since 63H is too early for ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad's rule in Kirmān province or (unusually for ʿAtiyya) a YE era has been employed equivalent to 75H. Both ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad and ʿAmr b. Laqīt's coinage is only known for mints within Kirmān province. The signature was unknown to Walker in 1941 and indeed Walker listed no coins at all for Yazīd b. Muhallab and ʿAmr b. Laqīt.

[305] This has no official's name. In place of the official's name is the Pahlavi equivalent of *muhammad rasūl allāh*. The marginal legend *bism allāh wali al-amr*. On one example (Eshragh, p. 30, no. 123), the word *al-amr* in Q3 is obscured by a countermark of *lillāh*, which led Eshragh to erroneously assume that this was part of the obverse marginal legend.

[306] Miles 1959, pp. 95–7.

7.47 GW (gw) 𐭢𐭥 (possibly Gōymān, Jibāl)

GW is well known for the Sasanian period. It is scarce in the early Islamic period and is not known after the issue of ʿAbd Allāh dated 47H (apart from an unconfirmed sighting of a drachm of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān with an illegible date).[307] Under the Sasanians the signature first appears under Yazdgard I. Under Vahrān V the coins have a distinctive style, similar to coins of Herāt (**HL**). The signature ceases after Bōrān (629–31).[308] Various places have been suggested for **GW**, but it may not represent the same location throughout. Mochiri attributed the signature to Gorgān (Gurgān / Jurgān) in part because the Arabs did not conquer Gorgān until 98H and he did not know the signature from the Arab-Sasanian series.[309] **GW** may have represented Gorgān, at least for part of the Sasanian period. The distinctive style under Vahrān V, similar to that of coins of **HL** (Herāt), is a factor in favour of Gorgān in the fifth century AD. Schindel has proposed that the earlier issues are in the style of coins from Fārs, and proposes Juwaym, but says that later in the Sasanian period it can mean Gorgān.[310]

While it may well be correct that **GW** represents Gorgān for the late Sasanian period, this cannot be the case for the early Islamic period as Arab-Sasanian drachms were struck in 34H (YE 23) and Gorgān was not taken by the Arabs until well after Arab-Sasanian drachms ceased to be struck with the **GW** signature. In these circumstances one must look for an alternative location for **GW** when used on Arab-Sasanian coins. A plausible interpretation for the early Islamic period is to attribute it to Godmān (Gōyman or Gomān) in the district of Qum (variously spelt as Qumm or Qom in English). First, there is the drachm in the name of Yazdgard I with the full name **GWDMY**.[311] On its own this is not conclusive. Secondly, Qum was taken early in the Arab conquest and coins with the **GW** mint signature commenced in 34H. Thirdly, there are clear parallels between coins with **GW** and **AHM** (7.2) mint signatures. **AHM** has safely been established to represent Hamadān, also in the Jibāl. Anonymous Khusrau type drachms are known for many of the same dates and marginal legends (e.g. years 33, 35 and 37) and drachms were struck in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir for both mints. Fourthly, no other signature can conceivably represent Qum, thus if **GW** does not represent Qum, then it would appear that no coins were struck there in the early Islamic period although Qum was probably sufficiently large to warrant a mint.[312] On the other hand Qum is not found on post-reform Islamic coins until the ʿAbbāsid period.[313] Fifthly, given the scarcity of coins with the **GW** mint signature, the mint output of coins must have been low or modest at best; coins with the **AHM** mint signature are more frequently encountered no doubt because, unlike Qum, Hamadān was a major administrative centre.[314] That said, a mint place in Fārs cannot be entirely excluded.

The initial capture of Qum took place in 23H under forces led by Abū Musā al-Ashʿarī,[315] but it was not until 66–77H that Arabs permanently settled there during the revolts of Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī and Motarref b. Mughīra b. Shuʿba.[316] In the various histories, Qum is usually said to have been founded

[307] If correct then the mint would have ceased in the early 50sH.

[308] Malek and Curtis 1998, nos 15–16 (regnal year 1).

[309] *ENIS* II, pp. 383–401; Gaube 1973, p. 95. However al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 277, (trans.), p. 112 states that Saʿīd b.ʿUthmān conquered Gorgān (Jurjān) during the reign of Muʿāwiya, then the people revolted and it was conquered again by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab much later.

[310] *SNS* 3/1, pp. 159–60; Schindel 2005, p. 293–5. For a detailed and thoughtful review of the signature for the Sasanian period, see Schindel 2017, which correctly identifies that even for the Sasanian period the signature represented different places at different times.

[311] Gyselen 1983b, pp. 236–8; *SICA* 1, p. 54. Middle Persian sources from the time of Shāpūr I and Kavād I refer to Godmān and Ērān Win(n)ārd Kavād, both of which could be identified as Qum: see A. Drechsler, 'Qom i. History to the Safavid Period, Encyclopaedia Iranica (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/qom-i-history-safavid-period – consulted 18 April 2018).

[312] Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 273-4, (trans.), pp. 108-9 describes Qumm in the third century Hijrī as an important place, with an old Persian fortress inside the city, and a land tax of 4.5 million dirhams.

[313] For examples, see Eshragh 2010, nos 1281 (245H) and 1297 (250H), *SICA* 4 pl. 36, nos 758–764 (246, 291, 294, 310, 325H).

[314] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924) gives an account of the conquest of the major Sasanian cities, but makes no mention of Qum, probably because it was not seen as a major centre or city in the period.

[315] al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti 1916), p. 312.

[316] Some sources refer to movements to Qum following al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf's suppression of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Ashʿarth's rebellion in 82H, others refer to arrivals in 94H and 99H: Hanaoka 2016, pp. 175–6, 187. Ashʿarī Arab Alīds settled in Qum as a refuge from Umayyad persecution.

by the Arabs after the conquest, but pre-Islamic archaeological sites are known for the area around Qum,[317] and the *Tārīkh-i Qum* makes reference to the Sasanians founding towns, villages and fire temples in the area.[318] The place Qum (Kōm) is attested on two or possibly three documents in the Pahlavi Archive, which are probably to be placed in the second half of the seventh century AD, during the Umayyad period. The documents are from the region around and south of Qum and reflect the everyday life of the Zoroastrian population under the Umayyads.[319]

Year 23	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 34H)	(**Pl. 51, 600**)
Year '30'	**ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
(YE = 41H)	Walker p. 48, no. 72 (read signature as **BN**?[320]); ANS.1966.102.2
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
	SICA 1, p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)
Year 33	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE =44H)	(**Pl. 51, 601**)
Year 35	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H)	Walker p. 13, no. 20 (read signature as **S**?) (= Gaube pl. 1, no. 11); ANS.1971.31.10; Eshragh p. 12, no. 23; (**Pl. 52, 602**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	SICA 1 p. 60, fn[313] (Warden-Album); CNG e286 (5 September 2012), lot 457
Year 37	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 48H)	(**Pl. 52, 603**)
Year 47(H)	**ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
	(**Pl. 52, 604**)
Date missing	**ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
	Kolesnikov 1998,[321] pp. 350–1, no. 26a (Hermitage Museum; coin fragment)

Drachms with the mint signature **GW** are rare, indicating a mint with a relatively low output. The coins are mainly dated using the YE era and most known issues are of the anonymous Khusrau type. The coins in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir use both the YE (year 30) and a Hijrī date (year 47). The only known example of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān has no visible date, but it would seem that the mint ceased production before the mid-50sH.

7.48 GWAM (gw'm) 𐭪𐭥𐭬 (unknown location)

There is a unique coin of the Khusrau type with a signature which may be read as **GWAM**. The location for this signature is unknown. The date is a Hijrī one.

Year 49(?)(H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type**
	(**Pl. 52, 605**)

[317] Ducène 2009, pp. 75–6.

[318] Hasan b. Mohammad Qummī (c.378H): see A. Drechsler, 'Tārik-é Qom', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tarik-e-qom consulted 18 April 2018); A. Drechsler, 'Qom i. History to the Safavid Period', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/qom-i-history-safavid-period) (consulted 18 April 2018); Hanaoka 2016, p. 114. For a discussion of the conquest of Qum as described in the *Tārīkh-i Qum*, see Savant 2013, pp. 222–8; Hanaoka 2016, p. 53.

[319] Weber 2010, pp. 37–8.

[320] Walker misread the mint signature on this coin and went on to conclude that it was a Hijrī date stating that ʿAbd Allāh was first appointed over Basra and its dependencies in 29H. *SICA* 1, p. 12 follows Walker's reading and regards the date as unexplained, because a YE date equivalent to 41H is too early for a mint within Kirmān.

[321] There is also a reference to a coin of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān with an illegible date from a hoard from Pakistan. In the absence of any illustration or details, it is not possible to confirm this, but it is possible an example will appear in the future.

7.49 GWBL (gwbl) 𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭫 (Gūr, Fārs)

The mint signature **GWBL** is only known for one Arab-Sasanian copper issue. It represents the district of Gūr in Fārs province. The issue is in the name of Farrukhzād (Farroxzād) and the date is equivocal as it may be read as 104 or even 64. The style is similar to issues in the name of Farroxzād-ī Gušn-anōšān of **DŠT** (7.42 above) probably for Dasht-i Maysān, where the date legend is similar.

In Sasanian times Gūr (Jūr) was the chief town in the district of Ardashīr-Khurra. It was later renamed Fīrūzābād, by which it is still known in modern times.[322] It is said to have been founded by the first Sasanian king, Ardashīr I (224–41). The inner city was fortified by a circular wall with a diameter of 2 kilometres and was divided into 20 sections by streets. The outer city wall had a diameter of 7.5 kilometres. There were four main gates and the city was divided into four quadrants, each with five sections.

Post-reform dirhams with the Arabic name Jūr are known for 83 and 84H, dates also known for Ardashīr-Khurra, a sign that at that time there were two distinct places, separate municipalities in the same urban complex.

Copper **Farrukhzād** (**Farroxzād**). *Obv.* Bust right. *Rev*. Fire altar and attendants, mint legend **GWBL** right, 64 or 104(?) left. Gyselen type 16; (**Pl. 118, 1406-1408**)

Both date and era on this coin are debatable.[323] If the date is 64 then that is likely to be a YE date equivalent to 76H. If the date is read as 104, it has been suggested that it uses a Khusrau era dating from the accession of Khusrau II in AD590 and thus equivalent to 694 (i.e. 75/6H).[324] Both would place the coin in the period when drachms of Muhallab b. Abī Sufra have Farrukhzād in the obverse margin. The drachms with the mint signature **ART** (7.14) and the copper issues with the full name of Ardashīr-Khurra were probably also struck in Gūr as it was the capital or chief city of the Ardashīr-Khurra district in Fārs. This raises the question of why these copper issues should have the specific name Gūr. Jūr (the Arabic spelling for Gūr) is also known as a mint for post-reform Islamic dirhams for 83 and 84H,[325] whereas Ardashīr-Khurra is known from 79H onwards. The copper issues and post-reform Islamic dirhams with the mint Gūr / Jūr may have been struck at a different mint place within the city to those with **ART** or Ardashīr-Khurra.[326]

7.50 GY (gy) 𐭣𐭩 (Jīroft, Kirmān)

GY on its own is unknown for the Sasanian period and is only known for one issue dated 54H in the Arab-Sasanian series. Its location in the Kirmān region is confirmed by the issue of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd, whose authority was over Kirmān, as well as the presence of later issues with **GY** as a suffix as in **KLMAN-GY**. Jīroft (Jīruft / Jīraft) is the most probable location within Kirmān. Jīroft is the name of the city as well as the sub-province (*shahrestān*). Jīroft is in the Halil Rūd valley in southern part of Kirmān province separated from the northern districts by the Bārez mountains (Jibāl-i Bārez).[327] At the time of the Arab conquest Jīroft was an important city within Kirmān. It was initially taken by forces led by Suhayl b. ʿAdī in about 20H, but had to be taken again by forces under Mujashiʿ b. Masʿūd al-Sulamī during his pursuit of Yazdgard III. It became a centre for the Khārijites who rebelled against Umayyad rule.[328]

Jīroft is a very rare for post-reform Umayyad dirhams being known for 82H only.[329]

[322] Le Strange 1930, pp. 255–6.

[323] Mochiri 1987, p. 71 reads the date as 62, which seems incorrect.

[324] Amini 2008, pp. 290–2.

[325] Klat 2002, nos 251–252.

[326] Treadwell 2008, p. 352.

[327] Barthold (trans. Soucek 1984), pp. 140–1.

[328] M. Badanj, 'Jiroft, i. Geography of Jiroft Sub-Province', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 14, fasc. 6, pp. 646–8 (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jiroft-i-geography-of-jiroft-sub-province) (consulted 18 April 2018).

[329] Klat 2002, no. 272.

Year 54(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd**
SICA 1, p. 17, fn[73] (Warden-Album); (**Pl. 52, 606**)

7.51 HBL (**hbl**) (unknown location)

There are Arab-Sasanian copper issues with an equivocal mint legend which may be read as **HBL** (**HBR**) or even **ABB** (**ʾbb**). Gyselen has suggested **HBL** represents Habar or Habr, but this should be regarded as tentative.[330] It is not known as a signature for Sasanian coins.

Copper **Anonymous.** *Obv.* Bust right, illegible legend on right, **GDH ʾpzwt'** (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased') on left. *Rev.* Fire altar, **ʾpstʾn** (*abestān*, 'confidence') on left, **HBL** (**HBR**, **hbl**)? on right. Gyselen type 52 (**Pl. 119, 1410**)

7.52 *Hims* (Hims, Bilād al-Shaʾm)

A very rare type has the mint place *Hims* in Arabic in full on the reverse. The date (72H) is also in Arabic on the reverse. *Hims* (Homs, the former Emesa from Byzantine times) was the name of a city as well as a district (Jund Hims) in Bilād al-Shaʾm located on the Orontes River 162 kilometres north of Damascus. After the defeat of the army of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius by ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb at the battle of Yarmūk, the city was taken by the Arabs. It surrendered without a fight when faced, in 15H (AD637), by the army led by Khālid b. al-Walīd. Hims agreed to pay tribute.[331]

Year 72(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh muhammad rasūl allāh***
SICA 1 pl. 21, no. 305 (Shamma); Ilisch 2007, p. 23, fig. 14 (Tübingen, private)[332]

7.53 HPYC (**hpyč**) (Khabīs, Kirmān)
(**hpyč'**)

The mint signature **HPYC** and **HYPC'** is usually found as a suffix to **KLMAN** confirming that it represents a place within the region of Kirmān, no doubt Khabīs.[333] It is found, by itself, only on issues of al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs, using the Hijrī era, dated 56 and 57H.[334] Thereafter the signature used is **KLMAN-HPYC** (7.58.21).

Year 56(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
Mochiri 1985 pl. 13, no. 10 (Mochiri)
Year 57(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
Mochiri 2000 p. 43, no. 5, pl. 13, no. 4 (Warden-Album; signature **HYPC'**; read as **XPICW**)

7.54 HLA (**hlʾ**) (Herāt, Khurāsān)

HLA represents Herāt,[335] which in Sasanian times was known as Hārēv (in Shāpūr I's *Kaʿba-ye Zardošt* inscription) and Hariy. **HLA** (**HRA**) is only known for the early Islamic period but is no doubt a continuation

[330] Gyselen 2009, p. 155.

[331] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), pp. 200–1 records that it was either Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān or al-Simt b. al-Aswad who made terms with the people of Hims.

[332] Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 32, type 26, page 297, fig. 9.32.24.

[333] The mint signature was not listed in Walker 1941. Al-Muqaddasī (trans.), p. 375 writing in the fourth century Hijrī, stated Khabīs had a fortress with four gates. Its towns on the edge of the desert were quite populous. It was renowned as a source of dates, silk and mulberry trees and almonds.

[334] Walker 1941, p. 52, no. 75 is a coin in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, without mint or date. Mochiri 1987, p. 97, no. 75 considers that in place of ʾ**pzwt** (*abzūd*) on the reverse is the word **hpyc** (**xpyc**) denoting the mint signature Khabīs. The coin is probably a forgery (or at best a contemporary copy) and that the word ʾ**pzwt** is poorly inscribed.

[335] Gaube 1973, p. 96.

of the Sasanian signature **HL** (**HR**) which is first known for Vahrān IV (388–99).[336] Sasanian drachms of Yazdgard I and Vahrān V had a distinctive style similar to coins of **ML** (Marw) and **GW** (probably then Gōrgān). The latest known Sasanian issue for **HL** is that of Bōrān (630).[337]

Arab-Sasanian issues are very rare, save for those in the names of ʿUbayd Allāh dated 56H and Salm b. Ziyād dated 67H. On one issue of ʿUbayd Allāh dated 56H, the signature is written as **HLH**, probably an error for **HLA**. Herāt is also a mint signature on post-reform Islamic dirhams from 79H.[338] These include an issue dated 80H with the Pahlavi mint signature **HLA** in the obverse field as well as in Arabic in the usual place on the obverse margin.[339]

According to the *Šahrestānīhā-ī Ērānšahr* Herāt was founded by Alexander.[340] Herāt was in Khurāsān, located on the Harī Rūd in modern north western Afghanistan. In the Sasanian period Herāt was an important city which, by the time of the Arab conquest, was dominated by local rulers who may have been Hephthalites. By then Sasanian power was probably nominal. The sources on the invasion of Herāt are scanty and contradictory[341] but suggest Herāt had to be taken a number of times. Even under the Umayyads Herāt was affected by power struggles between Arab commanders.

Year 35 (YE = 46H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** (**Pl. 52, 607**)

Year 52(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh**
Walker p. 73, no. Mar.2 (unconfirmed)

Year 56(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh** [**b. Ziyād**]
Walker p. 74, no. O.7; Gaube pl. 7, no. 80; Mochiri 1987 p. 97, no. 78, pl. 15, no. 88; *Xinjiang* p. 277, no. WQ-II-7-1 (mint signature written as **HLH**); (**Pl. 52, 608-609**)

Year 63(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Mochiri 1987 p. 92, no. 18, pl. 4, no. 24; (**Pl. 52, 610**)

Year 64(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
ANS.1990.41.2 (mint signature unclear)

Year 66(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
SICA 1 p. 22, fn[111] (Warden-Album, date legend equivocal)

Year 67(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Walker pp. 76–7, nos 115–121 (= Gaube pl. 6, no. 72); ANS.1990.41.1; *ENIS* II p. 74, fig. 122 (Mochiri; year read as 65); Album 1992 pl. 29, no. 96; *SICA* 1 pl. 21, nos 306–307 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 17, nos 229–231; Weber pp. 45–6, nos 111–112; (**Pl. 52-53, 611-619**)
Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh
Walker p. 95, no. Ox5 (= Gaube pl. 6, no. 63 = *SICA* 1 pl. 21, no. 308, Ashmolean)
Qatān (**b. ʿUdayy**?)
Walker p. 122, no. Cam.15 (= Gaube, pl. 5, no. 56 = Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.32-R); ANS.1956.137.72; *ENIS* II p. 74, fig. 124 (Mochiri, name read as Kuhestan Xodāy; c.f. *SICA* 1 p. 25, fn[136]); Eshragh p. 28, no. 110; (**Pl. 53, 620**)

Year 69(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 77, no. P.5 (= Guillou 68)

[336] Curtis 2010, nos 188–191.

[337] Malek and Curtis 1998, nos 17–18 (regnal year 1). The abbreviation **HL** is found on the centre of administrative seal with the place written in full in the margin as **hlyd**: Gyselen 2007b, pp. 224–5, I/142; example illustrated above, p. 81, fig. 7.5.

[338] Klat 2002, nos 652–662 (79, 90–9H); *SICA* 2, pl. 43, nos 918–926 (90–3, 95, 96, 99H). For examples from the ʿAbbāsid period: *SICA* 3, pls 87–8, nos 2058–74 (192–7, 199, 200, 206H).

[339] Baldwin's Islamic Coin Auction 19 (25 April 2012), lot 26; Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 68; S. Lloyd, *ONSN* 179 (2004), p. 32. An example is illustrated here, Chapter 10, section 10.1.2, page 340, fig. 10.3.

[340] Daryaee 2002, p. 37, line 12. The claim is supported by Pliny. Barthold (trans. Soucek 1984), p. 49.

[341] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), p. 163 records that forces were sent by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir to take Herāt, but the inhabitants agreed to a treaty.

Apart from an anonymous Khusrau issue, coins with the **HLA** mint signature bear Hijrī dates. **HLA** is rare except on drachms of Salm b. Ziyād dated 67H. The extremely rare drachms of Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and Qatān b. ʿUdayy for the same year may indicate a struggle for control. The written sources suggest that Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim was appointed governor by his father in 64–5H, but died soon afterwards. The coinage, on the other hand, indicates he was in power in Herāt in 67H. Neither official is known for other mints. The reference in the literature to a coin of Salm b. Ziyād dated 26 may be an error.[342] Bactrian countermarks are often found on drachms with this signature, a feature found on other coins struck in Khurāsān.

7.55 HWLASAN (hwlʾsʾn) (Khurāsān)

There is one extremely rare Arab-Sasanian drachm issue dated 74H with the mint signature **HWLASAN** (**HWRASAN**), the full name of Khurāsān. The location of the mint in Khurāsān is unknown.[343] In general, coins from Khurāsān bear the mint signature of specific places within the region such as **HLA** for Herāt, **MLW** for Marw, **MLWLWT** for Marw al-Rūd, **APLŠ** / **APLŠT** for Abarshahr and **BHL** probably for Balkh. It was a turbulent region and subject to a number of insurrections. The Pahlavi word for the region was Khwarāsān, literally meaning the 'land where the sun rises' (i.e. the eastern land). During the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods, the region was divided into four areas, each with its own chief city, namely Nīshāpūr, Marw, Herāt and Balkh.

Year 74(H) **Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh**
Walker p. 107, no. 211; (**Pl. 53, 621**)

7.55A HYWKHL (unidentified location in Arachosia)

This mint signature can be variously read, but the legend is consistent with **HYWKHL**. It is only known for a very rare issue in the name of Spur, which has Pahlavi legends only and thus was not struck by the Arabs. An attribution to an area within the region of Zābulistān (within Arachosia) is supported as the coin is closely related to coins of the same date (year 8, a regnal year) and type struck with **ZAWL** (7.117, Zābul) and **LHWT** (7.64, Rakhvad) mint signatures. All three issues appear to have been struck from dies cut in the same workshop, if not by the same hand. Spur was no doubt an independent local king of the region. The three issues from the different mints are catalogued together under **ZAWL** (7.117).

7.56 KACLWN (kʾčlwn) (Kāzerūn, Fārs)

KACLWN is not known for the Sasanian period but only for rare Arab-Sasanian copper issues.[344] It represents Kāzerūn in Fārs, situated between Shīrāz and Bushehr, 12 miles (19 kilometres) from the major Sasanian city of Bīshāpūr. This is the only non-metropolitan copper mint which can be identified with confidence within the district of Bīshāpūr.[345] The late Sasanian / early Islamic ruins of Tal-i Juyan near modern Kāzerūn may be the site of ancient Kāzerūn.[346]

[342] Thomas 1850, p. 294, no. 19; Walker 1941, p. 76, no. T.11 and p. cxviii.

[343] Gaube 1973, p. 96. Khurāsān may be more properly categorised as a region in the Sasanian and Umayyad periods, rather than simply a province. Modern historians and numismatists covering these periods often refer to it as a province. At that time it extended well beyond the borders of modern north eastern Iran, into what is now Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Afghanistan. In modern Iran, Khurāsān was the largest province until 2004 when it was divided into three separate provinces of north, south and central Khurāsān.

[344] These coins are considered by some to have been struck in the late 70s to early 80s H: Treadwell 2008, p. 353; *SICA* 1, p. 68, fn[356]. An earlier date is also conceivable as the legends are entirely in Pahlavi and there is no suggestion of an Islamic influence on these coins.

[345] Treadwell 2008, p. 353.

[346] Miri 2009, p. 20.

Copper

1. Anonymous. **Abzūd**. *Obv*. Bust right, **ʾpzwt'** (*abzūd*) on right, **GDH** on left (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased'). *Rev*. Horseman right, **kʾčlwn** (Kāzerūn) on right. Gyselen type 35a British Museum (BM 1986, 0531.12; BM 1986, 0531.13); (**Pl. 119, 1411-1413**)
2. Anonymous. **Abzūd**. As above, but no legend on the reverse. Gyselen type 35b (**Pl. 119, 1414**)

7.57 KL (kl) 𐭪𐭤 (Kirmān)

KL (**KR**) is well known under the Sasanians, from Vahrān IV until the later years of Khusrau II.[347] For the Arab-Sasanian series no coins of this signature are known,[348] although some numismatists have erroneously equated the two different signatures **DL** and **KL**.[349] **KL** denotes the region of Kirmān which, from 58H on, is represented by its name in full, **KLMAN**. The coins may have been struck in the provincial capital Sirjān (Širgān / Shirgān), but Weh-Ardashīr (which became known as Bardasīr after the Arab conquest) cannot be excluded. Weh-Ardashīr was founded (or refounded) by the Sasanian king Ardashīr and the city of Kirmān its modern name. The *Šāhrestānīhā-ī Ērānšahr* erroneously states that the city of Kirmān was built by Kavād, the son of Pērōz, the king of Kirmān.[350]

7.58.1 KLMAN (klmʾn) 𐭪𐭤𐭬𐭭

7.58.2 KLMAN' (klmʾn') 𐭪𐭤𐭬𐭭𐭩

The mint signature **KLMAN** (**KRMAN**) is unknown for the Sasanian period, but is probably a fuller version of the Sasanian signature **KL** (**KR**).[351] It represents Kirmān which, in the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods, was considerably larger than modern Kirmān province and was considered a region, rather than a province. As noted below **KLMAN** is often a prefix or suffix to other letters representing towns or districts within the region itself (see 7.58.3–34 below).[352] Occasionally, the signature has an additional stroke at the end to form **KLMAN'**, or more rarely the mint is written **KLAMAN**. At the time of the Arab conquest until the fourth century Hijrī, Sirjān (Širgān / Shirgān; Širağān; Arabic Sirgān) in the western part of the region was the provincial capital or main city. Thus most commentators equate the signature **KLMAN** with Sirjān as the place where the coins are likely to have been struck.[353]

The style of the coins using **KLMAN** as part of the mint name are similar, indicating the dies may have been engraved in one workshop and then distributed to local mints for striking. Many of the signatures beginning with **KLMAN** have been misread by numismatists. The number of variants should not be taken as an indication of the number of mint places, as many signatures are minor variants of the same mint place. Relatively few coins of Kirmān have been published in the main catalogues. Walker (1941) listed only 13 varieties of signature starting with **KLMAN**, whereas Gaube (1973) listed only nine. As set out here there

[347] For example years 8, 13, 20, 30 and 35. After Khusrau II, the only Sasanian issue with **KL** is that of Bōrān (AD629–31), regnal years 1 and 2: Malek and Curtis 1998, pp. 124–5, nos 19–21.

[348] Paruck 1944, p. 95 did not record any Arab-Sasanian coins with the mint signature **KL** (**KR**).

[349] Mochiri 2000, p. 42, no. 1, pl. 17, no. 30 is a drachm of year 36 of the anonymous Khusrau type, which he read as **KL**. In fact the signature is **DL**. Sears 1997, p. 129, fn[269] also treats two specimens of **DL** dated 26 and 36 as being of **KL**. Tyler-Smith 2017, pp. 124–5.

[350] Daryaee 2002, pp. 20 and 49.

[351] **KLMAN** is also found on late Sasanian administrative seals: Gyselen 2002, pp. 154–5. For the numismatic evidence of changes in control in the Kirmān region between the Umayyads and those opponents, see Malek 2019.

[352] Mochiri 1985; Mochiri 2000.

[353] Gaube 1973, p. 98.

are in fact considerably more signatures than this suggesting the region may have been wealthier, with more trade and local centres for trading and administration, than has been hitherto appreciated.

Kirmān was not conquered by the Arabs until about 29H, though their assault had started in 17H.[354] For much of the Umayyad period Kirmān was controlled by opponents of the Umayyads. The mountains of Kirmān provided an ideal refuge and a place to regroup and attack.[355] Between 52 and 54H coinage was struck in Kirmān in the name of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd, there was no coinage in 55H, and then from 56 to 58H coins were struck in the name of al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs. The coinage of both officials is limited to Kirmān and they were probably opponents of the Umayyads. The loss of Umayyad control is also reflected in the coinage from Kirmān mints between 61 and 70H which was struck in the name of the rival caliph, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who controlled much of Iraq and Iran during his civil war against the Umayyads. His deputies also struck coinage in Kirmān, ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh in 65H, and ʿAbd Allāh's brother Musʿab b. al-Zubayr between 69 and 72H. In addition coinage was struck by the Khārijite rebels, whose loyalty was neither to the Umayyads nor their rivals the Zubayrids. The Khārijites ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad and Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa struck drachms from 70 to 77H and in 77H, respectively. For a short while the Umayyads must have regained control over the province as in 77 and 78H coins were struck for al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra, who had been appointed governor by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, Umayyad viceroy of the East. Coins are also struck in the name of the Umayyad Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (b. Abī Sufra) in 78H. Thereafter Umayyad control must have been lost again. Times were so turbulent that no coins were struck between 79 and 81H. Coins for the period 82 to 84H are all rare and none were issued by the Umayyads. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām is known for a single issue of 82H (**KLMAN-GLM**). For 82 and 83H, ʿAmr b. Laqīt struck coins in a small number of Kirmān mints during Ibn al-Ashʿath's rebellion and as his deputy. There is one very rare issue in the name of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (= Ibn al-Ashʿath) dated 83H (**KLMAN-HPYC**). Finally, there is an issue for 84H in the name of another supporter of Ibn al-Ashʿath, namely ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān (**KLMAN**).

Muqaddasī, in the fourth century Hijrī, split Kirmān into five *kūras* / *kūrahs* or districts, possibly reflecting a position from earlier times:[356]

1. Bardasīr (Bardashīr), with the sub-district of Khabīs to the north. The modern city of Kirmān includes the site of Bardasīr[357]
2. Sirjān, on the border with Fārs region
3. Bam
4. Narmāshīr
5. Jīroft to the south, running down to the coast of Hormuz

Kirmān has been reorganised extensively since the Umayyad period, so that now Kirmān is one of the 31 provinces (*ostān*) of modern Iran. The province itself is split into 20 administrative divisions which can be categorised as counties (*shahrestān*) with the city of Kirmān being the provincial capital (*markaz*). Each *shahrestān* is split into districts (*bakhsh*). The *shahrestān* include most of those in late Sasanian / early Islamic times, but have been further sub-divided since (from north to south): Rāvar, Kubānān, Zarand, Anār, Rafsanjān, Shahr-i Bābak, Bardsīr, Kirmān, Sirjān, Bāft, Rābor, Jīroft, Bam, Fahraj, Kahnuj, Anbārābād, Rigān, Rudbār-i Jonubi, Manujān, Qaleh Ganj.

[354] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), pp. 136–8, dealing with the conquest of Kirmān, noted that many of the inhabitants emigrated elsewhere.

[355] Mochiri 1987, pp. 37–8.

[356] Al-Muqaddasī (trans.), p. 372; Le Strange 1930, p. 299. Gyselen in her works categorises Kirmān as a region and its main divisions as provinces: e.g. Gyselen 2002, pp. 154–5. Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 286, (trans.), p. 121 writing in the third century Hijrī states Sirjān (Sirajān) was the main city and there were several towns and fortresses; Bimand, Khannāb, Kūhistān, Maghūn, Tamaskān, Sarwistān, and the fortresses of Bam (Bamm), Manūiān and Narmāshīr.

[357] Le Strange 1930, p. 303.

Kirmān (denoting the region) is a mint signature for post-reform Islamic dirhams.[358] There is an issue dated 79H, then a gap of 11 years before the next issue dated 90H.[359] This issue is then followed by Arab-Sasanian drachms for 82 to 84H. In addition there is a copper issue of Kirmān dated 95H.[360]

Year 56(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**[361]
Walker p. 65, no. Do.3 (unconfirmed)

Year 58(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
British Museum (BM 1949, 0803.200); ANS.1983.160.1; Mochiri 1987 p. 96, no. 63, pl. 7, no. 41; *SICA* 1 pl. 21, nos 309 (Shamma), 310 (Ashmolean); Eshragh p. 21, no. 69; Warden-Album (mint signature unusual with first two letters **KL** not joined together); (**Pl. 53-54, 622-630**)

Year 64(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Mochiri 1987 p. 102, no. 118, pl. 4, no. 23; *SICA* 1, p. 20, fn[97] (= Naqshabandi, p. 110, no. 63); (**Pl. 54, 631**) (anonymous caliphal type)

Year 65(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
SICA 1 pl. 21, no. 312 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 24, no. 90; Mochiri 2000, p. 45, no. 18, pl. 17, no. 25 (Mochiri); Mochiri 2000, p. 45, no. 22, pl. 18, no. 31 (Warden-Album); (**Pl. 54, 632-635**); Johnson 0791-0074 (fig. 6.1)
ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh
Walker p. 101, nos 202–203; Gaube pl. 9, no. 101 (Haddad); *SICA* 1 pl. 21, no. 311 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 25, nos 91–92; (**Pl. 54-55, 636-637**)

Year 66(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 31, no. B.6; Mochiri 2000 p. 46, no. 23, pl. 17, no. 26 (Mochiri); Mochiri 2000, p. 46, no. 24, pl. 16, no. 23 (Warden-Album) signature **KLMAN′** / **KRMANW**); Eshragh pp. 25, 294, nos 95, 1751; (**Pl. 55, 638-641**)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
ANS.1971.316.12; Miles *RIC* p. 4, no. 12; Mochiri 2000, p. 45, no. 20, pl. 18, no. 33 (Warden-Album; signature read as **KLMAN'** or **KRMANW**); *SICA* 1 pl. 22, no. 313 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 27, no. 105; (**Pl. 55, 645**) (**KLAMAN**), (**Pl. 55, 642-644**); (**Pl. 55, 646**) (signature read as **KLMAN'** or **KRMANW**)

Year 69(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 32, no. Th.5; (**Pl. 55, 647-648**)

Year 71(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 56, 649-650**)

Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 56, 651-653**)

Year 73(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Weber p. 69, no. 163; Mochiri 2000 p. 47, no. 31, pl. 18, no. 35 (Warden-Album); (**Pl. 56, 654**)

Year 74(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Walker p. 111, no. Th.15 (not illustrated); Miles *RIC* p. 8, no. 29 (= ANS.1973.244.1); Mochiri 2000 p. 47, no. 34, pl. 16, no. 24 (Warden-Album); Eshragh p. 33, no. 141; (**Pl. 56, 655-657**)

[358] Klat 2002, nos 522–535 (90–8, 100–3, 129H); *SICA* 2, pls 37–8, nos 809–823 (90–8, 101, 103H). For examples from the ʿAbbāsid period, *SICA* 3, pls 50–1, nos 1160–1177 (165–7, 168–9, 177–8H).

[359] Morton and Eden auction 63 (22 April 2013), lot 29.

[360] (**Pl. 119, 1415**). This has an unread Pahlavi legend on the obverse and the mint and date in Arabic on the reverse.

[361] This coin seems too early for the mint signature **KLMAN**, which does not otherwise appear until 58H, when coins with various mint signatures without the word **KLMAN** cease.

Year 75(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Walker p. 112, no. 218; Eshragh p. 54, no. 148; (**Pl. 56, 658**)
Year 84(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān**
Miles 'Kirmān' 1960, pl. 1, no. 8 (= ANS.1956.137.3)

All coins of **KLMAN** and those with pre-fixes (**GLM-KLMAN**) and suffixes (**KLMAN-AN** etc.) bear Hijrī dates.[362] No anonymous Khusrau type issues are known with **KLMAN** as the mint signature or included as part of the signature. At the time of Walker (1941)[363] and Gaube (1973) coins from Kirmān were relatively scarce, but a significant number of examples have been discovered since then. Nevertheless, coins from Kirmān are scarcer than the main mints of Fārs or indeed Basra. The two most commonly encountered signatures from Kirmān are **KLMAN** and **KLMAN-NAL**, some of the others are extremely rare.

Table 7.2. Kirmān mints 31–58H without pre-fix / suffix

Mint signature	*Date*											
	20 YE = 31H	25 YE = 36H	26 YE = 37H	27 YE = 38H	28 YE = 39H	29 YE = 40H	30 YE = 41H	42H	32 YE = 43H	33 YE = 44H	35 YE = 46H	37 YE = 48H
ANAT												
ANWAT												
BN	AA1 K11 Y18	K11	Y18				(AA2)	AA1	Y18	AA1 (Y18)	K11	
GLM	K11	Y18				Y18				Y18		
GY												
HYPC												
KLMAN												
NAL	AA1 AAA2 K11 Y18			(K11)				AA1		AA1		Y18
NAWGY												
PYL												
SLC/SLCN												

Mint signature	*Date*										
	48 H	49 H	50H	51H	52H	53H	54H	55H	56H	57H	58H
ANAT							ZS20				
ANWAT							ARZ6		HA10	HA10	HA10
BN					ARZ6 ZS20	ARZ6 HA10 ZS20	ARZ6 HA10		HA10		
GLM					ZS20	ZS20	ARZ6		HA10	HA10	HA10
GY							ARZ6				
HYPC									HA10	HA10	
KLMAN									(UAZ16)		UAZ16

[362] With the possible exception of a coin of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad with **GLM-KLMAN** dated 63, which could be YE for 75H.

[363] For example Walker did not list the drachm issue of **KLMAN** dated 58H of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. This is now known to be one of the more common issues with a number of varieties, see Catalogue which lists nine examples.

Mint signature	*Date*										
NAL	AA1				ZS20	ZS20	ARZ6 HA10 (ZS20)		HA10	HA10	HA10
NAWGY									HA10	HA10	
PYL									HA10	HA10	HA10
SLC/SLCN							ARZ6 ZS20		HA10	HA10	

Key

AA1	ʿAbd Allāh	K11	Khusrau anonymous
AA2	ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir	MS12	al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra
AAB3	ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām	MZ13	Musʿab b. al-Zubayr
AAZ4	ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr	QF14	Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa
ARM5	ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad	UAR15	ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān
ARZ6	ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd	UAZ16	ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād
AL7	ʿAmr b. Laqīt	UU17	ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh
A8	Anonymous	Y18	Yazdgard anonymous
AT9	ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad	YM19	Yazīd b. Muhallab
HA10	al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs	ZS20	Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Where a citation is unconfirmed the reference to a type is in brackets. The reference to a **KLMAN** issue dated 56H is doubtful and falls out of sequence. The table excludes the two issues of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dated 56 and 57H with **ABZŪD-K** mint signature.

Various points can be drawn from the table (covering coins dated 31 to 58H). The two most important are:

1. In 58H there is a transition from signatures without **KLMAN** (e.g. **NAL**) to those with **KLMAN** as a prefix or suffix, or with **KLMAN** only. This allows us to identify signatures which start without the prefix or suffix **KLMAN** as coming from Kirmān. For example **NAL** ceases in 58H and from 59H there is the fuller signature of **KLMAN-NAL**.
2. Coins with the year 20, in the names of Yazdgard, Khusrau, ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, are consistent with that being a frozen year, that is the coins were struck over a number of years, perhaps between 31 and 42H.

Table 7.3. Kirmān mints 58–84H with pre-fix / suffix[364]

	58H	59H	60H	61H	62H	63H	64H	65H	66H
GLM-KLMAN								AAZ4	
KLMAN	UAZ16						AAZ4	UU17 AAZ4	AAZ4
KLMAN-AN				(AAZ4)	(UAZ16)				
KLMAN-ANAN									
KLMAN-ANAT						AAZ4			
KLMAN-ANWAT						(UAZ16) AAZ4			

[364] Where a variety is unconfirmed or the date or mint reading is equivocal, the reference to the official is in brackets.

	58H	59H	60H	61H	62H	63H	64H	65H	66H
KLMAN-APZWN									
KLMAN-AT									
KLMAN-AY									
KLMAN-BN			UAZ16						
KLMAN-BNA						AAZ4			
KLMAN-BNBN				(AAZ4)		AAZ4			
KLMAN-GLM		UAZ16							
KLMAN-GY		UAZ16	UAZ16	UAZ16		UAZ16 AAZ4	UZ216		AAZ4
KLMAN-HPYC		UAZ16	UAZ16			AAZ4			AAZ4
KLMAN-KLMAN									
KLMAN-NAL		UAZ16	UAZ16	UAZ16	UAZ16	UAZ16 AAZ4	UAZ16 (AAZ4)		
KLMAN-NAT									
KLMAN-NAW			UAZ16						
KLMAN-NAWGY		UAZ16	UAZ16		UAZ16	AAZ4			AAZ4
KLMAN-NAWK									
KLMAN-NHAT									
KLMAN-SL									
KLMAN-SLC(N)			UAZ16	UAZ16		UAZ16 AAZ4		AAZ4	
KLMAN-TLA					AAZ4				
KLMAN-WLY									AAZ4

	67H	68H	69H	70H	71H	72H	73H	74H	75H
GLM-KLMAN	AAZ4		AAZ4	AAZ4 A8 AT9		AT9			AT9 63YE
KLMAN	AAZ4		AAZ4		AT9	AT9	AT9	AT9	AT9
KLMAN-AN	AAZ4		MZ13 (AAZ4)			AT9 MZ13		AT9	AT9
KLMAN-ANAN						(AT9)			
KLMAN-ANAT	AAZ4					AT9			
KLMAN-ANWAT						AT9			
KLMAN-APZWN			MZ13						
KLMAN-AT	AAZ4					AT9	AT9		
KLMAN-AY						AT9		(AT9)	
KLMAN-BN	AAZ4				AAZ4 AT9	AT9	AT9	AT9	AT9
KLMAN-BNA									

	67H	68H	69H	70H	71H	72H	73H	74H	75H
KLMAN-BNBN	(AAZ4)								
KLMAN-GLM									
KLMAN-GY	AAZ4		(AAZ4)			AT9	AT9	AT9	AT9
KLMAN-HPYC	AAZ4		MZ13			AT9	AT9	AT9	AT9
KLMAN-KLMAN								(AT9)	
KLMAN-NAL	AAZ4	AAZ4	MZ13	MZ13	MZ13 AT9	(MZ13) AT9	AT9	AT9	AT9
KLMAN-NAT						AT9	AT9		AT9
KLMAN-NAW						AT9		AT9	AT9
KLMAN-NAWGY	AAZ4					AT9	AT9	AT9	AT9
KLMAN-NAWK									AT9
KLMAN-NHAT									AT9
KLMAN-SL			MZ13	MZ13 AT9					
KLMAN-SLC(N)	AAZ4			AAZ4 MZ13		AT9	AT9	AT9	AT9
KLMAN-TLA									
KLMAN-WLY									

	76H	77H	78H	79H	80H	81H	82H	83H	84H
GLM-KLMAN			YM19				AL7	AL7	
KLMAN									UAR15
KLMAN-AN									
KLMAN-ANAN									
KLMAN-ANAT									
KLMAN-ANWAT									
KLMAN-APZWN									
KLMAN-AT									
KLMAN-AY									
KLMAN-BN	AT9	AT9 QF14						AL7	
KLMAN-BNA									
KLMAN-BNBN									
KLMAN-GLM							AAB3		
KLMAN-GY	(AT9)		YM19					AL7	
KLMAN-HPYC	AT9		YM19					ARM5	

	76H	77H	78H	79H	80H	81H	82H	83H	84H
KLMAN-KLMAN									
KLMAN-NAL	(MS12) (AT9)	MS12 AT9	MS12 YM19					AL7	
KLMAN-NAT									
KLMAN-NAW									
KLMAN-NAWGY		AT9	MS12 YM19					(AL7)	
KLMAN-NAWK									
KLMAN-NHAT									
KLMAN-SL									
KLMAN-SLC(N)		AT9	YM19						
KLMAN-TLA									
KLMAN-WLY									

No distinction is made in Table 7.3 between signatures with and without a final stroke. No issues are known for 79 to 81H.

7.58.3 KLMAN-AN (klmʾnʾn) (unknown location within Kirmān)

KLMAN-AN (**KRMAN-AN**) may also be read as **KLMAN-AW** because of the ambiguity of the last letter, which may either. The mint signature is also found with an additional stroke to form **KLMAN-AN'** (or **KLMAN-ANW**). They form part of a series of mint signatures, perhaps representing the same place:[365]

KLMAN-AN
KLMAN-AN' (or **KLMAN-ANW**)
KLMAN-ANAT and **KLMAN-ANAT'**
KLMAN-ANWAT and **KLMAN-ANWAT'**

An alternative is to equate **KLMAN-AN** with **KLMAN-AN'** as representing one place; and **KLMAN-ANAT**, **KLMAN-ANAT'** and **KLMAN-ANWAT** with another place. There are various overlapping dates where more than one mint signature variety is known for the same person. It is a matter for conjecture which place or places these signatures represent within Kirmān. The signature variant **KLMAN-AN** is very rarely encountered in this form (i.e. without the final stroke as in **KLMAN-AN'**).

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 56, 660**)
Year 74(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Mochiri 2000, p. 47, no. 35, pl. 18, no. 34 (Warden-Album)
Year 69 or 61(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 56, 659**) (date legend equivocal either 61 or 69, but 69 probably intended)
Year 75(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 57, 668**) (with **NAW** in Q3 obverse)

All the drachms from this mint bear Hijrī dates as do all coins from other mints within Kirmān. Most years between 67 and 75H are so far unrepresented. All these issues are rare.

[365] Sears 1997, p. 144. Gaube 1973, p. 98 suggests Sirjān (Širağān).

7.58.4 KLMAN-AN' (klmʾnʾn') (unknown location within Kirmān)

The mint signature **KLMAN-AN'** (**KRMAN-AN'**), or **KRMAN-ANW** or **KRMAN-ANN** may also be read variously as **KLMAN-AW'** or even **KLMAN-AWW** because of the ambiguity of the final two letters.[366] The signature is a variant of **KLMAN-AN**.

Year 62(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 66, no. 97 (mint signature unclear, **KLMAN-SLC** also possible)

Year 69(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**[367]
Walker p. 103, nos 206 and Th.12 (= Gaube pl. 6, no. 66); *SICA* 1 pl. 22, nos 314–315 (Shamma; read as **KRMAN-AN**); Eshragh p. 29, no. 119; Weber p. 65, no. 157; (**Pl. 57, 661-664**)

Year 72(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
Eshragh p. 32, no. 136 (read as **KRMAN-AN**)
ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad[368]
Walker p. 111, no. 216 (with **AN'** in Q3 obverse); (**Pl. 57, 665**) (with **AN'** in Q3 obverse)

Year 74(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
ANS.1957.84.1 (with **NAW** in Q3 obverse); Eshragh p. 33, no. 142; (**Pl. 57, 666**) (with **NAW** in Q3 obverse)

Year 75(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 57, 667**) (with **AN'** in Q3 reverse), 700094 (with **NAW** in Q3 obverse)

All the coins from this mint bear Hijrī dates and are rare. Putting the coins with **KLMAN-AN** and **KLMAN-AN'** together only four officials are represented for the years 61 or 63 to 75H: ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, Musʿab b. al-Zubayr and ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad. Only the second of these was an Umayyad official.

7.58.5 KLMAN-ANAN (klmʾnʾnʾn) (unknown location within Kirmān)

An unclear mint signature has been read as **KLMAN-ANAN** (**KRMAN-ANAN**). It may be a variant or misreading of another known signature for an unknown location within Kirmān.

Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
SICA 1 pl. 22, no. 316 (Shamma; mint unclear)

7.58.6 KLMAN-ANAT (klmʾnʾnʾt) (unknown location within Kirmān province)

7.58.7 KLMAN-ANAT′ (klmʾnʾnʾt')

KLMAN-ANAT (**KRMAN-ANAT**) may also be read as **KLMAN-AWAT**. There is a variant with an additional stroke to form **KLMAN-ANAT'**. It represents an unlocated place within Kirmān. **ANAT** (by itself) is known for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (54H) and is likely to represent the same mint place. The signatures **KLMAN-ANWAT** and **KLMAN-ANWAT'** may represent the same location as **KLMAN-ANAT**, albeit the fact that both **KLMAN-ANAT** (and **KLMAN ANAT'**) and **KLMAN-ANWAT** are known for year 67 may suggest the contrary. It is possible the mint had a choice of how to write the mint signature and all these signatures were interchangeable and represented the same location.

[366] Paruck 1944, p. 96 read signature as **KRMAN-AUN**.

[367] In addition Paruck 1944, p. 96 listed year 70(?) for Musʿab b. al-Zubayr, suggesting he had not personally verified such an example.

[368] Walker 1934, pp. 294–9 for a discussion of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad's coinage which at that time was regarded as quite rare.

Year 63(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 57, 669**) (**KLMAN-ANAT'**)
Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 57, 670**) (**KLMAN-ANAT'**)
Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Miles *RIC* p. 8, no. 28 (= ANS.1917.215.8; full signature unread; **KLMAN-ANAT'**)

This mint signature is very rare and, as usual for mints within Kirmān, the issues bear Hijrī dates.

7.58.8 KLMAN-ANWAT (klmʾnʾnwʾt) (unknown location within Kirmān)
KLMAN-ANWAT' (klmʾnʾnwʾt')

The mint signature **KLMAN-ANWAT** (**KRMAN-ANWAT**) may also be read as **KLMAN-AWWAT** or **KLMAN-ANNAT**. **ANWAT** is found on its own without the **KLMAN** suffix and undoubtedly represents the same mint location. A variant has an additional stroke to form **KLMAN-ANWAT'**. It represents an unlocated place within Kirmān, possibly the same place as **KLMAN-ANAT** (and **KRMAN-ANAT'**). The mint signature is rare. All coins bear Hijrī dates.

Year 63(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
SICA 1, p. 20, fn[98] (= Paris 1967.465); (**Pl. 57-58, 671-673**) (**KLMAN-ANWAT′**)
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād
(**Pl. 58, 674**) (mint signature unclear)
Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Morton and Eden auction 68 (10 November 2014), lot 664 (**KLMAN-ANWAT'** with **AN** or **AW** in Q3 obverse)

7.58.9 KLMAN-APZWN (klmʾnʾpzwn) (Kirmān region)

The word **APZWN** (**ABZŪN**; **ʾpzwn**) does not represent a mint place, but means increase or prosper. On one isolated issue of Khusrau II, regnal year 15, **APZW** (**ʾpzw**) is found on its own.[369] On two issues of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, **abzūd-k** is found on its own. The mint signature as a suffix to form **KLMAN-APZWN** (**KRMAN-ABZŪN**) is no doubt a reference to the region of Kirmān and may have been struck in the regional / provincial capital, Sirjān (Shirgān). This type is extremely rare and is only known for one issue.

Year 69(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
Eshragh p. 29, no. 120

7.58.10 KLMAN-AL / KRMAN-AR (see under **KLMAN-SL**)

7.58.11 KLMAN-ALC / KRMAN-ARC (see under **KLMAN-SLC**)

7.58.12 KLMAN-ALC' / KRMAN ARC' (see under **KLMAN-SLC'**)

7.58.13 KLMAN-AT (klmʾnʾt) (unknown location within Kirmān)

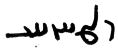
The mint signature **KLMAN-AT** (**KRMAN-AT**) is scarcely encountered, and represents a so far unidentified location within Kirmān. As usual the dates are Hijrī.

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 31, no. J.1 (not illustrated)

[369] Johnson Collection (with **ʾpd** in Q2 obverse).

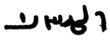
Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
SICA 1 pl. 22, no. 317 (Shamma) (**NAT** in Q3 obverse, read as **AT**); (**Pl. 58, 675**) (**NAT** in Q3 obverse)

Year 73(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
SICA 1 pl. 22, no. 318 (Shamma)

7.58.14 KLMAN-AY (klmʾnʾy)  (unknown location within Kirmān)

The mint signature **KLMAN-AY** (**KRMAN-AY**) is known from one, so far unique, example. It represents an unknown location in Kirmān.

Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 58, 676**) (date may be either 72, or 74 with first letter missing **č**).

7.58.15 KLMAN-BN (klmʾnbn)  (uncertain location within Kirmān)

BN can either be found on its own or as a suffix to form **KLMAN-BN** (**KRMAN-BN**). The signature can be confused for **KLMAN-GY**. There are two varieties of this signature, either denoting different places, or varieties of the same signature. These may be broken down into **KLMAN-BN** and **KLMAN-BC** (with either a short or long line leading up to the curve for **C**). It has been suggested that the signature can be read as **KLMAN-GW** or **KLMAN-GV** for Gwāshīr in Kirmān.[370] Gwāshīr (Bardashīr) stood on the site of the modern city of Kirmān. The attribution is plausible, but uncertain.

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(**Pl. 58, 677**)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Gaube pl. 2, no. 24 (Haddad); (**Pl. 58, 678**); (**Pl. 58, 679**) (written as **KLMAN-BC**)

Year 71(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 58, 680**) (**GDH** in Q3 obverse)
ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad
Warden-Album (date written unusually as **yhptʾt'**); (**Pl. 58, 681**) (date uncertain)

Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Mochiri 2000, p. 47, no. 29, pl. 14, no. 12 (Mochiri; read as **KRMAN GV**)

Year 73(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Walker p. 111, no. I.45 (written as **KLMAN-BC**)

Year 74(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 58, 682**); (**Pl. 58, 683**) (written as **KLMAN-BC**)

Year 75(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 58, 684**)

Year 76(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
SICA 1 pl. 22, no. 319 (Shamma) (unclear signature); (**Pl. 59, 685**) (written as **KLMAN-BC**; *jayyid* in Q3 obverse margin; Pahlavi legend in Q1 reverse **nywk'**?)

Year 77(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
SICA 1, p. 31, fn[173] (noted without illustration; subject to confirmation)
Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa
SICA 1, pl. 22, no. 320 (Shamma) (written as **KLMAN-BN**); Eshragh p. 37, no. 167; Weber p. 70, no. 166; (**Pl. 59, 686**)

[370] Mochiri 1985, p. 117; Sears 1997, pp. 133–4 notes the various places suggested by different numismatists. For further references see under **BN** above.

Year 83(H) **ʿAmr b. Laqīt**
ANS.1965.243.1; Gaube pl. 6, no. 68 (written as **KLMAN-BN**); Miles 'Kirmān' (1960), pl. 1, no. 10 (= ANS.56.137) and pl. 1, no. 7 (Yockers Collection) (ruler unread); (**Pl. 59, 687**)

All the coins bear Hijrī dates as one would expect. The signature is scarce, but not as rare as suggested by Walker in 1941 who noted only one example.

7.58.16 KLMAN-BNA (klmʾnbnʾ) (unknown location within Kirmān)

The mint signature **KLMAN-BNA** (**KRMAN-BNA**) is very rarely encountered. Mochiri treats the signature as a variant of **KLMAN-BN** (which he reads as **KLMAN-GW**) to form **KLMAN-GWA** (**klmʾngwʾ**). He thus attributes the signature to Gwāshīr (renamed Bardasīr / Bardashīr by the Arabs) located in the place of modern Kirmān.[371] This attribution is plausible, but uncertain. Bardasīr is known for post-reform Islamic dirhams for 79H.[372]

Year 63(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Mochiri 1985, p. 120, no. 16 (Mochiri)

7.58.17 KLMAN-BNBN (klmʾnbnbn) (unknown location within Kirmān)

The mint signature **KLMAN-BNBN** (**KRMAN-BNBN**) is very rarely encountered and not mentioned in the main numismatic literature. It is tempting to equate this with **KLMAN-BN**, but there is no proof. It represents an unidentified location within Kirmān.

Year 63(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 59, 692**) (with **AN** or **AW** in Q3 reverse), 730213
Year 69 or 61(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 59, 688-690**) (date legend equivocal, either 61 or 69, probably 69 intended)

7.58.18 KLMAN-GLM (klmʾnglm) (Garmsīr, Kirmān)

The mint signature **KLMAN-GLM** (**KRMAN-GRM**) is no doubt a variant of the signatures **GLM** and **GLM-KLMAN**. As already discussed under **GLM**, the signature most probably represents Garmsīr (Garmšīr), meaning warm district, an area in southern Kirmān.[373] The signature **KLMAN-GLM** is not discussed in the main numismatic works, no doubt a reflection of the scarcity of the signature. No coins with **GLM** alone are known after 58H and the first coin of **KLMAN-GLM** is dated 59H, thus indicating that is a continuation of striking at the same location. Coins with **GLM-KLMAN** span 63 to 78H, but with a final issue dated 83H.

Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(**Pl. 59, 693**)
Year 82(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām**
Eshragh p. 40, no. 182; (**Pl. 59, 694**)

These very rare coins all bear Hijrī dates. The only known issue of ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām bears this mint signature and is dated 82H. For 82H coins are also known in the name of Amr b. Laqīt with different mint signatures from Kirmān province. This raises the possibility that the region was divided at that time with ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām's authority limited to one area and most of the region under Amr b. Laqīt's control.

[371] Mochiri 1985, p. 117.

[372] Klat 2002, no. 158.

[373] Both Sears 1997, p. 138 and Mochiri 1985 suggest that it may represent Bam, a plausible possibility.

7.58.19 KLMAN-GY (klmʾngy) (probably Jīroft, Kirmān)

GY by itself is only known for one issue dated 54H. It is more commonly found as a suffix to **KLMAN** to form **KLMAN-GY** (**KRMAN-GY**). **KLMAN-GY** is one of the more common signatures for Kirmān. It probably represents Jīroft in the southern part of Kirmān which was an important city and sub-province or district (*shahrestān*).[374] **KLMAN-NAWGY** may represent the same location, but this is uncertain as the dates for **KLMAN-GY** and **KLMAN-NAWAY** overlap. **KLMAN-NAWGY** could represent a place near Jīroft.[375] Jīroft is a rare post-reform mint found on dirhams dated 82H.[376]

Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Weber p. 41, no. 100; (**Pl. 59, 695**)

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
SICA 1 p. 16, fn[64] (noted without illustration)

Year 61(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Paris (BN 1971.124); *SICA* 1 p. 16, fn[64] (noted without illustration); (**Pl. 59, 695A**) (**ngy**ʾ? on breast)

Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(**Pl. 60, 697**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr
(**Pl. 60, 696**)

Year 64(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
SICA 1 pl. 22, no. 321 (Shamma); Mochiri 2000, p. 44, no. 14, pl. 19, no. 39 (Warden-Album); Weber p. 42, no. 102; (**Pl. 60, 698-699**)

Year 66(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
SICA 1 pl. 22, no. 322 (Shamma); (**Pl. 60, 700-701**)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 35, no. 48 (mint read as **KRMAN**…?); ANS.1944.100.378; *SICA* 1 pl. 22, no. 323 (Shamma); (**Pl. 60, 702-704**)

Year 69(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 60, 705**) (date legend equivocal, 63 also possible)

Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 60, 706**)

Year 73(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
ANS.1959.130.3; Miles *Persepolis* (1959) – Naqsh-i Rustam, pl. 18, no. 51; Eshragh p. 36, no. 162; (**Pl. 60, 707**)

Year 74(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
ANS.1972.169.3; (**Pl. 61, 708**)

Year 75(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Eshragh p. 34, no. 147; (**Pl. 61, 709-712**)

Year 76(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**[377]
Paris (BN 1974.249, date unclear); *SICA* 1 p. 31, fn[173] (Warden-Album, uncertain date)

Year 78(H) **Yazīd b. al-Muhallab**
SICA 1 p. 33, fn[186] (Warden-Album = Sotheby's auction (5 October 1989), lot 309)

[374] See the discussion under **GY** above; Mochiri 1985, p. 118; Gaube 1973, p. 98.

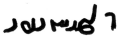
[375] Sears 1997, p. 143.

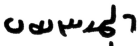
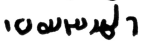
[376] Klat 2002, no. 272 (82H); Jazzar 1998.

[377] For an issue which might be dated 76, but is unclear: see Mochiri 1987 p. 95, no. 57, pl. 1, no. 6 (Warden-Album collection). Mochiri does not consider it to be a date at all, but **šdrwnt**ʾ (*frēstādan*, send).

Year 83(H) **ʿAmr b. Laqīt**
Weber p. 82, no. 194; (**Pl. 61, 713**) (or **KLMAN-BN** or **KLMAN-GY**)

All the coins of this scarce mint signature bear Hijrī dates.

7.58.20 KLMAN-HPY (klmʾnhpy)  (probably Khabīs, Kirmān)

7.58.21 KLMAN-HPYC  (klmʾnhpyč)
 (klmʾnhpyč')

HYPC by itself is only known for 56 and 57H. From 60H on it appears as a suffix to form **KLMAN-HPYC** (**KRMAN-HPYC**). The signature probably represents Khabīs[378] a town and district on the desert fringe in the eastern part of Kirmān, virtually an oasis surrounded by groves of date palms and mulberry gardens.[379]

The mint signature is usually written in full as **KLMAN-HPYC**, but occasionally it is abbreviated as **KLMAN-HPY**[380] or has an additional stroke to form **KLMAN-HPYC'**. On some issues the abbreviation **HP** or **HPYC** is found on the obverse margin.

Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Mochiri 2000, p. 43, no. 8, pl. 13, no. 1 (Warden-Album; signature **KLMAN-HPYC**; read as **KRMANXPIC**)

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 65, no. 95; ANS.1971.316.1 (signature **KLMAN-HPYC'**); (**Pl. 61, 714**) (signature **KLMAN-HPYC** with **gwm** in Q2 obverse after *bism allāh*)

Year 63(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 31, no. 39 (= Gaube, pl. 3, no. 26)

Year 66(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Weber p. 19, no. 42 (signature **KLMAN-HPYC'** with **HP** in Q2 obverse after *bism allāh*)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Mochiri 1985 p. 120, pl. 14, no. 17 (signature **KLMAN-HPYC** with **HP** in Q3 obverse); (**Pl. 61, 715**) (signature **KLMAN-HPYC**)

Year 69(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 61, 716**) (signature **KLMAN-HPYC**)

Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 61, 717**), (**Pl. 61, 718-**) (signature **KLMAN-HPYC** with **HP** in Q3 obverse)

Year 73(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Mochiri 1985 p. 121, no. 23 (Mochiri) (signature **KLMAN-HPYC** with **HPYC** in Q3 obverse); Eshragh p. 32, no. 137 (signature **KLMAN-HPYC**; read as **KRMANAJYN**); (**Pl. 61, 719**); (**Pl. 62, 720**) (signature **KLMAN-HPYC** with **HP** in Q3 obverse); (**Pl. 62, 721-722**) (signature **KLMAN-HPYC'**)

Year 74(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Mochiri 2000 p. 47, no. 33, pl. 15, no. 18 (Warden-Album; signature **KLMAN-HPYC** with **HP** in Q3 obverse; read as **KRMANXPYC**)

Year 75(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
ANS.1991.3.262 (signature **KLMAN-HPYC**); Mochiri 2000 p. 48, no. 36, pl. 16, no. 22 (Warden-Album); (**Pl. 62, 723**) (signature **KLMAN-HPYC**)

[378] Mochiri 1985, p. 117 (following Gaube 1973, p. 98).

[379] Wheatley 2001, p. 154.

[380] Paruck 1944, p. 95 transcribed the two signatures as **KRMAN-APZ** and **KRMAN-APZI**.

Year 76(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 62, 724**) (signature **KLMAN-HPYC**)

Year 78(H) **Yazīd b. Muhallab**
Miles 'Kirmān' (1960), pl. 1. no. 5 (= ANS.1957.84.2); Mochiri 2000 p. 48, no. 39, pl. 16, no. 19 (Warden-Album) read as **KRMAN XPYCW**) (**Pl. 62, 725**) (signature **KLMAN-HPYC'** with **šyl** in Q3 obverse)

Year 83(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad**
Gaube pl. 4, no. 40 (= Unvala 1957 pl. 19, no. 12); (**Pl. 62, 726**) (signature **KLMAN-HPYC**)

All the coins from this scarce mint signature bear Hijrī dates. The issue of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad dated 83H is very rare. There are coins, for the same year, from other Kirmān mints in the name of ʿAmr b. Laqīt (**GLM-KLMAN**, **KLMAN-BN**, **KLMAN-GY**, **KLMAN-NAL**, **KLMAN-NAWGY**), suggesting that control over Kirmān may have been divided.

7.58.22 KLMAN-KLMAN (klmʾnklmʾn) (possibly Sirjān, Kirmān province)

KLMAN-KLMAN (**KRMAN-KRMAN**) may represent the capital of the Kirmān region, Sirjān. The only known example is reportedly of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad dated 74H.[381]

7.58.23 KLMAN-NAL (klmʾnnʾl) (possibly Narmāshīr, Kirmān)

NAL (**NAR**; **nʾl**)) is a major Sasanian mint with a relatively high output under Khusrau II. It first appears under Khusrau I and continues until the final years of Yazdgard III. For the Arab-Sasanian series, it is found both on its own and as a suffix to form **KLMAN-NAL** (**KRMAN-NAR**, placing both signatures within Kirmān. Various locations have been suggested but the most likely is Narmāshīr,[382] in the east by the desert edge. Writing in the fourth century Hijrī al-Muqaddasī stated that Narmāshīr was strongly fortified, but smaller than Sirjān. An alternative reading for the signature is **KLMAN-WAR** and on this basis some have attributed it to Weh-Ardashīr (called Bardasīr / Bardashīr in the Islamic period) a major city within the region.[383] This attribution is probably wrong. **NAL** first appears under Khusrau I even though the city of Weh-Ardashīr is said to have been founded by the first Sasanian king, Ardashīr I. Coins of **KLMAN-NAL** are some of the most common of the various Kirmān province mints.

The only known post-reform Umayyad dirhams of Narmāshīr are dated 80H,[384] struck between the Arab-Sasanian drachms of 78 and 83H with the **KLMAN-NAL** mint signature.

Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 65, no. I.31 (not illustrated); (**Pl. 62, 727-728**)

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
SICA 1 pl. 22, no. 324 (Shamma); (**Pl. 62-63, 729-732**)

Year 61(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 66, no. I.32 (not illustrated); Mochiri 1987 p. 91, no. 16, pl. 5, no. 27; (**Pl. 63, 733-737**)

Year 62(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
ANS.1972.169.1 (= Mochiri 2000, p. 44, no. 13, pl. 14, no. 9); (**Pl. 63, 738-740**)

[381] Gaube 1973, table (without illustration or reference). Gaube attributes the signature to Sirjān, p. 98. Sotheby's auction (14 October 1999), lot 254 erroneously lists a drachm of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab dated 78H as being of this signature, but in fact it is of **GLM-KLMAN**.

[382] Mochiri 1985, pp. 115–16; Sears 1997, pp. 138–9.

[383] Gaube 1973, p. 98.

[384] Eshragh 2010, p. 57, no. 253; Morton and Eden auction 63 (22 April 2013), lot 33.

Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Mochiri 1987 p. 97, no. 77, pl. 12, no. 69; (**Pl. 63, 741**) (**KLAMAN-NAL**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr
Mochiri 2000, p. 45, no. 17, pl. 13, no. 3 (Warden) (date 63 or 68)[385]

Year 64(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Eshragh p. 26, no. 97; (**Pl. 63, 742**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr
SICA 1, p. 20, fn[97] (unconfirmed as reference given not accurate)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 63-64, 743-744**)

Year 68(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 32, no. 40; (**Pl. 64, 745-746**)

Year 69(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 64, 747-748**)

Year 70(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
Eshragh p. 30, nos 124–125; (**Pl. 64, 749-751**)

Year 71(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 104, no. 207 (= Gaube pl. 6, no. 67); Eshragh p. 31, no. 130; (**Pl. 64, 752-754**)
ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad
Mochiri 2000 p. 46, no. 27, pl. 15, no. 13 (Warden-Album); (**Pl. 64, 755**)

Year 72(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 104, no. T.17 (not confirmed)
ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad
ANS.1972.169.2; Mitchiner 1978 p. 215, no. 1371 (mint read as **KIRMANAN**); *SICA* 1 pl. 22, no. 325 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 31, no. 132; (**Pl. 65, 756-757**)

Year 73(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
SICA 1 pl. 23, no. 326 (Shamma); Eshragh pp. 32, 36, nos 138, 162 (date read as 76); Mochiri 2000 p. 46, no. 28, pl. 14, no. 11 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 65, 758-759**)

Year 74(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
ANS.1976.274.2; Miles *Persepolis* (1959) – Naqsh-i Rustam, p. 99, no. 52; (**Pl. 65, 760**) (with **ny**'? in Q3 obverse)

Year 75(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Walker p. 111, no. 217; Eshragh p. 34, no. 150; Mochiri 2000 p. 48, no. 37, pl. 15, no. 29 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 65, 761-764**); (**Pl. 65, 766**) (with letters **šy** in Q3 reverse); (**Pl. 65, 765**) (with **NAL** in Q3 obverse and reverse margins)

Year 76(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
SICA 1 p. 71, fn[173] (noted without illustration)
al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra
Paruck 1944 p. 96 (noted without illustration)

Year 77(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
SICA 1 pl. 23, no. 327 (Ashmolean); Eshragh p. 37, no. 168; Weber p. 70, no. 165
al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra
Walker p. 115, no. I.48 (not illustrated); (**Pl. 66, 767**)(with **sy**(?) in Q2 obverse = Mochiri 2000 p. 48, no. 38, pl. 13, no. 5 read as **KRMANHRJ**); (**Pl. 66, 767**)

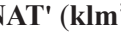
[385] The date can either be read as **sšst** for 63 or **hšst** for 68. Mochiri read the date as 63. Bates (personal communication) prefers a reading of 68, thus treating the first letter as **h**, and in his view being an abbreviation for **hšt** (8). The fact that the full date **hštšst** is known for 68H is a factor against a reading of 68H for this coin. On the other hand some support can be found for Bates' interpretation in the fact that the coins of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dated 63H have a different form of date **syšst** rather than **sšst**.

Year 78(H) **al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra**
Walker p. 115, no. RB.10 (now British Museum; with **šy** in Q3 obverse)
Yazīd b. al-Muhallab
Gaube pl. 9, no. 105 (= Paris; BN 1968.869); *SICA* 1 pl. 23, no. 328 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 38, no. 173; (**Pl. 66, 768**) (with **šyl** in Q3 obverse)

Year 83(H) **ʿAmr b. Laqīt al-ʿAbdi**[386]
Eshragh p. 41, no. 189; (**Pl. 66, 769**)

All the coins of **KLMAN-NAL** bear Hijrī dates. It is one of the commoner mint signatures, along with **KLMAN**, in Kirmān. Most dates between 59 and 78H are represented, though there is a gap between 65 and 66H. In 63 and 64H **KLMAN-NAL** struck in the names of both ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and the rival caliph, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

7.58.24 KLMAN-NAT (klmʾnnʾt) (unknown location within Kirmān)

7.58.25 KLMAN-NAT' (klmʾnnʾt') 

KLMAN-NAT and its variant **KLMAN-NAT'** (**KLMAN-NAT'**) can be variously read. The ambiguity of the script allows **W** and **N** to be read for the same Pahlavi letter. Other alternatives include **KLMAN-WAT** and **KLMAN-WST**.[387] It has not been possible to determine the mint place within Kirmān. The signature is very rarely encountered.

Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Eshragh p. 31, no. 134; (**Pl. 66, 770**) (mint signature **KLMAN-NAT**); (**Pl. 66, 771**) (mint signature **KLMAN-NAT** with **ʾnw** or **ʾn'** in Q3 obverse)

Year 73(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 66, 772**) (mint signature **KLMAN-NAT**, with **NAT'** in Q3 obverse); (**Pl. 66, 773**) (mint signature **KLMAN-NAT'**)

Year 75(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Gaube pl. 4, no. 45 (= Paris; BN 1967.462); (**Pl. 66, 774**) , (mint signature **KLMAN-NAT**); (**Pl. 66, 775**) (mint signature **KLMAN-NAT**); (**Pl. 66, 776**) (mint signature **KLMAN-NAT**, with **NAT** in Q3 reverse); (**Pl. 66, 777**) (mint signature **KLMAN-NAT** with **NAT** in Q3 obverse); (**Pl. 66, 778**) (mint signature **KLMAN-NAT** with **NAT** in Q3 obverse and reverse)

Copper. There is a copper issue in the name of Yazīd with the mint signature **KLMAN-N-AT**.

Yazīd. *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend **ʾpzwt** (*abzūd*, 'increase') on left, **Yazīd** on right.
Rev. Fire altar, Pahlavi legend **KLMAN-N** (**KLMAN'**) on left, **AT** (with three pellets after it) on right. (**Pl. 119, 1416**)

7.58.26 KLMAN-NAW (klmʾnnʾw) (unknown location within Kirmān)

The mint signature **KLMAN-NAW** (**KRMAN-NAW**) may be variously read because the letters **N** and **W** were written in the same way in Pahlavi. This could be an abbreviation of **KLMAN-NAWGY** (7.58.27 below) which may be an unidentified town in the region of the Jīroft district. **NAW** probably represents the word *nō* for 'new'. There may also be a separate signature **KLMAN-NAWAT**, which has also been read as **KLMAN-ANWAT**.[388]

[386] For another example where mint signature erroneously read (as **KRMAN-AN**): Morton and Eden auction 18 (7 March 2006), lot 12.

[387] Mochiri 1985, p. 121, no. 28, for coin of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad, year 75.

[388] Sears 2010, pp. 169–70, points out that *SNS* (Israel) pl. 17, no. 232 should be read as **KLMAN-NAWAT** and not as **KLMAN-HLYC** as listed. This coin of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr is dated 63H, rather than 66H as listed.

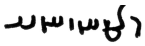
Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 66, no. 96

Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 67, 779**)

Year 74(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 67, 780**)

Year 75(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
SICA 1 pl. 23, no. 330 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 34, no. 149; Warden-Album (mint signature **KLMAN-NAW** with uncertain letter after, possibly **g**); (**Pl. 67, 781**)

As with other coins from Kirmān, the coins all bear Hijrī dates. Coins with this mint signature are rare.

7.58.27 KLMAN-NAWGY (klmʾnnʾwgy)  (possibly New Jīroft, Kirmān)

KLMAN-NAWGY (**KRMAN-NAWGY**) may be variously read because the letters **N** and **W** were written in the same way in Pahlavi. An alternative reading of **KLMAN-WANGY** seems improbable,[389] as is **KRMAN-NAUS**.[390] The signature read by some numismatists as **KLMAN-NAWH** is probably the same as **KLMAN-NAWGY**. On one issue the signature is written without a second **N** as **KLMAN-AWGY**, but this is probably an engraving error or at least is intended to be the same mint as **KLMAN-NAWGY**. The signature **NAWGY** (or **NAWH**) is occasionally found without **KLMAN** as a prefix. **KLMAN-NAWGY** may be the same as **KLMAN-NAW**, the former simply being a fuller version. This is supported by some issues where **NAW** is found in the obverse margin with **KLMAN-NAWGY** in full on the reverse. **NAW** (*nō* in Pahlavi) means 'new' and **GY** probably represents Jīroft. Thus New Jīroft, an unknown place in the vicinity of Jīroft is a possibility, albeit no such place has been identified in the literary sources. All the drachms bear Hijrī dates for this scarce mint signature.

Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(**Pl. 67, 782**)

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
British Museum (BM 1936, 1026.8); Mochiri 2000, p. 44, no. 10, pl. 16, no. 21 (= Warden-Album; read as **KRMANWANGY**); (**Pl. 67, 783**)

Year 62(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Album auction 14 (21 September 2012), lot 80 (date unclear)

Year 63(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 67, 784-785**)

Year 66(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 67, 786**)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Eshragh p. 27, nos 104, 106; (**Pl. 67, 789**); (**Pl. 67, 787-788**) (signature **KLMAN-AWGY**)

Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Eshragh p. 32, no. 133; (**Pl. 67, 790**); (**Pl. 68, 791-793**) (with **NAWGY** in Q3 obverse)

Year 73(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Mochiri 1985 p. 121, no. 24 (Mochiri)

Year 74(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 68, 794**) (with **NAW** in Q3 obverse)

Year 75(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Mochiri 1985 p. 122, no. 29 (Mochiri; read as **KLMAN-NAWH**); (**Pl. 68, 795**) (with **šy** or **šyl** in Q3 reverse)

[389] Mochiri 1985, p. 118 points out *wān* means 'ruin'. It is hardly likely that ruins near Jīroft would harbour a mint.

[390] Paruck 1944, p. 96.

Year 77(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Mochiri 1985 p. 122, no. 30 (Mochiri; read as **KLMAN-NAWH**)
Year 78(H) **al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra**
SICA 1 p. 28, fn[157] (= Paris BN 1965.569, with **šy** in Q3 obverse)
Yazīd b. al-Muhallab
Paris (BN 1965.582, with **šyl** in Q3 obverse); (**Pl. 68, 796**) (with **šyl n'w** in Q3 obverse)
Year 83(H) **ʿAmr b. Laqīt**
Album fixed price list 264 (October 2011), no. 83323 (mint unclear)

7.58.27A KLMAN-NAWH (see 7.58.27 KLMAN-NAWGY)

This mint signature read by some as **KLMAN-NAWH**, is probably the same signature as **KLMAN-NAWGY**. It is thus not likely to be a distinct mint signature or place.[391]

7.58.28 KLMAN-NAWK (klmʾnnʾwk)

KLMAN-NAWK is reported on an issue of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad dated 75H.[392]

7.58.29 KLMAN-NHAT (klmʾnnhʾt)

KLMAN-NHAT (**KRMAN-NHAT**) is only recorded for one issue of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad dated 75H. Its location within Kirmān province is unknown.[393]

7.58.30 KLMAN-SL (klmʾnsl) (unknown location within Kirmān)

KLMAN-SL (**KRMAN-SR**) is very rarely encountered. It may also be read as **KLMAN-AL** (**KRMAN-AR**) because of the ambiguity of the Pahlavi letters **s** and **a**. Less plausibly it may read as **KLMAN-HL**. It may be a shortened version of **KLMAN-SLC** and **KLMAN-SLCN**. If the reading of **KLMAN-SL** is adopted, then Sirjān (Širgān; Arabic Sirgān) is a possibility. These coins all have Hijrī dates and span only two years. They are rare.

Year 69(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
SICA 1 pl. 23, no. 329 (Shamma); (**Pl. 68, 797**)
Year 70(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
ANS.1988.101.1 (alternative reading **KLMAN-NAL**) (**Pl. 68, 798**)
ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad
(**Pl. 68, 799**)

7.58.31 KLMAN-SLC (klmʾnslč) (possibly Sirjān, Kirmān)

7.58.32 KLMAN-SLC' (klmʾnslč')

The mint signatures **KLMAN-SLC** (**KRMAN-SRC**) and **KLMAN-SLC'** or **KLMAN-SLCN** (**KRMAN-SRC'** or **KRMAN-SRCN**) no doubt represent the same location. The signatures have been variously read by numismatists. **SLC'** also appears on its own without **KRMAN**. **SLC'** does not represent Arrajān (as previously suggested). It clearly represents a location within Kirmān. It is used by al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs, who is only known for issues in Kirmān; also issues with **KRMAN** as a prefix put the question beyond any doubt. The mint signatures **KLMAN-SLC** and **KLMAN-SLC'** can be variously read. Alternative readings

[391] Mochiri 1985, p. 122, nos 29–30 reads the mint on two coins of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad, years 75 and 77H, as **KLMAN-NAWH**.
[392] Sears 1997, p. 148 (Warden-Album Collection), which he suggests may be for a place in the Narmāshīr district of Kirmān.
[393] *SICA* 1, p. 31, fn[173] (Warden-Album collection).

are **KLMAN-ALC'** and **KLMAN-HLCN** or **KRMAN-HRJN**. The latter reading is favoured by Mochiri, who tentatively suggested the town of Hurjand,[394] but the difficulty is that it was only a small settlement at the relevant time. It is possible that **KLMAN-SL** is an abbreviated form of the same signature. It is conceivable that all three signatures represent Sirjān, but this is speculative.

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Mochiri 1985, p. 120, no. 15 (Mochiri; read as **KLMAN-HLCN**, with **WM** in Q2 obverse);[395] (**Pl. 68, 800**) (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC'**)

Year 61(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Mochiri 2000, p. 44, no. 11, pl. 15, no. 15 (Warden-Album; signature **KLMAN-SLC'** read as **KRMANHRJN**); (**Pl. 68, 801-802**) (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC'**)

Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
ANS.1991.3.260 (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC'** with additional letters in Q3 obverse); (**Pl. 69, 803**) (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC'** with additional letters **gm** in Q2 and **nya**(?) in Q3 obverse)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr
SICA 1 p. 20, fn[98] (= Paris 1965.521; mint signature **KLMAN-SLC**)

Year 65(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Album auction 12 (13 January 2012), lot 35 (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC**; (**Pl. 69, 803A**)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 31, no. I.15 (not illustrated); Mochiri 2000, p. 45, no. 19, pl. 14, no. 10 (Mochiri; mint signature **KLMAN-SLC**; read as **KRMAN HRJ**); (**Pl. 69, 804-807**) (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC'**)

Year 70(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 69, 808-809**) (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC**; with **GDH SLC'** in Q3 obverse)
Musʿab b. al-Zubayr
Mochiri 2000, p. 46, no. 26, pl. 15, no. 16 (Warden-Album; **KLMAN-SLC**; read as **KRMAN HRJ**)

Year 72(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Mochiri 1985, p. 121, no. 22; (**Pl. 69, 810**) (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC'**); (**Pl. 69, 811**) (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC**; **SLC** in Q3 obverse)

Year 73(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Paris (BN 1965.559; BN 1965.558); Mochiri 2000, p. 47, no. 30, pl. 17, no. 28 (Warden-Album; date legend equivocal, probably **syhpt't** for 73, but **šhpt't** for 76 possible; read as **KRMANHRJ**)

Year 74(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Mochiri 2000, p. 47, no. 32, pl. 15, no. 17 (Warden-Album; **KLMAN-SLC'**; read as **KRMANHRJN**); Eshragh p. 33, no. 143 (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC'**; with **knp**(?) in Q1 reverse; read as **KRMANARJN**); Morton and Eden auction (20 May 2009), lot 529 (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC'**; with ⌣ ✸ at 7h in obverse margin); (**Pl. 69, 812**) (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC'** and **knp**(?) in Q1 reverse)

Year 75(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
(**Pl. 69, 813**) (mint signature **KRMAN-SLC'**, with **Š** or **ŠYL** in Q3 reverse)

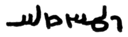
[394] Mochiri 1985.

[395] Mochiri 1987, no. 69 (same coin) with mint signature read as **KRMAN-HRJN**. He reads the word in obverse Q2 as **nm** for *namāz* (prayer).

Year 77(H) **ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad**
Morton and Eden auction 93 (27 June 2018), lot 32 (mint signature **KLMAN-SLC'**; read as **KLMAN-NAR**; possibly a contemporary imitation as engraving crude)

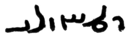
Year 78(H) **Yazīd b. al-Muhallab**
Mochiri 1985, p. 122, no. 32 (Foroughi; mint signature **KLMAN-SLC**, with **SLC** in Q3 obverse; read as **KLMAN-HLC**; = *ENIS* II, p. 433, fig. 1555)

This is one of the more commonly encountered mints within Kirmān. All the coins bear Hijrī dates.

7.58.33 KLMAN-TLA (klmʾntlʾ)  (unknown location in Kirmān)

KLMAN-TLA (**KRMAN-TRA**) is referred to in the literature for two issues. Its location within Kirmān is not known. The reading of this mint signature is taken from Gaube who, in his table of mint and date combinations, listed this signature on drachms in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr for 61 and 62H.[396] The end of the mint legend is unclear, and at best crudely and equivocably written, on the published examples. The mint on the only example Gaube illustrated, dated 62H, is unclear as the final letters of the mint signature are largely not visible. Until a clear example emerges with this signature, it should be regarded as subject to confirmation.

Year 62(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 30, nos 38; Z.1 (read as **KRMAN-NAN**?; unclear; = Gaube, pl. 3, no. 27)

7.58.34 KLMAN-WLY (klmʾnwly or klmʾnnly)  (unknown location in Kirmān)

KLMAN-WLY is known for only one issue. It may also be read as **KLMAN-NLY**. Its location within Kirmān is not known.

Year 66(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
(**Pl. 70, 814**)

7.59 KWAT (kwʾt) (Kavād-Khurra, Fārs)

KWAT is known for rare drachms as well as copper issues. It represents Kavād-Khurra (Qubādh-Khurrah / Qubādh-Khurra).[397] On the copper issues the name legend is written in full as **KWAT GDH** (*kavād xvarrah*). After the conquest, the Arabic version of the name was Qubādh-Khurra. Kavād-Khurra was a district within Fārs in the south of Iran, which contained the towns Kārzī, Qīr and Abzar.

Year 51(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Album 1992 pl. 27, no. 82

Year 52(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 45, no. 66 (= Gaube pl. 10, no. 112, Haddad); *SICA* 1 pl. 23, nos 331–332; (**Pl. 70, 815**)

Year 54(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(**Pl. 70, 816**)

Year 74 (H) **Marwān b. al-Muhallab**
(**Pl. 70, 816A**) (Pahlavi numerals date)

This rare mint signature was used for only a few years from 51 to 54H, as well as an isolated issue of 74H with a date in Pahlavi numerals. All coins are in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, save for an extremely rare drachm in the name of Marwān b. al-Muhallab.[398]

[396] Gaube 1973, table 9, no. 24.6 (for drawing of mint signature); table of mint and date combinations at end of book.

[397] Gaube 1973, pp. 98–9; Paruck 1944, p. 96 (signature transcribed as **KVAT**).

[398] (**Pl. 70, 816A**). The hair on the obverse is in the form of a ball with an outer circle, similar to the issue in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān from Basra (7.27 **BCLA**) dated 55H (a posthumous issue). The date in Pahalvi numerals is also known for **AKWLA** (7.4).

7.60 KWAT-GDH (kwʾt GDH) (Kavād-Khurra, Fārs)

KWAT-GDH is only known for rare copper issues. Kavād-Khurra was located near Bīshāpūr in Fārs.[399]

Copper

1. *Obv*. Facing bust, Arabic *bism allāh* (‘in the name of God’) on left, *yāllāh* (‘O God’) or *billāh* (‘to God’) on right. *Rev*. Bust right, Pahlavi **ʾpʾt** / **ʾcʾt** (*ābād* / *āzād*, ‘place’ or ‘prosperous / free’) on left, mint **kwʾt GDH** (*kavād-xvarrah*) on right.[400] Gyselen type 34 (**Pl. 119, 1420-1421**)
2. *Obv*. Bust facing; on left Pahlavi legend **GDH ʾpzwt'** (*xvarrah abzūd*; ‘the royal glory has been increased’), unread legend on right. *Rev*. Standing figure right with lance, Pahlavi **ʾpʾt** / **ʾcʾt** (*ābād* / *āzād*, ‘place’ or ‘prosperous / free’) on left, **kwʾt GDH** (*kavād-xvarrah*) on right. Gyselen type 109 (**Pl. 119, 1417-1418**)
3. *Obv*. Facing bust, Pahlavi **GDH ʾpzwt'** on left, unread legend on right. *Rev*. Facing bust with flame nimbus, Pahlavi **kwʾt'** on left, **GDH** on right (*kavād-xvarrah*). Gyselen type 110 (**Pl. 119, 1419**)

7.61 LAM (lʾm) (probably Rām-Hormizd, Khūzistān)

LAM (**RAM**) is a Sasanian mint, but is almost unheard of for the Arab-Sasanian series. It appears on Sasanian coins from Yazdgard II but is very scarce until Khusrau I. From Khusrau I to Khusrau II there must have been a relatively modest output. After Khusrau II (d.628) **LAM** is rarely encountered and not at all after the beginning of Yazdgard III’s reign in 632. For the Arab-Sasanian series, it is represented by the so far unique coin of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dated according to the Hijrī era. The signature represents a place commencing with Rām, the most likely location being Rām-Hormizd in Khūzistān.[401] It is said that the administrative area of Rām-Hormizd was set up by the Sasanian king Hormizd I (272–3). Rām-Hormizd was a diocese of the Church of the East from the Sasanian period.

Year 63(H)	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād** (**Pl. 70, 817**)

7.62 LAWT' (lʾwt') (Raxvad, Arachosia, probably)

The mint signature **LAWT'** (**RAWT'**) may be variously read because of the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script, alternatives being **LANT'** or **LYWT'**. The signature, which is only known from one Arab-Sasanian drachm without an official’s name, may be a variant of the signature for Raxvad (7.64). The Arab-Sasanian drachm is dated year 20, which should equate with 31H. Arab-Sasanian drachms dated year 20, for certain mints such as Sīstān (7.87 **SK**), were struck for a few years from 31H onwards. This coin could therefore have been struck after 31H. In that period Zābulistān was ruled by a local hereditary ruler with the title Zunbīl (Rutbīl). Raxvad (Rakhzad) was one of the major towns in the region (referred to as Arachosia). The histories state that in 33H forces led by ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Samura penetrated into the region.[402] This issue may have been struck during a brief Arab occupation of the area. While the second letter of the mint signature is written as **a** rather than **h**, the letters were often interchangeable so **LHWT'** may have been intended to denote Raxvad.

Year 20 (YE = 31H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** (**Pl. 70, 818**)

The signature is also known for copper coins in the name of Pangul. These have been attributed to Raxvad by reading the legend as **LWHT'** (even though written as **LAHT'**). These coins (noted under 7.64 **LWHT'** below) are not in fact Arab at all as they contain no Arabic legends. They were struck by the local hereditary ruler.

[399] Treadwell 2008, p. 352 (probably to be identified as the town of Kārzīn); Le Strange 1930, p. 254.

[400] For a discussion of this formula, see under 7.34 **BYŠ**, p. 127 above.

[401] Mordtmann 1879, p. 124; Paruck 1944, pp. 118–19; Göbl 1971, p. 82, Malek 1993b, p. 89. In five large hoards of Khusrau II drachms, the percentage of drachms with **LAM** ranged from 0.00% to 1.25% an indication of a relatively low output during his reign.

[402] Bosworth 1968, p. 35.

7.63 LD (ld) كد (Rayy, Media / Māh)

LD (**RD**) should not be confused with **GD**. For a long time numismatists equated the two signatures and attributed both to Rayy.[403] **LD** must have represented an important location in Sasanian times as it is one of the most common mint signatures from Vahrān IV (388–99) until Ardashīr III (*c*.630).[404] It is rarely encountered on the Arab-Sasanian series, and not at all after 37H. On post-reform Umayyads dirhams the mint signature is al-Rayy.[405] During the later Umayyad period there are copper issues with the legends in Pahlavi and Arabic. Under the ʿAbbāsids the city was renamed al-Muhammadiyya.[406] Rayy was located south of modern Tehran in Media (Māh) and was a district and city even in Achaemenid and Parthian times (Rhagae / Rhaga / Raga).[407]

The importance of Rayy under the Sasanians is not only reflected by the numismatic evidence, but also by remains from the Sasanian period, such as the large fire temple of Tepe Mill. The accounts of the conquest of Rayy are confusing and contradictory, though internal divisions among the Sasanians within the city no doubt made its conquest easier.[408] One account says Khurrazād, brother of the Sasanian general Rustam, let the Arabs into Rayy. Khurrazād's father had apparently been killed with the connivance of the Mihrān family, which was the predominant family in the area. Once in, the Arabs killed members of the Mihrān family, but allowed Khurrazād to establish himself in the city. Things were not always stable for the Umayyads in Rayy. In 64H the people revolted, but the rebellion was suppressed.[409] After the Arab conquest Rayy continued to prosper and develop, so by the tenth century AD it was described as one of the four main cities of the province of Jibāl and the finest in the whole of the east.[410]

After Rayy had been taken by the Umayyads it became a military outpost for the conquest and control of the eastern provinces. Rayy was a city as well as a district (*shahrestān*) in its own right.

Year 21	**Anonymous Yazdgard type**
(YE = 32H)	Walker p. 5, no. M.1 (uncertain)[411]
Year 23	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 34H)	Eshragh p. 11, no. 12
Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***

[403] Miles 1938, appreciated that they may be distinct mints, but nevertheless treated both as Rayy; Göbl 1971, p. 82; Herzfeld 1930, p. 96; Gaube 1973, p. 103; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 125. The signature **LD** as well as **LDY** is encountered on Sasanian administrative seals: Gyselen and Daryaee 2014. For an example of a clay bulla see above, p. 81, fig. 7.6.

[404] The last known Sasanian issue is that of Bōrān (AD629–31), regnal year 1: Malek and Curtis 1998, p. 125, nos 22–23. For earlier Sasanian issues the mint signature is written **LDY**: *SNS* 2, pl. 18, no. A34, pl. 22, nos A67, A68, (Vahrān II); pl. 65, nos A137–139 (Hormizd II).

[405] Klat 2002, nos 394–411 (79–82, 84, 90–8, 128–31H); *SICA* 2, pls 32–3, nos 705–714 (90–8H dirhams), pl. 58, nos 1219–1223 (104, 129, 131H falus); Eshragh 2010, pp. 65, 71, 76, 87, 92, 98, 104, 110, nos 299 (84H), 335 (90H), 365 (91H), 429 (93H), 462 (94H), 497 (95H), 530 (96H), 569 (97H).

[406] For the ʿAbbāsids initially the mint signature was al-Rayy and this was supeceded after some overlap by al-Muhammadiyya. *SICA* 2, pl. 72, nos 1479–1482, 1485 (138, 139, 141, 146, 160H falus), 1483–1484, 1486–1496 (155, 163–4, 169–70, 185H falus); Eshragh 2010, pp. 163–4, nos 877 (146H) and 880 (147H); *SICA* 3, pl. 34, nos 776–787 (145–8, 179H) for dirhams of al-Rayy, Eshragh 2010, pp. 164–171, nos 884 (148H), 888 (149H), 895 (150H), 899 (151H), 904 (152H), 912 (154H), 917 (155H), 924 (160H), 928 (161H); *SICA* 3, pls 56–67, nos 1302–1554 (148–55, 160–1, 165–70, 172–8, 180–210, 218H), *SICA* 4, pls 39–40, nos 820–847 (221–2, 242–3, 245, 247–9, 293–4, 312H) for dirhams of al-Muhammadiyya.

[407] Barthold (trans. Soucek, 1984), pp. 121–6. Rhagae is the name used by the classical Roman sources.

[408] Savant 2013, pp. 217–22 for a useful discussion of the sources. Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), pp. 5–6, refers to Rayy repeatedly rebelling and having to be subdued, including in 25H. Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 276, (trans.), p. 110 states that it was conquered by Qaraza b. al-Ansarī in 23H and in his time (third century Hijrī) its land tax amounted to ten million dirhams; c.f. al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:189, (trans.), vol. 3, p.799 (some say not conquered until 24H).

[409] Khalifa (trans.), p. 118.

[410] Le Strange 1930, p. 214 (ibn Hawqal).

[411] Paruck 1944, p. 116 refers to an issue of **GD** (**ZD**) for this date. If the coin referred to by Walker exists it may be **GD** rather than **LD**.

(YE = 36H)	(**Pl. 70, 819**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	Eshragh p. 12, no. 13
Year 26	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(YE = 37H)	Walker p. 7, no. M.4 (doubtful reference)
Year 28	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 39H)	(**Pl. 70, 820**)
Year 29	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 40H)	Walker p. 7, no. M.7 (unconfirmed); Paris (BN 1965.441)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***baraka***[412]
	Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 27 (10 December 2014), lot 1
Year 30	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(unknown era)	(**Pl. 70, 821**) (probably spurious date and possible contemporary imitation)
Year 32	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 43H)	Walker p. 12, no. 18
Year 35	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H)	Walker p. 14, no. K.1 (noted without illustration); (**Pl. 70, 822**)
Year 37	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 48H)	(**Pl. 70, 823**)

All Arab-Sasanian drachms of **LD** are scarce and, apart from one issue, bear a YE date. The issue of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān has a crudely inscribed date which may be read as 30. This raises the question of the intended era and Hijrī equivalent. The same date is also found on drachms the mints 7.21 **AYL**, 7.34 **BYŠ**, 7.36 **DA**, 7.44 **GD** and 7.89 **ST**.

Copper. There are copper fals issues of Rayy, from a significantly later period, without an official's name and with legends only on both sides. These are dated 113 and 116H.

1. 116H. *Obv*. Four-line legend in Arabic for first three lines and Pahlavi for line four: *amara llāh* / *bi l-wafā* / *wa l-ʿadl* / **ld lwb'k** ('God ordered equity and justice / current in Rayy'). *Rev*. Four-line legend in Arabic: *bism allāh* / *dariba hadhā* / *l-fals bi l-rayy sanat sittat* / *ʿashar wa mi'a* ('In the name of God, this fals was struck in al-Rayy, year 116'). Gyselen type 36
2. 113H. As above save for date. Gyselen type 36 (noted without illustration)

7.64 LHWT' (lhwt') لهوت (Raxvad, Arachosia)

Issues with the mint signature **LHWT'** (Raxvad, Rakhvad) are not really Arab-Sasanian. Like the issues with **ZAWL** (Zābul) and **ZAWLSTAN** (Zābulistān) they were not minted under Umayyad authority and contain no Arabic legends. As such, these issues fall outside the focus of this book. **LHW** (Raxvad) is known for a short time under the Sasanians, from Hormizd IV until the early years of Khusrau II,[413] but thereafter is unknown under the Sasanians. This is consistent with a loss of Raxvad by the Sasanians.

There is a very rare drachm issue in the name of Spur with mint signature **LHWT** of regnal year 8.[414] This issue is known for three different mint signatures: **LWHT**, **ZAWL** (7.118) and **HYWKHL** (7.55A). The latter signature is only known for this one issue, but given the issues were evidently struck in the same areas with the dies being cut centrally, all three are from the Zābulistān area.

[412] Bates, in a personal communication, has stated that this coin along with the similar coin of **GD** year 25 (see 7.44 above) would appear to be a normal Khusrau II drachm with *baraka* added in modern times.

[413] Paruck 1944, p. 106 lists years 7, 9 and 12 for Hormizd IV (signature listed as **RHV**); Mochiri *ENIS* II, pp. 120–1 illustrates drachms of Hormizd IV years 9, 10 and 12 (figs 302–306) and Khusrau II year 2 (figs 307–308) for Roxvadh (Raxzad). The mint signature **LH** is known for Khusrau II, year 29: Johnson 0790-0120. This rare coin may represent the same mint place.

[414] (**Pl. 113, 1327**). His issues of the same date with **ZAWL** mint signature are less rare.

Copper. Coins of **LHWT'** and **ZAWLSTAN** (7.119) in the name of Pangul are known. Raxvad was located in Arachosia, within modern day Afghanistan (Kandahār province). The signature on these coins has been read by Gyselen as **LHWT'**, but the actual form is **LAWT'**. Gyselen's reading is used here to be consistent with her book on copper coinage. The letters **a** and **h** on coins are often interchangeable. There can be little doubt that these issues were struck in Raxvad by the local ruler, the Zunbīl (Rutbīl), at a time when the area was not under Arab control. The copper issues[415] may be summarised as follows:

1. **LHWT'**; year 1. Pangul. *Obv*. Bust right, Bactrian legend **sri bago ddēbo** on left, Pahlavi legend in two lines **pngwl** / **bg hwtyp'** (*pangul bay xvadēv*; 'Pangul, his Majesty, Lord') on right. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, Pahlavi date ('**ywk'**, *ēvak*) on left, mint (**LHWT'**, *raxvad*) on right. Gyselen type 111 (**Pl. 119, 1424**)
2. **LHWT'**; year 1. Pangul. *Obv*. Bust right. Pahlavi legend **GDH** on left, **pngwl** / **hwtyp'** ('Pangul, Lord') on right. *Rev*. As 1. (**Pl. 120, 1425**)
3. **LHWT'**; year 4(?). Pangul. *Obv*. Bust three-quarters right, Pahlavi legend **GDH** '**pzwt'** (*xvarrah abzūd*; 'the royal glory has been increased') on left; **pngwl** / **bg hwtyp'** (*pangul bay xvadēv*; 'Pangul, his Majesty, Lord') in two lines on right. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, Pahlavi legend date ('**LB**'? *chahār*) on left, mint (**LHWT'**, *raxvad*) on right; ambiguous Bactrian legend in two circles in margin. Gyselen type 112.

7.65 LYW (lyw) ﻟﻴﻮ (Rēv-Ardashīr, Fārs, probably)

LYW (**RYW**) is regularly encountered on Sasanian coins from Vahrān IV to Ardashīr III,[416] but it is rarely found in the early Islamic period. It probably denotes Rēv-Ardashīr, a port city in Fārs and is likely to be the modern Rishahr on the Bushehr peninsula.[417] The only drachms issues are of the anonymous Khusrau type. From 67H, coins from **TART** are known, probably the signature of the nearby or associated city of Tawwaj.[418]

Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 36H)	(**Pl. 70, 824**) (mint signature may also be read as **ŠYYW**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
	Baldwins auction 71 (29 September 2011), lot 1634
Year 33	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 44H)	(**Pl. 71, 825**)
Year 35	**Anonymous Khusrau type**
(YE = 46H)	Paruck 1944, p. 107 (noted without illustration)
Year 43(H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type**
	Paruck 1944, p. 107 (noted without illustration)

Arab-Sasanian drachms with mint signature **LYW** are very rare. The three confirmed issues bear a YE date. The issue dated 43 is unconfirmed and if it exists this must be a Hijrī date.

In addition to drachms, there is one copper issue in the name of Khusrau which has **LYW** on the reverse to the left of a facing bust of Anāhitā (or other deity, Adur), which may represent a mint signature (Gyselen type 123), (**Pl. 119, 1422**).

[415] Gyselen 2010; Humbach 1996, pp. 247–8.

[416] Paruck 1944, pp. 106–7.

[417] At times it has been considered part of Khūzistān, but there are references to it being part of Fārs in the Sasanian and early Islamic periods: cf. Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 125.

[418] Mochiri 1987, p. 99, no. 96, pl. 17, no. 99 illustrates a drachm in the name of Khusrau with the mint **LYW**. He reads the date as 67 which, if correct, would make it post-Sasanian. In fact the date may be also read as 27, making it a normal Sasanian issue of Khusrau II.

7.65A *Madāʾin* 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬥 (Iraq)

Madāʾin was one of the chief settlement areas and an administrative centre under the Sasanians and was the Arabic name for Ctesiphon and its environs. It consisted of seven parts. The mint signature **WYHC** probably represents Weh-az-Andīyōk-Khusrau, founded by Khusrau I in that area, at least until 50H. Other cities within the conurbation would have struck coins such as the pre-Sasanian, and important Parthian, city of Seleucia Weh-Ardashīr (founded by Ardashīr I and possibly represented by **WH** or **WYH**)[419] and Aspānabr / Asbānbar (probably represented by the Sasanian mint signature **AS** which ceased during Khusrau I's reign). There is only one known Arab-Sasanian coin with the mint name Madāʾin. The coin is in the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf and has the mint and date in Arabic on the reverse with the mint place defectively written as *duriba biʾl-mad*[*ā*]*ʾin* ('struck in al-Madāʾin').[420] It is dated 76H which is the year after he was appointed over both Kūfa and Basra.[421]

7.66 MAT' (mʾt') 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀 (unknown location)

The mint signature **MAT'** is only known for one issue dated 61.[422] It has been suggested that Mattōt near Susa (al-Sūs) in Khūzistān is a remote possibility as a mint location.[423]

7.67 ML (ml) 𐬨𐬀𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎 (Marw, Khurāsān)

The mint signature **ML** (**MR**) has in the past been equated or confused with the distinct signature **MY**.[424] **ML** without doubt represents Marw (Merv in Persian) in Khurāsān.[425] In the early Sasanian period the name is written in full as **MLW** (and **MLWY**) on dinars of Shāpūr I and on dinars and drachms of Shāpūr II.[426] From Vahrān IV to Yazdgard II drachms use the signature **ML**, a scarce signature during that period. Drachms with **MLW** are relatively common for Vahrān V, but these are mainly later imitations.[427] **ML** is well represented in the Sasanian period from Kavād I to Khusrau II, thus indicating a major mint place. After Khusrau II the signature is rare. Paruck listed two issues only using **ML** until the end of the dynasty: Ardashīr III, year 1 and Yazdgard III, year 20.[428] For the early Islamic period the signature **ML** is only known for the earlier years and even then such issues are very rare. Later **ML** is supplanted by the fuller signature **MLW** (and **MLW'**).

Year 20	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** with ***jayyid***[429]
(YE = 31H)	Walker p. 3, no. 1 (*jayyid* in Q2 obverse); Al-Mamoun collection (*jayyid* in Q1 reverse); (**Pl. 71, 826**) (*jayyid* in Q2 obverse)
Year 22	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 33H)	*SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[18] (Warden-Album)

[419] For the location of Weh-Ardashīr in the ruins of Madāʾin, see Hauser 2007.

[420] In the first century Hijrī, the long vowel *alef* was written at the beginning and end of words, but no marking at all is found for short vowels or for the long vowel *alef* in the middle of words. Usage changed, from the second century Hijrī, to write out the long vowel *alef* in the middle of words. The spelling of Madāʾin on this coin without the long vowel *alef* is thus to be expected.

[421] Malek National Library and Museum Institution, Tehran, no. 2115, 4.30g; 32mm: Shariatzadeh 1390, no. 224. Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 25, p. 280, fig. 9.25.5. For another example: Morton and Eden auction 92 (26 April 2018), lot 4.

[422] Eshragh 1990, p. 87, no. 97 (read as year 65H).

[423] *SICA* 1, p. 55, footnote 290.

[424] Walker 1941, Göbl 1971 and Gaube 1973 all equated **ML** with **MY**. Mochiri *ENIS* II, pp. 78–93 correctly recognised that they represent distinct mint places; see also Sears 1997, p. 153; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 126.

[425] For a discussion of the history of Marw see 7.68 **MLW** below.

[426] Mochiri *ENIS* II, p. 35, fig. 125, p. 80, figs 126–130.

[427] Malek 1995a, p. 73.

[428] Paruck 1944, p. 98. The only date confirmed for Yazdgard III is year 20 and it has no additional legends or pellets in the margins.

[429] These coins with *jayyid* in the margin are part of a group of such coins from a number of mints. 20 may be a frozen date and the coins may not have been struck at the mints indicated.

Year 23	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 34H)	Walker p. 5, no. ETN.1 (year read as 21) (ANS.1944.100.51206; possibly 21); (**Pl. 71, 827**)
Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H)	Walker p. 6, no. I.2 (not illustrated, so could be **MY**); Paris (BN 1975.246)
Year 26	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H)	(**Pl. 71, 828**)
Year 27	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 59H)	Mochiri 1987 p. 96, no. 67, pl. 12, no. 71
Year 32	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 43H)	Mitchiner 1978 p. 211, no. 1344
Year 48(H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type**
	Paruck 1944, p. 98 (noted without illustration; doubtful and subject to confirmation as this may be an issue of **MY**)

All Arab-Sasanian drachms with mint signature **ML** are rare. Most issues bear a YE date. The issue of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād is dated according to the PYE era, a feature noted for various other mints for coins struck in his name. The anonymous Khusrau type dated 48, if it in fact exists, must be of the Hijrī era, but more likely the mint signature **MY** has been misread as **ML**.

7.68.1 MLW (mlw) (Marw, Khurāsān)

7.68.2 MLW' (mlw')

7.68.3 MLWY (mlwy)

MLW and its variant with an additional vertical stroke **MLW'** (**MRW** and **MRW'**) undoubtedly represent the mint place Marw (Merv in Persian).[430] The signature is well attested in the Sasanian period, starting as early as Shāpūr I.[431] For the Arab-Sasanian series, the signature appears for the first time after **ML** ceases, thus showing it is a continuation of that mint signature. The signature is most commonly encountered for issues in the names of the two opponents for governorship over Khurāsān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (pro-Zubayrid) and Salm b. Ziyād (pro-Umayyad). Issues in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim span 63 to 73H, whereas those of Salm b. Ziyād span 62H (perhaps 61H) to 70H. The written sources indicate that soon after the death of the Caliph Yazīd I in 64H, Salm b. Ziyād left Khurāsān in a chaotic state and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim did not enter Marw until 64 or 65H. This raises various possibilities: **MLW** may represent more than one mint place, some of these coins at least could have been struck outside Marw, the same mint may have been servicing the two rivals, some issues have dates which do not accurately reflect when they were struck or, the written sources are incomplete or inaccurate.[432] As reflected by the issue dated 75H in the name of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, the struggle for control ended in favour of the Umayyads.

The signature **MLW** also appears on post-reform Islamic dirhams, from 79H to 84H, which are otherwise written entirely in Arabic. The Pahlavi mint signature has been added in the obverse field with the Arabic form of the name in its usual place as part of the marginal mint and date formula thus confirming the mint signature's attribution to Marw.[433] Copper Arab-Sasanian issues have been found in the excavations at Marw.[434]

[430] Paruck 1944, p. 98 (no. 112b) transcribed the signature as **MRV**; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 126.

[431] *SNS* 1, pl. 35, no. A51; *SNS* 2, pp. 21–3. From the early Sasanian period Marw struck its own distinct coins, but they gradually became of the same style as those of the rest of the empire.

[432] c.f. Album 1992, p. 187.

[433] Klat 2002, nos 581–586 (79–84H); Eshragh 2010, pp. 53, 57, 60, 61, 64, nos 229 (79H), 249–250 (80H), 270–272 (81H), 292 (83H), 298 (84H); *SICA* 2, pl. 40, nos 862–864 (79, 80, 84H). After 84H post-reform Islamic dirhams omit the Pahlavi signature: Klat 2002, nos 587–607 (90–102, 110, 114, 127–33H). For an example dated 115H: Horizon auction 1 (2 October 2016), lot 282. For examples of ʿAbbāsid dirhams: *SICA* 3, pls 77–8, nos 1799–1822 (133, 139, 184–5, 194, 196, 212–7H), *SICA* 4, pls 63–4, nos 1374–1400 (225, 234, 238, 240, 242–3, 246, 248–9, 251, 253H).

[434] Loginov and Nikitin 1993.

According to the *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr* Marw was founded by Alexander.[435] It was an oasis city and stronghold on the Silk Road, located at the outer limits of the Sasanian empire in the north east, and was the chief city of one of the four quarters of Khurāsān. It was a barrier, resisting attacks from the Kidarites and Hephthalites, as well as a forward base for campaigns against enemies in Central Asia. This role continued in the Islamic period with the Arab armies entering Central Asia from Marw. Marw (modern Mary) is now located in modern Turkmenistan.

The archaeological excavations carried out by the International Merv Project, which started in 1992, have revealed how extensive and developed the oasis was in Sasanian times.[436] Archaeologists have identified a large number of Sasanian sites and settlements, many of which continued into the early Islamic period or, in some cases, new Muslim settlements were (re)founded near older ones. Agriculture was developed with irrigation systems and canals.

Yazdgard III was murdered outside Marw.[437] Shortly after his death the Sasanian military governor surrendered the city to the advancing Arabs in 31H (AD651).[438] The first Arab-Sasanian drachms with mint signature **ML** are dated 20YE (31H).

Marw became the principal city in Khurāsān under the Umayyads. In 51H Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān sent 50,000 Arab troops to occupy the city and consolidate Umayyad control. Even so, Khurāsān was always under threat of an attack from the Hephthalites or other opponents of the Umayyads. For much of the 60sH and up to 72H Marw was under the control of the Zubayrid governor, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim. Hephthalite influence, if not incursion, is also reflected in what is usually called the Arab-Hephthalite coinage from Anbīr (**ANBYR**) as well as Marw, where Bactrian legends are found on drachms as well as on countermarks added to coins post-striking.[439]

Year 20 (YE=31H onwards) **Anonymous Khusrau type** (no marginal legend)[440]
Gorny and Mosch auction 238 (9 March 2016), lot 3528 (mint signature 7.68.3 **MLWY**)

Year 26 (unknown era) **Salm b. Ziyād**
SICA 1 p. 19 (Warden-Album; probably not a real date)

Year 41(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
Walker p. 49, no. M.28 (not illustrated; doubtful)

Year 62(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 77, no. 123; (**Pl. 71, 830**); (**Pl. 71, 829**) (date either 61 or 62; *ambēro* in Bactrian in Q1 reverse)[441]

Year 63(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Walker pp. 78–9, nos 124–132; ANS.1975.238.8; ANS.1971.316.1285; Miles *RIC*, pl. 2, no. 17 (= ANS.1941.55.12); *ENIS* II p. 91, fig. 215 (Mochiri; date read as 62); Album

[435] Daryaee 2002, p. 37, line 12. This claim is supported by Pliny.

[436] Simpson 2014. Many of the Marw settlements were fortified. The city of Marw itself in the central east part of the oasis next to the Razik canal, comprised a large citadel (Erk-Kala) and a roughly square shaped lower city with massive fortifications, all within an area of 374 hectares.

[437] Al Balādhurī (trans. Hitti 1916), pp. 490–3.

[438] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), pp. 163–4 refers to the *marzubān* agreeing to pay 2.2 million dirhams under a treaty. Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 279, (trans.), p. 115 refers to Hābim b. al-Nuʿmān al-Bāhilī (under command of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir conquering Marw in 31H.

[439] See Chapter 14 for discussion of Arab-Hephthalite coinage. It is not clear whether those who struck these issues were Hephthalites as opposed to other local rulers.

[440] This coin has three Hephthalite countermarks on the obverse margin and has no marginal legend. As **MLW** was not used until after the fall of the Sasanians, this can be categorised as an Arab-Sasanian issue despite the lack of any legends in Arabic. In addition there are two drachms dated 25 with **MLW** mint signature, one with ʾpd and one without in Q2 obverse and both coins share the same reverse die (Tyler-Smith).

[441] The date legend is crudely written and possibly not representing an actual date. The addition of *ambēro* in Bactrian representing Anbīr shows that it is what may be described as a Hephthalite issue.

1992 pp. 186–7, pl. 29, nos 97–100; *SICA* 1 pl. 23, no. 333 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 17, nos 233–235; Eshragh p. 23, no. 82; (**Pl. 72, 838**) (reverse legends in retrograde, date uncertain); (**Pl. 71-72, 831-837**)

ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim

Walker p. 90, no. 167; (**Pl. 72, 839**) (unread legend ending with **MLW** in Q3 reverse)[442]

Year 64(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**

Walker p. 90, no. ANS.12 (=ANS.1917.215.3332); p. 91, no. ANS.13 (=ANS.1917.215.3333); Album 1992 p. 191, no. 119; (**Pl. 72, 846**)

Salm b. Ziyād

Walker pp. 79–80, nos 133–135, B.24; ANS.1971.31.8; Gaube pl. 7, no. 73 (Dr Lindpaintner); Mitchiner 1978 p. 215, no. 1372; *SICA* 1 pl. 23, no. 334 (Shamma); Album 1992 p. 188, pl. 29, nos 101–109; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 17, no. 236; (**Pl. 72, 840-843**); (**Pl. 72, 844**) (with *al-ʿazīz* in obverse margin and *ambēro*, Anbīr in Q1 reverse margin in Bactrian)[443]

Anonymous Khusrau type[444]

(**Pl. 72, 845**)

Year 65(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**

Walker p. 91, nos 168–169; ANS.1965.243.402; Album 1992 p. 191, pl. 31, nos 120–123; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18, no. 238; Eshragh p. 24, no. 88; (**Pl. 72-73, 847-849**)

Salm b. Ziyād

Walker p. 80, nos 136–137; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18, no. 237; (**Pl. 73, 850-851**); (**Pl. 73, 852**) (with *allāh akbar* in Q2 and Q3 obverse; and *ambēro*, Anbīr in Q1 reverse in Bactrian)[445]

ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya

Shah Firzan collection (name in Arabic, reverse margin Q1 *ambēro*? In Bactrian)

Year 66(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**

Walker p. 80, no. T.12 (noted without illustration); (**Pl. 73, 853**)

ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim

Walker p. 91, nos 170–172; ANS.1975.238.9; Miles *RIC*, pl. 2, no. 19 (=ANS.1917.215.3334); *ENIS* II p. 91, fig. 216 (Mochiri); Mitchiner 1978 p. 215, no. 1373; Album 1992 pp. 191–2, pl. 31, nos 124–128; *SICA* 1 pl. 23, no. 335 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18, no. 239; Eshragh p. 25, no. 96; Weber p. 52, no. 125; (**Pl. 73, 854-856**)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**

Walker p. 92, nos 173–174, B.30; Mitchiner 1978 p. 215, no. 1374; (**Pl. 73, 857**) (mint signature **MLW''**)

Salm b. Ziyād

Walker p. 80, no. B.25; Gaube pl. 7, no. 74 (Kieffer); Album 1992 pl. 30, no. 110; (**Pl. 73, 858**) (with *al-ʿazīz* in Q3 obverse; *ambēro*, Anbīr in Q1 reverse in Bactrian);[446] (**Pl. 73, 859**)

Year 68(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**

Walker p. 92, no. T.15 (noted without illustration, doubtful)

Salm b. Ziyād

Walker p. 81, no. 138 (with *al-ʿazīz* in Q3 obverse; *ambēro* in Q1 reverse in Bactrian); (**Pl. 73, 860**) (with *allāh akbar* in Q3 obverse; *ambēro*, Anbīr in Q1 reverse in Bactrian);[447] (**Pl. 74, 861**) (uncertain date)

[442] Album considers that the Q3 legend is probably Sogdian. He describes the issue as Arab-Hephthalite. Also Johnson 0791-0078.

[443] The Bactrian legend in Q1 shows that the coin is what may be described as a Hephthalite issue.

[444] This type has no marginal legend on the obverse.

[445] The Bactrian legend referring to Anbīr shows that the coin is what may be categorised as a Hephthalite issue.

[446] This may be categorised as a Hephthalite issue given the Bactrian legend.

[447] The references in Bactrian to Anbīr show that these are not regular coins of Salm b. Ziyād and may be categorised as Hephthalite issues.

Year 69(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**
Walker pp. 92–3, nos 175–184; ANS.1971.31.9 (date unclear, but 69 likely); Miles *RIC* p. 6, nos 20–21 (= ANS.1917.215.3337); Album 1992 p. 192, pl. 32, nos 129–134; *ENIS* II p. 93, fig. 217 (Mochiri); *SICA* 1 pl. 23, no. 336 (Ashmolean); Eshragh p. 29, no. 118; (**Pl. 74, 862-866**)
Salm b. Ziyād
Walker p. 81, nos 139–142; Album 1992 pl. 30, no. 111; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18, no. 240
Zhulād Gōzgān
Walker p. 129, no. 254 (name read as ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim; *ambēro* in Q4 reverse in Bactrian); (**Pl. 74, 867**) (*ambēro*, Anbīr in Q4 reverse in Bactrian). (possibly YE=81H)

Year 70(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**
Walker p. 94, nos 185–186; Miles *RIC*, p. 6, no. 22 (three examples); (**Pl. 74, 868-869**)
Salm b. Ziyād
Walker p. 81, no. 143; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18, no. 241

Year 71(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**
SICA 1 p. 23, fn[123] (Warden-Album, date read by Album as **yyhptʾt** for 71, but may be **shptʾt** for 73)[448]

Year 72(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**
Walker p. 94, nos 187–188; Album 1992 pl. 32, nos 136–137; (**Pl. 74, 870-871**)

Year 73(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**[449]
Walker p. 94, no. B.31 (date equivocal, may be either 71 or 73); Album 1992 pl. 32, no. 135 (72H hoard; date read as 71; see under 71 above)

Year 75(H) **ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān**
Walker p. 29, no. Cam.1 (= Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.2-R); (**Pl. 74, 872**)

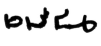
Year 78(H) **Anonymous**[450]
Gholami and Amini 2017; cf. Amini 2015

Year 79(H) **al-Musayyab b.** (**Shihr**?)
SICA 1 pl. 23, no. 337 (Shamma)

Copper. There are also rare issues in copper.

1. Anonymous. *Obv*. Facing bust, no legend. *Rev*. Fire altar, **MLWM** (*marw-m*) on left, **pylwč** (*pērōz*, 'victorious') on right.[451] Gyselen type 55.
2. Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust right, no legend. *Rev*. Fire altar, **GDH pylwč** on left, **mlw' ʾpzwt** on right.
(**Pl. 119, 1423**)

Drachms with the mint signature **MLW** are relatively plentiful and almost all bear Hijrī dates. The exception is the issue of Salm b. Ziyād dated 26 in an unknown era. The same date is found on his issues of **BYŠ** 7.34 (Bīshāpūr in Fārs). The historical sources make no reference to this region being under his control. Drachms from Marw often bear Hephthalite countermarks with Bactrian legends.

7.69.1 MLWLWT (mlwlwt)  (Marw al-Rūd, Khurāsān)

7.69.2 MLWLWT' (mlwlwt')

[448] This appears to be a reference to the issue listed here under year 73, which Album 1992, pp. 192–3 has interpreted as more probably year 71. If it is 71 then the date is defectively written as the first part of the number only has two strokes. It is considered here that a more plausible reading is **shptʾt** for 73, rather than **yyhptʾt** for 71.

[449] See discussion under year 71.

[450] This coin is considered in Chapter 9, section 62, pp. 334, 336, fig. 9.62.6. There is a Pahlavi legend in place of a name to the right of the bust on the obverse. This has been read as **yzdt' wlwyšnykʾn h[d]ybʾl yhnwnʾt** ('may God be the faithful men's helper').

[451] Example from Marw excavations: Loginov and Nikitin 1993, fig. 27, no. 1.

7.69.3 MLWLW (mlwlw) 𐭬𐭫𐭥

The mint signature **MLWLWT** (**MRWRWT**) is not known until the later Arab-Sasanian coinage issues. It undoubtedly represents Marw al-Rūd (Merv-Rūd in Persian) in Khurāsān. The *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr* attributes the foundation of Marw al-Rūd to the Sasanian king Varhān V.[452] Exactly where along the long Murghāb river the town was located has been a matter of some debate. Both the site of the modern Marūchak or further south on the site of Balā Murghāb are possibilities, albeit the latter seems more probable.[453] In 32H the local *marzubān* surrendered to the Muslims after a siege and agreed to pay the Muslims 60,000 dirhams.[454]

Coins with this signature are generally scarce. Sometimes the signature is either abbreviated (e.g. **MLWLW**) or the last few letters obliterated to form **MLW**. The signature is often found with an additional stroke to form **MLWLWT'**. **MLWLWT** also appears as a countermark on Arab-Sasanian coins, particularly on drachms minted in Khurāsān.

Some post-reform dirhams dated 79H and 81H have **MLWLWT** in Pahlavi in the obverse field, but with *marw* in Arabic in the margin.[455] In addition there is a post-reform dirham dated 79H with what appears to be a rubbed out trace of **MLWLWT** in Pahlavi in the obverse field, but with *marw al-rūd* in the marginal legend.[456]

Year 8 **Salm b. Ziyād**
(unknown era) Album auction 19 (15 May 2014), lot 129 (mint signature **MLWLWT'**)[457]
Year 56(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Eshragh p. 18, no. 54; (**Pl. 75, 873**) (tamga in Q3 obverse)[458]
Year 62(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Gaube pl. 7, no. 75 (Haddad); (**Pl. 75, 874**) (date legend **TLYNšst**)
Year 63(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 82, nos 145–147, C.6; Album 1992 pl. 30, nos 112–113; *SICA* 1 pl. 23, nos 338–339 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18, no. 242; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18, no. 243 (date read as 68H, but unclear and may be **TLTšt** for 63H);[459] Eshragh p. 26, no. 99 (date read as 66H); (**Pl. 75, 875-877**) (mint signature **MLWLWT'**)
Year 64(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 83, no. B.26; *SICA* 1 pl. 24, no. 340 (Shamma); (**Pl. 75, 878-880**) (mint signature **MLWLWT**); (**Pl. 75, 879**) (mint signature **MLWLWT'**)
Year 64 **Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh**
(YE = 76H) Walker p. 107, no. B.36
Year 67(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Album 1992 pl. 30, no. 114
Year 69(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**
Walker pp. 94–5, nos 189–190 (mint signature **MLWLW**); Mitchiner 1978 p. 220, no. 1407
Year 70(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**
SICA 1 p. 24, fn[123] (noted without illustration)

[452] Daryaee 2002, p. 37.

[453] Barthold (trans. Soucek, 1984), pp. 35–7.

[454] Al-Tabarī i, pp. 2897–2900; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 15, pp. 102–5; al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), pp. 164–5.

[455] Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 62 (79H); Baldwin's Islamic Coin Auction 4 (8 May 2002), lot 78 (81H).

[456] Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 48.

[457] Album notes that the date could refer to year 8 or some sort of opposition to ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, or an abbreviation for 68(H).

[458] Due to the presence of the tamga Album considers this, probably, to be a Hephthalite issue of Tokharistān.

[459] Sears 2010, p. 170 reading of 63H. Even so, date legend could be crudely and defectively written.

Salm b. Ziyād
Walker p. 83, nos 148–149; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18. no. 244 (date read as 70H, but may be a defectively written 67H);[460] Eshragh p. 30, no. 126; (**Pl. 75, 881-882**) (mint signature **MLWLWT'**)

Year 71(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
SICA 1 p. 22, fn[111] (noted without illustration)

Year unclear **Salm b. Ziyād**
(**Pl. 75, 883**) (**WT** of mint signature obliterated from die)

All drachms with **MLWLWT** mint signature, with one exception, bear Hijrī dates and reflect the struggle for the control of Khurāsān between Salm b. Ziyād and his rival ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim. The issues dated 67H in the name of Salm b. Ziyād post-date his evacuation from Khurāsān which the written sources place in 64H. In any event, they would have been struck by opponents of the Zubayrid governor, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim. The issues are generally scarce, particularly so for years other than 63, 64, 69 and 70. The issue dated 64 of ʿUmayya b. ʿAbd Allāh must have a YE date equivalent to 76H to fit in with when he was the Marwānid governor of Khurāsān in the 70s Hijrī.[461]

7.70 MY (my) مد (probably Maysān, southern Iraq)

MY should not be confused with the distinct signature for Marw **ML** (7.67), as has been the case in the past.[462] **MY** probably represents the district of Maysān[463] (Mešān / Meshān) in southern Iraq. Coins of **MY** would have been struck in the sub-district of Maysān,[464] where the chief town was Madhār in the Islamic period, but may well have been called Maysān before that.[465] The other sub-districts were Abar-Qubād (Abarqubādh), Dasht-i Maysān and Bahman-Ardashīr (Furāt Maysān). Under the Sasanians from Vahrān V[466] to Yazdgard III coins of MY are relatively plentiful. For the Arab-Sasanian series, the signature is relatively scarce and stops after 53H. Post-reform Islamic dirhams were struck at Maysān from 79H.[467]

The district of Maysān was fought over by the Arabs and Sasanians and had to be taken more than once by the Arabs before it was finally subdued. Initially forces led by ʿUtba b. Ghazwān or al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba al-Thaqafi took several districts in southern Iraq, including Maysān. The town of Madhār (al-Madhār), the capital of Maysān was the scene of important military events at the time of the Arab conquest. In 12H Khālid b. al-Walīd and al-Muthannā b. Hāritha defeated the Sasanians there. The latter are said (with some exaggeration) to have lost 30,000 men. This did not stop the Sasanians raiding from Ahwāz (Ahvāz) the districts of southern Iraq until Ahwāz itself fell.[468] Even then disturbances continued in the. In 47H the Khārijite rebels were defeated in a battle in or around Madhār.[469]

[460] Sears 2010, p. 170, reading of **hptš**[**s**]**t**.

[461] Walker 1941, p. cxxiii.

[462] Walker 1941 erroneously equated the two signatures. An alternative reading of **MB** (by Paruck 1944, p. 97) is not plausible. He surmised that the mint must have been located in the eastern part of Khurāsān on the basis that the signature appears on the coins of Yazdgard III dated 20.

[463] Mochiri 1977, *ENIS* II, pp. 459–62; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 126. However, on official seals the abbreviation **MYŠ** rather than **MY** is used for Maysān: Gignoux and Gyselen 1987, p. 74, no. MOT I5 (Mochiri collection). Bates, noting the similarity between coins of **MY** and **WYHC**, considers the two mints must have been close or at least within the same region. As he considers all Arab-Sasanian issues of **WYHC** to be from Arrajān and thus does not distinguish between the earlier and later forms of **WYHC**, he considers both mints to be located in Fārs. The problem with this analysis is that there are no coins of **MY** dated after 53H and the present writer considers that the issues of **WYHC** up to that time represent Ctesiphon or its vicinity in Iraq (see 7.110 below). It is only later that a differently written **WYHC** emerges along with pellets by the signature, which should clearly be placed within Fārs, most probably Arrajān.

[464] Sears 1997, p. 90 identifies the city where coins were probably struck as Madhār; Schindel, *SNS* 3/1, p. 166 suggests Kark-Maysān.

[465] Hansman 1984.

[466] Malek 1995a, p. 72, nos 78–84 (Vahrān V), 115 (Yazdgard II).

[467] Klat 2002, nos 628–635 (79–83, 95–7H). Eshragh 2010, pp. 54, 57, 64, 103, 110, nos 230 (79H), 251 (80H), 293 (83H), 526 (96H), 567 (97H); *SICA* 2, pl. 42, nos 904–907 (80, 82, 96H).

[468] Donner 1981, pp. 213–16.

[469] M. Streck, Maisān in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (first edition).

Year 3 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(unknown era) Mochiri 1987 p. 95, no. 55, pl. 9, no. 54
Year 20 **Anonymous Yazdgard type** with ***jayyid***
(YE = 31H) Baldwin's Islamic Coin Auction 23 (6 December 2012), lot 1 (mint read as **MR** (**ML**)); (**Pl. 75, 884**) (mint unclear, possibly **ML**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***jayyid***
ANS.1986.126.12 (name of ruler has also been read as Yazdgard = *SICA* 1 p. 6, fn[13]); Mochiri 2010a, p. 195, no. 41 (attributed to Khusrau IV)
Year 23 **ʿAbd Allāh**
(unknown era) (**Pl. 76, 885**)
Year 25 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H) (**Pl. 76, 886**)
Year 26 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H) Album 1992 pl. 25, no. 39; (**Pl. 76, 887**)
Year 29 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 40H) *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)
Year 30 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(unknown era) *SICA* 1 p. 15, fn[15] (noted without illustration, spurious date?)
Year 35 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H) (**Pl. 76, 888**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh allāh***
Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 17 (24.10.2010), lot 5 (imitation)
Anonymous Yazdgard type with **no marginal legend**
Amini 2008 p. 276, fig. 132
Year 36 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 47H) (**Pl. 76, 889**) (date uncertain, possibly 36 or 37, but more likely 36)
Year 47(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(**Pl. 76, 890**)
Year 48(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Walker p. 20, no. ANS.4 (read mint signature as **MR** = ANS.1917.215.3394); (**Pl. 76, 891**)
Year 49(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 76, 892-894A**)
Year 50(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
ANS.1991.3.253; ANS.1972.169.167; (**Pl. 76-77, 895-896**)
Year 51(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(**Pl. 77, 897**)
Year 53(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Gaube pl. 10, no. 113 (Haddad); (**Pl. 77, 898-900**)
Undated **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***jāza hadhā***[470]
British Museum (BM 1961, 0506.2); Ilisch 2007 p. 20, fig. 9 (Tyler-Smith)

The earlier issues tend to bear YE dates while late issues, between 48 and 53, have Hijrī dates. Drachms with of **MY** are scarce or rare. There are a few issues with crudely inscribed dates of unknown eras.

[470] The reverse legend does not appear to have a decipherable date. This has a close relationship with the Muhammad issues (see under 7.20 **AY** or **ŠY** (?) above).

7.71 MYAP (my’p) (possibly within Maysān district, southern Iraq)

The mint signature **MYAP** is known from only two examples. It may represent a place in the Maysān district as the first two letters are **MY**. If so, then Abarqubādh (Abar-Qubād; Apar-Kavād) is a possibility.[471]

Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Gaube pl. 8, no. 94 (Tehran; read as **MRAP**); (**Pl. 77, 901**)

This extremely rare issue bears a Hijrī date and represents one of the many mints which struck coins in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. The fact that it is only known for one year is a reflection that mints would open and strike coins when there was a particular local need such as to pay troops.

7.72 NAL (n’l) (possibly Narmāshīr, Kirmān)

NAL (**NAR**) should not be confused with the distinct signature of **NHL** (7.74 **NHR**).[472] **NAL** is a major Sasanian mint, first appearing under Khusrau I and with a relatively high output under Khusrau II (590–628). It continued until the final years of Yazdgard III (632–51).[473] In the early Islamic period **NAL** is found on its own up to 58H, thereafter it always form a suffix to **KLMAN**: **KLMAN-NAL** (**KRMAN-NAR**) (see 7.58.23 above). Both signatures almost certainly denote the same mint place in Kirmān. This is confirmed by drachms of **NAL** which are known for ʿAbd al Rahmān b. Zayd and al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs both of whose coinage is centred on Kirmān. The most plausible location within Kirmān is Narmāshīr, on the eastern part of the region by the desert edge.[474] An alternative reading for the signature is **WAL** (**WAR**) and on that basis some scholars have attributed it to Weh-Ardashīr (called Bardashīr / Bardasīr by the Arabs), a key city within the region.[475] This is improbable as the signature first appears under Khusrau I though the city was said to have been founded long before under Ardashīr I.

Extremely rare post-reform Islamic dirhams are known for Narmāshīr from 80H.[476]

Year 20 **Anonymous Yazdgard type** with ***jayyid***[477]
(YE = 31H onwards) Walker p. 3, no. B.1 (probably this type); Miles *Persepolis* (1959) – Naqsh-i Rustam, pl. 15, no. 30 (= ANS.1959.130.2); Gaube pl. 2, no. 16 (Paris); Nikitin and Roth 1995, nos 7–8; Eshragh p. 11, no. 8; Warden-Album (*jayyid* in Q1 and **gw** or **gn** in Q4 obverse); Warden-Album (*jayyid* in Q2 and **gw** or **gn** in Q4 obverse); (**Pl. 77, 902-904**) (all with *jayyid* in Q2 obverse)
Anonymous Yazdgard type with ***bism allāh***
Walker p. 3, no. 2; Eshragh p. 11, no. 7
Anonymous Khusrau type with **ʾwn**
(**Pl. 77, 905**) (uncertain legend in Q1 obverse, **ʾyn**?)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
Mochiri 2010a, p. 197, no. 43 (Mochiri; attributed to Khusrau IV); (**Pl. 77, 906**)

[471] Sears 1997, p. 97. Gaube 1973, p. 99 suggested an alternative reading, **MLAP** (**MRAP**; **ml’p**) for Marw. This is probably incorrect as the second letter looks like **Y** rather than **L**.

[472] Göbl 1971, distinguished between the two signatures, identifying **NHL** (**NHR**) as Nahr Tīrā, Khūzistān. Walker 1941, p. cxxiv, treated this signature as **NHR** (**NHL**) for Nahr Tīrā. Gaube 1973, p. 101 read **WAR** for Weh-Ardashīr / Bardashīr; Tyler-Smith 2017, pp. 126–7.

[473] For this reason Paruck 1944, p. 99 erroneously assumed that the mint denoted by **NAL** must have been in Khurāsān.

[474] Sears 1997, pp. 138–9; Mochiri 1985, pp. 115–16. Mochiri 2000, p. 40 questions the association of such an important mint with what he perceives to be such a minor city as Narmāshīr.

[475] Gaube 1973; c.f. *SICA* 1, p. 18.

[476] Eshragh 2010, pl. 57, no. 253 (80H).

[477] 20 is probably a frozen date and the coins may have been struck over a number of years.

Year 20 **ʿAbd Allāh**
(uncertain era) Walker p. 51, no. Dam.2
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir
Walker p. 49, no. ETN.10 (= ANS.1944.100.1)
Year 27 **Anonymous Khusrau type**
(YE = 38H) Paruck 1944, p. 99 (noted without illustration; subject to confirmation)
Year 33 **ʿAbd Allāh**
(uncertain era) Stephen Album Rare Coins auction 31 (19 May 2018), lot 152
Year 37 **Anonymous Yazdgard type**
(YE = 48H) (**Pl. 77, 907**) (without obverse marginal legend)
Year 42(H) **ʿAbd Allāh**
Mochiri 2000, p. 42, no. 2, pl. 14, no. 8 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 78, 908**)
Year 48(H) **ʿAbd Allāh**
Walker p. 51, no. Dam.3 (with *rabbī allāh* / *al-ahad* (?) in Q2 and Q3 obverse)
Year 52(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 43, no. 64 (not illustrated); ANS.1977.71.13; Gaube pl. 10, no. 114 (Haddad); Album 1992 pl. 28, no. 83; *SICA* 1 pl. 24, no. 341 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18, no. 245; (**Pl. 78, 909-910**)
Year 53(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 43, no. I.17 (not illustrated); (**Pl. 78, 911-912**)
Year 54(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
SICA 1 p. 15, fn[59] (Warden-Album with obverse margin - / (2 pellets) *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / -)
ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd
Walker p. 85, no. 153; Miles 1957, pl. 27, no. 35 (read as **NHR**; = ANS.1954.119.1); Mitchiner 1978 p. 214, no. 1364 (read as **WAR**); *SICA* 1 pl. 24, no. 342 (Shamma); Weber p. 48, nos 117, 118 (read as **NHR** or **WAR**?); (**Pl. 78, 913-913A**)
al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs[478]
(**Pl. 78, 914**)
Year 56(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
Walker p. 86, nos ETN.17, J.4; *SICA* 1 pl. 24, no. 343 (Shamma); Weber p. 49, nos 120 (read as **NHR** or **WAR**?), 121 (read as 59; uncertain as defectively written); (**Pl. 78, 915-916**)
Year 57(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
ANS.1988.100.1; *SICA* 1 pl. 24, no. 344 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 20, no. 63 (read as **NHR**); Weber p. 50, no. 121 (read as **NHR** or **WAR**?); (**Pl. 78, 917**)
Year 58(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
SICA 1 pl. 24, no. 345 (Shamma); Weber p. 50, no. 122 (read as **NHR** or **WAR**?); (**Pl. 78, 918**)

Coins with the mint signature **NAL** are relatively scarce. Those dated 20 probably bear a frozen YE date equivalent to 31H onwards. The coins of ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir dated 20, if they are YE dates equivalent to 31H, would appear to be dated too early. Coins in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir with Hijrī dates tend to begin in 42H. The coins of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān span 52 to 54H. For 54H coins are in the names of three officials: Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd and al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs, the last possibly due to the reuse of an old reverse die.

[478] Album considers that it is probable that an old reverse die of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān or ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd has been used.

7.73 NAWGY (nʾwgy) (possibly New Jīroft, Kirmān)

The mint signature **NAWGY** may be variously read because the letters **N** and **W** are interchangeable. The abbreviation is usually found as a suffix to form **KLMAN-NAWGY**, indicating the mint is within Kirmān. **NAW** means 'new' and **GY** probably represents Jīroft. Thus, New Jīroft, an unknown place in the vicinity of Jīroft is a possibility.[479]

Year 56(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
Mochiri 1985 p. 120, no. 11 (Mochiri; mint signature read as **NAWH**)

Year 57(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
ANS.1976.274.1; Mochiri 2000, p. 43, no. 6, pl. 16, no. 20 (Warden-Album)

Both issues of this rare mint are in the name of al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs and bear Hijrī dates

7.74 NHL (nhl) (possibly Nahr Tīrā, Khūzistān)

NHL (**NHR**) should not be confused with **NAL** (7.72 **NAR**).[480] **NHL** is rarely encountered as a Sasanian mint and even for Arab-Sasanian coinage it is scarce. It possibly denotes Nahr Tīrā in Khūzistān.[481]

Nahr Tīrā was taken and retaken by the Arabs. Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba al-Thaqafī appears to have taken both Nahr Tīrā and Ahwāz, but Nahr Tīrā had to be taken again under forces led by Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.[482]

The rare Arab-Sasanian issues bear Hijrī dates. Post-reform Islamic dirhams are also known for Nahr Tīrā from 79H.[483]

Year 52(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 43, no. 63

Year 53(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.4); British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.5); *SICA* 1 pl. 24, no. 346 (Shamma); (**Pl. 79, 919**)

7.75 NY (ny) (possibly Nēhāvand, Media)

NY may be variously read due to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script for both letters. **N** may be read as **w** and **y** may be read as **b**. Göbl read the signature as **NB**, referring to an unidentified mint location.[484] Walker read the signature as **NH** for Nēhāvand (Nihāvand).[485]

Under the Sasanians the mint appears to have been particularly active from Pērōz until Ardashīr III (*c*.630), judging from the number of specimens encountered in finds and collections. **NY** continued until to be active until Yazgdard III.[486] For the Arab-Sasanian series, apart from the anonymous early types, the mint is only active under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. It did not mint at all from

[479] Mochiri 1985, p. 118; *SICA* 1, p. 55. Mochiri 2000, p. 42, no. 4, pl. 14, no. 7 illustrates a coin of al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs dated 54H. Mochiri read the mint signature as **WANGY** (**NAWGY**), but the correct reading is **ANWAT** (= (**Pl. 3, 25**)).

[480] Paruck 1944, p. 101 having correctly noted that **NHL** and **NAL** should not be confused with each other, did just that and listed examples of Arab-Sasanian issues with **NAL** under **NHL**.

[481] Göbl 1971; *SICA* 1, p. 55.

[482] Donner 1981, p. 215.

[483] Klat 2002, nos 637–648 (79–81, 83, 90–7H); Eshragh 2010, pp. 54, 57, 61, 71, 76, 81, 86, 92, 97, 98, 103, nos 231 (79H), 252 (80H), 273 (81H), 332 (90H), 362 (91H), 394 (92H), 426 (93H), 459–460 (94H), 493–494 (95H), 527–528 (96H); *SICA* 2, pls 42–3, nos 908–917 (80, 83, 90, 93–6H). For an example from the ʿAbbāsid period: *SICA* 3, pl. 84, 2000 (134H).

[484] Göbl 1971. Mordtmann 1879, p. 120 (attribution to Nisa); Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 127 (possibly Nēhāvand).

[485] Walker 1941, p. cxxiii. Walker considered three separate mint signatures as variants of **NH**. In the current work the signatures are split into **WH**, **WYH** and **NY**.

[486] Paruck 1944, p. 100 (lists year 13 as latest issue).

39 to 50H. No coins of **NY** in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir are known so the mint is unlikely to be in Fārs where his mints were active. It is more likely **NY** was administered from Basra which was itself an active mint under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. In the Umayyad period, Nēhāvand was renamed Māh al-Basra, because its revenues were allotted to the payment of pensions for soldiers based in Basra.[487] Unlike coins of eastern mints, those with **NY** are rarely found with countermarks. A location of Nēhāvand (Nihāvand, Nihāwand; formerly Nēmāvand) in Media (Jibāl) is a possibility.[488] Modern Nēhāvand is located within Hamadān province, south of the city of Hamadān, east of Malayer and northwest of Borujerd. It is said to have been founded by the Achaemenid king, Darius I (*c*.550–486BC), and was called by the Greek writers Laodikeia. In the history of the Arab conquest it is most famous for being the site of the major defeat of the Sasanians at the battle of Nēhāvand in 21H (AD642). The towns of Nēhāvand and Dinavar were occupied by the Arabs soon after the battle of Nēhāvand and became garrison towns.[489] After the Arab conquest the province was divided up, for fiscal purposes, into Māh al-Basra, centred on Nēhāvand, and Māh al-Kūfa, which included or comprised the district of Dinavar.

Post-reform Islamic dirhams are known for Māh al-Basra[490] as well as Māh[491] and Māhī[492] (Māhay).

Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H)	(**Pl. 79, 920**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	(**Pl. 79, 921**)
Year 26	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(uncertain era)	Mochiri 1987 p. 96, no. 59, pl. 9, no. 65; (**Pl. 79, 922**) (uncertain era and probably spurious date)
Year 27	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** with no marginal legend
(YE = 38H)	Amini p. 275, fig. 126
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
	(**Pl. 79, 923**)
Year 28	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 39H)	Album 1992 pl. 25, no. 43 (72H hoard; year read as 38, but could be 28)
Year 29	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 40H)	Eshragh p. 294, no. 1748; (**Pl. 79, 924**)
Year 30	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 41H)	Walker p. 10, no. RB.2; (**Pl. 79, 925**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	(**Pl. 79, 926**)
	Anonymous Yazdgard type with no marginal legend
	Mochiri 1987 p. 99, no. 100, pl. 16, no. 91
Year 30	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(uncertain era)	*SICA* 1 p. 15, fn[59] (Warden-Album; spurious date)
Year 31	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 42H)	ANS.1971.31.3 (date possibly 33); Morton and Eden auction 72 (16 December 2014), lot 487

[487] Walker 1941, p. cxxiii.

[488] *SICA* 1, p. 55; Sears 1997, pp. 77–8; *SNS* 3/1, p. 166.

[489] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), pp. 470–7. Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 272, (trans.), vol.1, p. 107 describes Nēhāvand in the third century Hijrī as a spendid city with land tax of one million dirhams.

[490] Klat 2002, nos 550–553 (79–81, 83H); Eshragh 2010, pp. 57, 60, nos 248 (80H), 268 (81H); *SICA* 2, pl. 39, nos 835–836 (79H).

[491] Klat 2002 nos 562b, 564b, 566 (96, 98, 128H); Eshragh 2010, p. 102, no. 523 (96H); *SICA* 2, pl. 39, no. 834 (96H).

[492] Klat 2002, nos 556–565, 567 (90–9, 129H); *SICA* 2, pls 39–40, nos 838-851 (90–8H). Eshragh 2010, pp. 70, 75, 80, 85, 91, 97, 103, 109, nos 328 (90H), 358 (91H), 389–390 (92H), 421 (93H), 455 (94H), 488 (95H), 524 (96H), 562–564 (97H).

Year 33 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 44H) ANS.1998.125.1 (date possibly 31)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
SNS (Israel) pl. 19, no. 257 (signature read as **WH**); (**Pl. 79, 927**)
Anonymous Yazdgard type with no marginal legend[493]
Mochiri 1987 p. 99, no. 101, pl. 16, no. 19

Year 35 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 46H) Mochiri 1987 p. 98, no. 88, pl. 11, no. 64; (**Pl. 79, 928**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
Walker-Album collection (date legend defectively written as **pnčwsh**, presumably for 35)

Year 36 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 47H) Mochiri 2010 p. 197, no. 46 (Mochiri; attributed to Khusrau IV)

Year 37 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 48H) (**Pl. 79, 929**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
Zeno 186936 (www.zeno.ru; **∴** in Q4 reverse)

Year 38 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 49H) Album 1992 pl. 25, no. 42 (72H hoard; date could be either 28 or 38);[494] *SICA* 1, p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)

Year 51(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 42, no. I.16 (not illustrated); Warden-Album (date legend **ʾywpnčʾ**; *bism allāh rabbī* in Q2 obverse)

Year 52(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 42, no. 62; ANS.1972.169.173; ANS.1971.31.5; Eshragh p. 18, no. 51; (**Pl. 79, 930**)

Year 53(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 42, no. C.5; British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.6); *SICA* 1 pl. 24, no. 347 (Shamma); (**Pl. 80, 931**)

Year 54(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
British Museum (BM 56011982, 0524.7); ANS.1975.238.2 (date unclear); (**Pl. 80, 932**)
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād
SICA 1 pl. 24, no. 348 (Shamma)

Year 56(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
SNS (Israel) pl. 18, no. 246; (**Pl. 80, 933**)

Year 57(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker pp. 66–7, nos ETN.13 (= ANS.1944.100.42540), p. 67, no. ETN.14 (= ANS.1944.100.42541); British Museum (BM 1977, 1004.8); Gaube pl. 8, no. 95 (Haddad); Weber p. 42, no. 103; (**Pl. 80, 934**)

Year 58(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 67, no. I.33 (not illustrated); British Museum (BM 1977, 1004.9); Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), p. 42, no. 31 (= ANS.1953.69.1); (**Pl. 80, 935**)

Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 67, no. M.44 (not illustrated); (**Pl. 80, 936**)

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 67, no. 98; (**Pl. 80, 937**)

[493] Tyler-Smith 2000, pls 28–29, nos 173a and b (reading of year 31 for legend which could be either 31 or 33).

[494] Album read the coin as year 38 but the date may be a defectively written 28 as there are signs of a final letter **t**.

Year 62(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 67, no. Mar.1 (unconfirmed); (**Pl. 80, 938**)
Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 67, no. I.34 (not illustrated); *SICA* 1 pl. 24, nos 349–350 (Shamma); (**Pl. 80, 939**)

The anonymous Khusrau issues are scarce and bear YE dates. The issue with year 26 of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān is one of a number of mints (7.14 **ART** and 7.36 **DA**) with the same date of an uncertain era. The issue of year 30 also bears a date where the era is uncertain – and this uncertain era year 30 is also found with other mint signatures (7.21 **AYL**, 7.34 **BYŠ**, 7.36 **DA**, 7.44 **GD** and 7.63 **LD**). These coins are relatively crude and may be imitations with spurious dates. From 51 to 54H drachms were struck in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. In 54H drachms were also struck for ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, whose issues continued until 63H, but with none dated 55H.

7.76 NYŠ (nyš) 𐭭𐭩𐭱 (possibly Nīshāpūr)

The mint signature **NYŠ** can read in other ways: **WYŠ**, **WSA** and **NSA**. It is extremely rare and only known for two years in the Arab-Sasanian series.[495] If the reading of **NYŠ** is correct, then it may denote Nīshāpūr (Nēwšābuhr) which was a major Sasanian city, not otherwise attested for Arab-Sasanian coinage save for issues with **APL** (7.8), **APLŠ** (7.9) and **APLŠT** (7.10) mint signatures which probably denote Abarshahr. Nīshāpūr was founded by the Sasanian king Shāpūr I.[496] Nīshāpūr included many rural districts, including Abrashahr, and was conquered by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz in 30H.[497]

Year 20 **Anonymous Yazdgard type** with ***jayyid***
(YE = 31H onwards) (**Pl. 80, 940**) (frozen date)
Year 67(H) **Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
SICA 1 pl. 33, no. 481 (Shamma); (**Pl. 80, 941**)

7.77 NYW (nyw) 𐭭𐭩 (unknown location)

This mint signature **NYW** can be variously interpreted and **WYN** and **NGW** are alternatives. The location of the mint place is not known.

Year 25 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(uncertain era) *SICA* 1 pl. 24, no. 351 (Shamma; the date seems to be spurious)

The only known coin for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān mint signature **NYW** would appear to have a spurious date as year 25 (also found with mint signature 7.34 **BYŠ** for Bīshāpūr) cannot be reconciled with Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān's period of office. The date would be too early for a Hijrī or YE date and too late for a PYE date.

Year 30 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
Paris (BN 1965.442)

7.78 PHLHAN (phlhʾn) 𐭯𐭲𐭤𐭧𐭭 (unknown location within northern Khurāsān)

The mint signature **PHLHAN** (**PHRHAN**) may be variously read. The signature is only known for Salm b. Ziyād whose other regular[498] coinage is confined to Sīstān and northern Khurāsān. A location in that area is

[495] It is unknown for the Sasanian period, save possibly under Khusrau I, Paruck 1944, p. 102 lists coins of Khusrau I regnal years 30 and 48 for a mint he read as **NIŠ**, possibly the same signature.

[496] *Šāhrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, line 15: Daryaee 2002, p. 39.

[497] Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 278, (trans.), p. 113 in his time the land tax was one million dirhams (third century Hijrī).

[498] Coins in the name of Salm b. Ziyād outside these regions would appear to be irregular and generally crudely struck issues: **ART**, year 26; **DA**, year 26; **GD**, year 60.

therefore probable.[499] There is a Bactrian legend in Q3 of the obverse. This is probably the Bactrian version of the Pahlavi mint name which is in the usual place on the reverse. The Bactrian legend can be variously read as **παρσο** or [**παρδο** / **παραο**]. Sims-Williams has stated that [**παραο**] or [**παραοο**] could conceivably represent Pāryāb or Fāryāb, now modern Dowlatābād, a city just outside the western border of Gōzgān.[500] Other possible readings are **PHRZ** (**AN**?) for Bākharz in the neighbourhood of Herāt,[501] **PRHAN** for Farāh in Sīstān,[502] and **PALHAN** for a place somewhere in the region of Sīstān province.[503]

Year 63(H) **Salm b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 83, no. 150 (= Gaube pl. 7, no. 76);[504] *ENIS* II p. 157, fig. 417 (Mochiri)

7.79 PL (pl) 𐬞𐬀𐬭 (uncertain location)

The mint signature **PL** (**PR**) has not been conclusively identified. It is known for the Sasanians from Kavād I until Bōrān. For the Arab-Sasanian series it is only known for the early anonymous types in the name of Khusrau, all of which are rare. Various locations have been suggested.[505] Furāt-Maysān in southern Iraq is possible.[506] Al-Furat is a known mint signature for conventional Islamic coins and was a sufficiently important district within Maysān to justify a mint.[507] Other sub-districts appear to have had their own mints under the Sasanians and in the early Islamic period.[508]

Another suggestion is that the signature represents Pērōzgerd (Pīrōzgerd, Pērōz-kard; later Borujerd) and to equate the signature with **PYL** (**PYR**).[509] This has been objected to on orthographic grounds and would appear to be a less likely location.[510] It is unlikely that **PL** and **PYL** represent the same location. **PYL** appears on drachms of al-Hakam b. al-ʿĀs, indicating it represents a mint in Kirmān.

Year 25 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 36H) *ENIS* II p. 416, fig. 1547 (Mochiri)
Year 26 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H) Eshragh p. 12, no. 15
Year 29 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 40H) *SICA* 1 p. 60, fn[313] (noted without illustration); (**Pl. 80, 942**) (possibly year 25)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
SICA 1 p. 7, fn[19] (Warden-Album)
Year 35 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H) Weber p. 11, no. 27 (year read as 50); (**Pl. 81, 943**)

Coins in the name of Khusrau for **PL** mint signature are all rare and bear YE dates.

[499] Paruck 1944, pp. 103–4 reads signature as **PALH**. Sears 1997, pp. 159–60. *SICA* 1, p. 55 reads signature as **PHRZZ** for an undetermined location most probably in north eastern Khurāsān.

[500] Sims-Williams 2008, p. 121. See Chapter 14, section 2, p. [ ], fig. 14.2.

[501] Gaube 1973, pp. 102–3.

[502] Mochiri 1977, pp. 155–7.

[503] Walker, p. cxxv.

[504] *SICA* 1, p. 22 notes the year as 68.

[505] Mordtmann 1879, p. 122 attribution to Forg; Mochiri 1972, pp. 55–8, attribution to Pushang.

[506] Herzfeld 1938, p. 425 considered this to be the correct attribution, but did not identify any seal evidence in support. Göbl 1971, p. 82 also considered this to be the correct interpretation; see also Sears 1997, pp. 94–5. Album, *SICA* 1, p. 55, considered it to be an unidentified location in the Kūfan prefecture; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 127 considers Furāt-Maysān to be a possible identification.

[507] Klat 2002, nos 501–509 (79–83, 90, 95–7H); *SICA* 2, pl. 37, nos 801–803 (83, 95, 96H); Eshragh 2010, pp. 56, 59, 479, nos 243 (80H), 262 (81H), 479 (95H).

[508] The sub-districts were Abar Qobād (no Sasanian coins so far attributed), Maysān (signature **MY**), Dasht-i Maysān (signature **DŠ** and **DŠT** possibly) and Furāt-Maysān (Bahman-Ardashīr).

[509] Mochiri 1977, pp. 404–16.

[510] *SICA* 1, p. 55.

7.80 PNŠ (pnš) 𐭯𐭭𐭱 (unknown location, probably within Fārs)

These letters can be variously read as **PLŠ** (**PRŠ**) or **PNŠ** or **PSA** (**FSA**). They are only found on a rare Arab-Sasanian copper issue, none of which are well preserved. The coin has similarities with certain copper issues of Dārābgerd, thus suggesting a location in Fārs.

Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust right, **GDH** on left, ’**pzwt'** (*abzūd*) on right (*xvarrah abzūd*, ‘the royal glory has been increased’); *bism allāh* in Q2, unread Arabic word in Q3. *Rev*. Fire altar, unread legend on left, **PNŠ** or **PLŠ** on right, in Q2 ’**pzwt'** (*abzūd*, ‘increase’) and in Q3 *baraka* (‘Benediction’). Gyselen type 56.

7.81 PYL (pyl) 𐭯𐭩𐭤 (unknown location in Kirmān)

PYL (**PYR**) is unknown as a Sasanian mint except for one possible date under Khusrau II.[511] For the Arab-Sasanian series it is only known for rare issues in the name of al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs. As his coinage was confined to Kirmān it is likely these drachms would have been struck there.[512] The suggestion that **PL** and **PYL** are the same mint is not probable on a number of grounds, not least because the signatures do not share the first two letters.[513]

The letters could be read as **FYR** for Fīl in Khwārizm. This is as unlikely interpretation as Khwārizm was not conquered by the Arabs until 93H[514] and al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs was ruling in Kirmān in central Iran, rather than in this distant province. Fīl is known as a mint on post-reform Islamic dirhams from 79H.[515]

Year 56(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
Walker p. 87, nos ETN.18 (= ANS.1944.100.377), ETN.19 (= ANS.1944.100.376); *ENIS* II p. 416, fig. 1547a (Mochiri; date read as 52); (**Pl. 81, 944-945**)

Year 57(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
Walker p. 87, no. M.46 (noted without illustration); Gaube pl. 5, no. 52 (Haddad)

Year 58(H) **al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
British Museum (BM 1960, 0208.1); Mochiri 2000, p. 43, no. 7, pl. 18, no. 36 (Warden-Album); Morton and Eden auction 63 (22 April 2013), lot 2

7.82 RAM 𐭫𐭩𐭬 (see under 7.61 **LAM**)

7.83 RAWT' 𐭫𐭥𐭅𐭕 (see under 7.62 **LAWT'**)

7.84 RD 𐭫𐭣 (see under 7.63 **LD**)

7.85 RHWT' 𐭫𐭲𐭥𐭅𐭕 (see under 7.64 **LWHT'**)

7.86 RYW 𐭫𐭩𐭅 (see under 7.65 **LYW**)

7.86A *Sābūr* 𐭮𐭀𐭁𐭅𐭫 (Bīshāpūr, Fārs)

Unusually for the Arab-Sasanian series, there is a copper coin with the mint name in full in Arabic, *sābūr*, being the Arab name for the Sasanian city of Bīshāpūr.

[511] Paruck 1944, p. 104 refers to an issue of Khusrau II of year 30, but this has not been confirmed. He surmised that the mark refers to a place associated with the Sasanian king Pērōz.

[512] Sears 1997, pp. 132–3.

[513] Mochiri *ENIS II*, pp. 404–16 places both with Pērōzgerd (Borujerd).

[514] Walker 1941, p. cxxv.

[515] Gaube 1973, pp. 94–5.

Copper

1. *Obv*. Facing bust, Pahlavi legend **GDH** on left, **ʾpzwt'** on right (*xvarrah abzūd*; 'the royal glory has been increased'), two circles with ✸ and ⌣ between them at 3, 6 and 9h. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, Pahlavi date left 80(H), mint in Arabic *sābūr* on right. Gyselen type 9.

7.86B SAWT' (sʾwt') 𐬯𐬁𐬥𐬙𐬀 (unknown location)

SAWT' is only known for a unique drachm in the name of ʿAbd Allāh dated 42 which was in the Warden-Album collection.[516] It is probably a drachm of the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir and with a Hijrī date. It is not known where the mint was located.

7.87 SK (sk) 𐬯𐬀𐬐 𐬯𐬀𐬐 𐬯𐬀𐬐 (Sakastān / Sīstān)

There is little doubt that **SK** represents Sīstān (Sakastān / Sakistān in Middle Persian) a region / province in, and to the east of, Iran.[517] The signature appears in full as **SKSTN** on coins in the earlier Sasanian period including Vahrān I and Vahrān II,[518] Shāpūr II (309–79),[519] and finally Vahrān IV (388–99).[520] **SK** is well represented on Sasanian drachms from Khusrau I (531–79)[521] to Yazdgard III, where examples are known for each of his 20 regnal years. **SK** is the most commonly encountered mint signature for both Bōrān and Yazdgard III (632–51). The drachms it produced are cruder in style than the rest of their coinage. This cruder style continues for the Arab-Sasanian series. The quality of the silver declined over time, so that the later Sīstān issues struck under the ʿAbbāsids appear to be billon.

We do not know where the mint **SK** was located in the region of Sīstān (Sakastān). Most coins were probably struck in Zaranj (Zarang), a major centre in the region,[522] but minting elsewhere is confirmed by a drachm of Salm b. Ziyād. This has **SK** in the usual place and **BST** in the obverse margin, for Bust (modern Qalʿa-yi Bist).

On Arab-Sasanian coins (as well as on some late Sasanian coins) the last letter often looks like a **D** rather than a **K**, and on some cruder types the letter is more like a single slanting stroke, due to careless copying of previous dies.

After the Arab conquest, the Arabicised name of the region or province was Sijistān, and post-reform Islamic dirhams were struck in that name[523] as well as Zaranj (Zarang).[524]

[516] Album has read the signature as **SART**, which is also a possibility (no. 574 in his photographic record).

[517] Walker 1941, p. cxxix; Göbl 1971, p. 83; Gaube 1973, p. 103; *SNS* 3/1, p. 167. The Arabs called it Sijistān and the new Persian name, Sīstān, is currently used in modern day Iran. In the Sasanian and early Islamic periods, Sīstān was categorised as a region, rather than a province as now. For a survey of the coinage, see Malek 2017a.

[518] *SNS* 2, pl. 12, nos A52–A54 (Vahrān I); pl. 23, no. 62 (Vahrān II); *SNS* 2, pp. 23–25.

[519] Mochiri *ENIS* II, p. 136, fig. 337; Unvala 1957, pl. 18, figs 1–3. *SNS* 3, pl. 7, nos 91, A17 (Shāpūr II). Also the letter **S** sometimes appears to the bottom left of the altar shaft of coins of Shāpūr II, no doubt an abbreviation for Sakastān: *SNS* 3, pl. 7, nos 90, A15.

[520] Schindel 2015, no. 8 (Gurnet).

[521] The Johnson collection has drachms with **SK** for Khusrau I with regnal years 27 (025423), 29 (031186), 31 (022147), 32 (031187), 33 (400019), 34 (03188), 35 (025182), 36 (031246), 37 (025183), 41 (031189), 42 (0770-0092), 43 (025184), 44 (025185), 45 (031191), 46, 47 (0770-0093). Paruck 1944, p. 108, refers to coins of **SK** starting under Pērōz (457–84). He read the signature as **SD** which he interpreted as representing Sudd in eastern Khurāsān. As no such coins for Pērōz are noted in *SNS* 3 and the present writer has not seen any examples, this reference should be treated as unconfirmed.

[522] Sears 1997, p. 168; see also Sears 1999.

[523] Klat 2002, nos 432–449 (90–102, 127–30, 132H); *SICA* 2, pl. 35, nos 754–761 (90–1, 93, 96, 101, 130H); Eshragh 2010, pp. 71, 77, 82, 87, 93, 99, 104, 105, 117, 120, 146, 147, nos 337 (90H), 368 (91H), 399–400 (92H), 433 (93H), 466 (94H), 501 (95H), 535–536 (96), 612 (99H), 626 (100H), 783 (129H), 791 (130H). For conventional Islamic dirhams with the Sijistān mint name, see *SICA* 3, pls 36–7, nos 826–837 (166, 170–3, 175–6H), *SICA* 4, pl. 21, nos 422–424 (302–3H).

[524] Klat 2002, nos 412–413 (101, 102H); *SICA* 2, pl. 33, no. 716 (101H); Eshragh 2010, p. 121, no. 635 (101H).

Modern Sīstān is considerably smaller than it was in the late Sasanian and Umayyad periods, when the province bordered on Herāt[525] and covered much of eastern Iran and what is now Afghanistan. In the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods, Sīstān was a refuge for the Khārijites, and other opponents of the Arabs, who launched attacks from there on Khurāsān and Kirmān.[526] In addition the rival caliph, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, appointed his own governors of Sīstān, who struck coins, such as ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh. Sīstān was the subject of a number of campaigns by the Arabs.

The Arab conquest of Sīstān began under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz[527] who, with a force led by al-Rabī b. Ziyād b. Anas b. al-Daiyān al-Hārithī, took the town of Zaranj in 31H but did not strike coins in his own name. All the early coins of Sīstān are anonymous types in the names of Yazdgard and Khusrau. It is likely that Sīstān was not held for long; indeed it is recorded that in 41H ʿAbd Allāh sent a force to Sīstān which re-took Zaranj and other districts. Zaranj sued for peace, though Bust resisted. In 43H ʿAbd ar-Rahmān b. Samura took Zābulistān[528] and his armies reached Kābul before his dismissal as governor of Basra in 44H. His replacement, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, also struck no coins in his name. The first coins with any official's name are those dated 56 in the names of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and Salm b. Ziyād. Thereafter coins are struck in various names including ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (b. al-Ashʿath) who was sent on an expedition to Sīstān in 80H by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. He subsequently rebelled against al-Hajjāj.

There are numerous varieties of drachms with mint signature **SK** where the date is unintelligible[529] or equivocal. The signature is also used (often little more than crude strokes) on the late Sīstān issues, which are undated and are likely to have been struck during the time of the ʿAbbāsids. These latter issues are significant for the variety of different names written in Arabic in the obverse margin.[530]

Year 20 (YE=31H on)
Anonymous Yazdgard type with ***bism allāh***[531]
Walker p. 4, nos 3–10; Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.IS.1-R); ANS.1971.316.1299; Gaube p. 2, no. 17 (Haddad); *Damascus* pl. 31, nos AS.1–2; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), pl. 23, no. 3 (= ANS.1954.119.71); ANS.1957.108.4; ANS.1971.316.1299, ANS.1971.316.1298; *ENIS* II p. 149, fig. 398 (Mochiri); Mitchiner 1978 p. 211, nos 1342–1343; *SICA* 1 pl. 25, nos 353–356 (Shamma), 357 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18, no. 247 (identified as Khusrau type); Eshragh p. 11, nos 9–10; Weber p. 2, nos 2–4; (**Pl. 81, 946-951**)
Anonymous Yazdgard type with ***lillāh*** **ʾpd**
ANS.1975.238.10; Weber p. 2, no. 1; (**Pl. 81, 952**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
SICA 1 p. 60, fn[313] (Warden-Album; not illustrated)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
(**Pl. 81, 953-954**) (possibly struck later than is indicated by the date on the coin)

Year 21 (YE = 33H)
Anonymous Yazdgard type with ***jayyid***
Nikitin and Roth 1995 pl. 26, no. 12 (uncertain date)

Year 23?
Anonymous Khusrau type with **ʾpzwn** ***bism allāh rabbī***[532]

[525] Barthold (trans. Soucek) 1984, pp. 65–6.

[526] Barthold (trans. Soucek) 1984, p. 70. For an excellent history of the Arab Conquest and the attempts of the Umayyads to control Sīstān, see Bosworth 1968. The *Tārīkh-ī Sīstān*, an anonymous local history written *c*.448H is an important source.

[527] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), pp. 141–9, recounts that places had to be subdued and retaken a number of times. For a list of the numerous governors of this turbulent region, see al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 282-6, (trans.), pp. 117-21. The impression is that the local elite continued to wield considerable authority in the region and the Arab hold was often tenuous.

[528] Khalifa (trans.), pp. 56–7.

[529] Walker, p. 22, no. Th.3; p. 23, no. I.11.

[530] For late Sīstān issues, see Chapter 15.

[531] These coins are of a frozen date and continued to be struck for a period of years. It is the most commonly encountered type in the Yazdgard series. The coins of this date in the name of Khusrau may also have been struck later than indicated by the date, but they tend to be of finer style.

[532] The drachms which can be read as dated 23, 25, 27, 28 and 37 all have crudely inscribed dates where the era is also uncertain. For example 34H appears rather early for a *bism allāh rabbī* type.

(YE? = 34H) or 103(H) (**Pl. 86, 1108**) (uncertain date, possibly 23, 63, but from the crude late style 103 may be the most likely and is also listed under that date)

Year 25? **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***

(YE = 36H) or 95(H) (**Pl. 86, 1087**) (uncertain date, written as 25 but judging by late style 95(H) more likely to have been intended)

Year 25 **Anonymous Yazdgard type** with ***bism allāh***

(YE = 36H) Sotheby's auction (14 October 1999), lot 254 (date written defectively as **pnčsyt**)

Year 26 **Anonymous Khusrau type**

(YE = 37H) Walker p. 7, no. M.3 (noted without illustration, unconfirmed)

Anonymous Yazdgard type with ***bism allāh***

Paris (BN 1965.430)

Year 27? **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***

(YE = 38H) or 97(H) (**Pl. 93, 1090-1091**); (**Pl. 92, 1076A**) (date may be 27, 67 or more likely 97H intended judging by late style and is also listed under that date)

Year 28? **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***

(YE = 39H) or 98(H) Walker p. 8, no. T.1 (noted without illustration, unconfirmed)

Year 28 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***

(YE = 39H) or 98(H) (**Pl. 94, 1098**) (uncertain date, possibly 28, but more likely 98H intended judging by late style and is also listed under that date)

Year 37 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***

(YE = 48H) Walker p. 15, no. 21

Year 37 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***allāh wali ʿawn bism allāh rabbī***

(YE = 48H) or 65(H) (**Pl. 82, 955-956**) (date legend equivocal, 65 also possible, but read as 61 by Walker and style indicates struck in 80sH);[533] (**Pl. 82, 957**) (with *allāh walī* erased from die).

Year 38? **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***

(YE = 49H) Paruck 1944 p. 108 (noted year 38 without illustration, subject to confirmation as may be confused with year 48); (**Pl. 82, 958-959**) (uncertain date – written as **hšth** and is of a style no earlier than 80H)

Year 43?(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with **dwm** ***bism allāh rabbī***[534]

ANS.1973.244.64; Miles *RIC*, pl. 1, nos 5–6 (no. 6 read as year 44); Weber p. 3, no. 5 (read as year 13?); (**Pl. 82, 960-964**) (date unclear, possibly 43 or 56)

Year 44(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**

Walker p. 49, no. M.29 (noted without illustration, unconfirmed/ doubtful)

Year 45(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***

Walker p. 18, no. Th.2; British Museum (BM 1986, 0708.3); ANS.1971.316.1301 (date unclear and *rabbī* possibly removed from die); Miles *RIC*, pl. 1, no. 4 (= ANS.1973.244.66); Eshragh p. 16, no. 39; Weber p. 8, no. 18; (**Pl. 82-83, 965-969**)

Year 48(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***

Walker pp. 20–1, nos 26–29; ANS.1976.275.2; ANS.1971.316.1300; ANS.1991.3.252; ANS.1993.40.1; ANS.1944.100.51209 (date unclear, read as 38 in Walker 1941 p. 16, no. ETN.5); Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), pl. 23, nos 4–5 (read as 28 = ANS.1953.9.2; ANS.1952.183.40); Album 1992 p. 177, no. 58; *Damascus* pp. 164–5, nos AS.10–11 (AS.10 only illustrated pl. 31); *ENIS* II p. 149, fig. 399 (Mochiri); *SICA* 1 pl. 25, nos 358–364 (Shamma); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 18, no. 248 (read as 38?); Weber pp. 9–10, nos 22–25; (**Pl. 83-84, 970-981**)

[533] See under year 65 below. The same obverse type is known for 53(H). It is likely all these issues were struck around the same time and the date legends are crudely inscribed.

[534] The crude style of these coins suggests they were struck no earlier than the 60sH. Miles, *RIC*, p. 3 read the word in obverse Q1 as **mzd** (not **dwm**), meaning *mizd* in the sense of valid currency.

Year 53?(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***allāh walī ʿawn*** on obverse and ***zarb*** (***duriba***) ***al-Mashriq*** in Q1, Q2 or Q3 reverse.
Walker p. 23, no. I.11; Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 16 (20 October 2009), lot 10 (unclear date; *al-mashriq* in Q3 reverse, read as *al-muharraq*); Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 17 (26 October 2010), lot 8 (unclear date; *al-mashriq* in Q1 reverse); Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 17 (unclear date; *al-mashriq* in Q1 reverse, read as *al-muharraq*); (**Pl. 84, 982**) (*duriba al-mashriq* in Q3 reverse); (**Pl. 84, 983**) (*duriba al-mashriq* in Q2 reverse)

Year 56(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 64, nos 92–94; British Museum (BM 1982, 1116.26); Fitzwilliam Museum (CM. IS.13-R); ANS.1976.275.3; *ENIS* II pl. 149, fig. 400 (year listed as 62 at p. 140 and 56 at p. 520); Album 1992 pl. 28, no. 93; *SICA* 1 pl. 25, no. 365 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 19, no. 57; Weber p. 43, no. 104; (**Pl. 84, 984-987**)
Salm b. Ziyād
Walker p. 77, no. 122; ANS.1976.274.4; *ENIS* II p.149, fig. 401 (Mochiri); Eshragh p. 19, no. 59; Weber p. 47, no. 116; (**Pl. 84, 988-989**); (**Pl. 85, 990**) (with **BST** for Bust in Q3 obverse)

Year 57(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 64, no. M.42 (unconfirmed)

Year 58(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 65, no. T.10 (unconfirmed / doubtful)

Year 60(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Mitchiner 1978 p. 211, no. 1345 (uncertain date); (**Pl. 85, 991-992**) (uncertain date)

Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Paruck 1944 p. 108 (noted, without illustration, subject to confirmation)
Anonymous Yazdgard type with ***bism allāh***
Mochiri 1987 p. 99, no. 99, pl. 14, no. 83 (date read as 62 or 63)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 85, 993-994**) (date possibly 93)

Year 64(H) **Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh**[535]
Walker pp. 95–6, nos 191, Th.11; ANS.1971.316.1302; Gaube pl. 7, no. 79 (Trade, pre-1966); *ENIS* II p. 149, fig. 402, p. 423, figs 1549, 1552, 1553 (Mochiri), 1550 (Forughi), 1551 (Pirouzan); Mitchiner 1978 p. 216, no. 1378; Eshragh p. 24, no. 86; Eshragh, p. 26, no. 100 (date read as 66); (**Pl. 85, 996-998**)

Year 64 or 104(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 85, 995**)

Year 65(H) **Mālik b.** (**Aws**?)
(**Pl. 85, 1000-1001**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***allāh walī ʿawn bism allāh rabbī***
Walker p. 22, no. Th.3 (date read as 61?);[536] (**Pl. 86, 1003**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 86, 1002**) (date may be 25 or 65)
Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh
(**Pl. 85, 999**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī or **ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārīq** (**Hārith** / **ʿArīq**)
Weber p. 83, no. 195 (listed as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAli b. Husayn)

[535] Walker 1934, pp. 290–2 (date erroneously read as 74).

[536] The date on this coin is defectively written as **ptšst** (?). See also under years 37 and 53.

Year 66(H) **Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh**
Walker p. 96, no. Mart.1 (date unclear; may be a misreading for 64); ANS.1983.104.6; Mochiri 1987 p. 100, no. 109, pl. 15, no. 85 (date unclear; read as 62 or 66?); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 19, no. 249 (date uncertain); (**Pl. 86, 1004**)
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir
Walker p. 96, nos 192; Cam.7 (= Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.16-R); ANS.2001.9.2; *ENIS* II p. 149, fig. 403 (Mochiri); *SICA* 1 pl. 25, no. 366 (Ashmolean = Walker p. 97, Ox.6); Eshragh p. 26, no. 97; Weber p. 53, no. 126 (date unclear, read as 71); (**Pl. 86, 1005-1008**)
Mālik b. (**Aws**?)
ENIS II p. 423, fig. 1554 (Mochiri, read as 61); *SICA* 1 pl. 25, no. 367 (Shamma)
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī or **ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārīq** (**Hārith** / **ʿArīq**)
Gaube pl. 2, no. 20 (BM) (= BM 5601-0116); Mochiri 1987 pp. 56–7, p. 100, no. 110, pl. 14, no. 84 (read as 63); Eshragh p. 294, no. 1752 (with *bn ʿalī* in Q2 obverse); Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 27 (10 December 2014), lot 4 (with margin - / *bn ʿalī* ∶• / ∶• ✸ / -)

Year 67 (YE? = 79H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allā rabbī***
Album auction 25 (19 May 2016), lot 111 (with *ʿabd* in Q2 reverse; date era listed as likely PYE equivalent to 99/100H)[537]

Year 69(H) **ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
Eshragh p. 29, no. 117 (= Eshragh 1990 p. 91, no. 121); (**Pl. 86, 1009**)

Year 72(H) **ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**[538]
Mochiri 1987 p. 101, no. 112, pl. 15, no. 86 (Private Tehran); *SICA* 1 p. 24; p. 27, fn[147] (= Mochiri 1982, pp. 168–72)

Year 75(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya**
ANS.1993.40.6; Gaube pl. 2, no. 22 (Paris); *ENIS* II p. 150, fig. 404 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 86, 1010-1011**)

Year 76(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya**
Eshragh pp. 33, 36, nos 140 (read as 74H), 157

Year 77(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya**
ANS.1965.22.3; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 19, no. 250; (**Pl. 86-87, 1012-1014**)

Year 79(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra**[539]
Walker p. 110, no. Th.14 (= Gaube, pl. 7, no. 82 = Walker 1934, no. 2); ANS.1973.244.67; ANS.1973.244.68; Miles *RIC* p. 7, pl. 2, no. 23 (three examples); *ENIS* II p.150, fig. 405 (Mochiri); Mitchiner 1978 p. 216, nos 1376–1377; *SICA* 1 pl. 26, nos 368–369 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 38, no. 174; Eshragh p. 39, no. 175 (with **py** or **pl** in Q1 on obverse; read as **pg**); Warden-Album (fleurons in crescents in obverse and reverse margins); (**Pl. 87, 1023**) (with **py** or **pl** in Q1 on obverse); (**Pl. 87, 1015-1021**); (**Pl. 87, 1022**) (with **ny**ʾ in Q1 on obverse); (**Pl. 87, 1024**) (with *ʿubayd allāh lillāh* in Q3 on obverse)

Year 80(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra**
SICA 1 pl. 26, no. 370 (Shamma); Eshragh pl. 39, no. 177; (**Pl. 87-88, 1025-1030**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Mujāshiʿī[540]
(**Pl. 88, 1031**)

[537] The date era on this coin is uncertain. The coin is of a later style than 67H, hence the era may be YE or PYE. YE is preferred here equating to 79H. This is consistent with the drachm also of the anonymous Khusrau type dated 88H with *ʿabd* in Q4 reverse.

[538] This is the only known Arab-Sasanian drachm with a purely epigraphic reverse with a five-line legend in Pahlavi, which Mochiri has read as **dwhpt't** (72) / **yzdtw I BRA WLH** / **AHRN yzdtw LWYTW** / **mhmt ptgmbl y yzdt** / **SK**. It is illustrated in Chap. 9, section 10, fig. 9.10.2, p. 263.

[539] Walker 1934, pp. 288–90.

[540] For a discussion of this rare issue, see Sears and Malek 2006.

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad
ANS.1972.169.168 (blundered date legend); *SICA* 1 pl. 26, no. 371 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 39, no. 176, p. 40, no. 186 (read as 83H); Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 9 (with uncertain word *tʾar* in Q1 on obverse, read as *tash* (?)); (**Pl. 88, 1035**) (with *yaz* (?) in Q1 on obverse and blundered date on reverse); (**Pl. 88, 1032-1034**); (**Pl. 88, 1036**) (with *saʿīd billāh* in Q3 on obverse)

Year 81(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad**
Eshragh p. 39, nos 178, 180; Eshragh p. 40, no.184 (read as 83); Eshragh p. 39, no. 179 (with *yaz* in Arabic in Q1 on obverse); Weber p. 73, no. 172 (with *yaz* in Arabic in Q1 on obverse); (**Pl. 89, 1041-1048**); (**Pl. 89, 1049**) (with *yaz* in Arabic in Q1 on obverse)
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra
(**Pl. 89, 1040**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 89, 1037**) (date uncertain), (**Pl. 89, 1038-1039**)

Year 82(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad**
ENIS II p. 150, fig. 406 (Mochiri); Weber p. 73, no. 173; (**Pl. 90, 1050-1055**) (date legend **TLYNhštʾt**); Numismatica Genevensis auction 8 (24 November 2014), lot 224 (with *saʿīd billāh* in Q3 on obverse)

Year 83(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad**
ENIS II p. 150, fig. 407 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 90-91, 1056-1067, 1061**) (2 pellets in Q4 on reverse; (**Pl. 90, 1055, 1059**) (date legend **TLThštʾt**); (**Pl. 90, 1060**) (with uncertain word *tʿar* in Q1 on obverse; 2 pellets in Q4 on reverse)[541]

Year 84(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad**
Eshragh p. 40, no. 185 (read as 83); (**Pl. 91, 1062-1063**) (with uncertain word *tʾar* in Q1 on obverse);[542] (**Pl. 91, 1064-1066**)
ʿUmāra b. Tamīm
Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 10; (**Pl. 91, 1067-1069**) (with **nywk'** in Q1 on obverse); (**Pl. 91, 1070**)

Year 85(H) **ʿUmāra b. Tamīm**
Gaube pl. 9, no. 104 (Bern Museum); (**Pl. 91-92, 1071-1075**)
Mismaʿ b. Mālik
Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 13 (with *mismaʿ* in Q1 obverse); Morton and Eden auction 89 (25 October 2017), lot 3 (no legend in Q1 obverse)

Year 86(H) **Mismaʿ b. Mālik**
Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 14 (no legend in Q1 obverse); (**Pl. 92, 1076**) (with *mismaʿ* in Q1 obverse)

Year 87(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Paris (BN 1969.67); Morton and Eden auction 82 (19 October 2016), lot 4 (with *jayyid* in Q2 reverse); (**Pl. 92, 1076A-1076B**)

Year 88(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 92, 1078**) (no word in Q4 reverse); CNG auction 102 (18 May 2016), lot 1262 (with *ʿabd* in Q4 reverse); (**Pl. 92, 1077**) (with *ʿabd* in Q4 reverse); (**Pl. 92, 1079**) (with *jayyid* in Q4 reverse)

[541] Morton and Eden auction 82 (20 October 2016), lot 92 (word in Q1 obverse read as *tash* and date as 80H).

[542] CNG auction 102 (18 May 2016), lot 1257 (erroneous reading of word in Q1 obverse as *hassan* (?)).

Year 89(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 92, 1082**) (with *barakat lillāh* in Q4 reverse); (**Pl. 93, 1083**) (with *barakat lillāh* / *jayyīd* in Q4 and Q3 reverse); Morton and Eden auction 89 (25 October 2017) lot 5 (with *barakat min allāh* / *jayyīd* in Q4 and Q3 reverse); (**Pl. 92, 1080-1081**) (*baraka* in Q4 reverse); CNG e414, 14 February 2018, lot 637 (*baraka* in Q1 reverse); (**Pl. 93, 1084-1085**) (*ʿawn allāh* in Q4 reverse); Album auction 29, 14 September 2017, lot 88 (*al-haqq* in Q4 reverse)

Year 92(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 93, 1086**)

Year 93(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
SICA 1 pl. 26, no. 372 (Ashmolean)

Year 95 and 95?(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 93, 1087-1088**)

Year 96(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 93, 1089**)

Year 97(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with **ʾwb**(?) / ***bism allāh rabbī***
British Museum (BM 1984, 0534.30 – date unclear either 97 or 98); (**Pl. 93, 1092-1093**) (**gywl**? in Q2 obverse); (**Pl. 93, 1094**)

Year 97?(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 93, 1090-1091**) (date equivocal, and defective, but 97H may well have been intended judging by late crude style); (**Pl. 94, 1095**) (date equivocal and defective)

Year 98(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 94, 1096-1098**) (date equivocal, written similar to 28, but 98H may have been intended judging by late crude style)

Year 101(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.1); British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.11; BM 1983, 0514.12; date unclear; *jāʾiz* or *jabīr* (?) in Q1 obverse); ANS.1983.50.4 (date unclear; *jāʾiz* or *jabīr* (?) in Q1 obverse); Weber p. 4, no. 7 (read as 23; ✸ in Q4 obverse); Weber p. 12, no. 29 (read as 71; but possibly 101); (**Pl. 94, 1099-1101**); (**Pl. 94, 1102**) (date unclear, *jāʾiz* in Q1 obverse)

Year 102(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.3; date legend **dwʾčst**); British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.5; date legend **TLYNhst**?); British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.4; date legend **TLYNst**); British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.13; BM 1983, 0514.14; BM 1983, 0514.15; BM 1983, 0514.16; date legend **TLYNs**; **ʾpd** in Q1 obverse); British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.42; BM 1983, 0514.43; date legend **dwʾčt**?); British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.14; BM 1983, 0514.18; BM 1983, 0514.19; uncertain Arabic legends in Q1 obverse); British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.6, equivalent date legend either 102 or 103); Album auction 16 (17 May 2013), lot 91 (with *bahija* (?) *allāh* in Q1 on obverse); Album auction 28 (18 May 2017), lot 238 (with *bi-nasr* (?) *allāh* in Q1 on obverse); (**Pl. 94, 1103**) (unread word in Q1 on obverse); (**Pl. 94, 1104**) (with **gm** in Q1 on obverse); (**Pl. 94, 1105**) (with **m** in Q1 obverse)

Year 103(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.2; date legend **swst**); British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.21; BM 1983, 0514.22; BM 1983, 0514.23; date legend **TLčnʾst**); (**Pl. 94-95, 1106-1107**) (date legend **TLčnʾst**; ⌣ in Q1 and ✸ in Q4 obverse)
Anonymous Khusrau type with **ʾpzwn** ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 95, 1108-1109**) (uncertain date, possibly 23, 63, but from the crude late style 103 may be the most likely)

Year 103?(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***sadaq allāh bism allāh rabbī***

British Museum (BM 1984, 0534.31); Gaube, pl. 2, no. 13 (Kābul; date unclear); Eshragh, p. 12, no. 16 (date unclear, read as 27); (**Pl. 85, 993**) (date may be read as 63 or 83 or more likely 103)[543]

Year 104(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 95, 1110**) (ᴗ in Q1 obverse)

Year 106(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.20; Pahlavi letter **m** in Q1 obverse); Warden-Album (date legend **šš̌st'**); (**Pl. 95, 1111**) (date equivocal 96 or 106?)

Year 107(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 95, 1112**)

Year 108(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
British Museum (BM 1983, 0514.7; BM 1983, 0514.8; BM 1983, 514.9; uncertain date); (**Pl. 95, 1113**) (uncertain date)

Year 109 or 99(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 95, 1114**) (equivocal date legend **nwʾwst'** which may be a defectively written **nw**[**n**]**ʾmʾt'** for 99H)

The earliest coins from Sīstān are those either in the name of Yazdgard or Khusrau. Those of Yazdgard have a number of varieties of obverse marginal legend, albeit those with *bism allāh* predominate. Dates from 20 to 38 appear to use the Yazdgard era. Coins dated from 43 in the name of Khusrau use the Hijrī era and most have *bism allāh* / *rabbī* in the obverse margin.

All the coins of **SK** in the names of officials and of the regular type (as opposed to the later crude types of the ʿAbbāsid period) appear to bear Hijrī dates. The first coins in the name of any governor – those of both ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and Salm b. Ziyād dated 56 – may not bear authentic Hijrī dates. Salm b. Ziyād's coinage for Khurāsān was mostly struck from 62 to 69H (7.54 **HLA**, 7.68 **MLW** and 7.69 **MLWLWT**) though there is an anomalous issue from Marw al-Rūd (7.69 **MLWLWT**), as well as Sīstān (**SK**), dated 56. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād's coinage generally starts in 58H. The coin of Sīstān (**SK**) dated 56H is his only issue from that province. As his only coin from Khurāsān (**HLA** for Herāt) bears the same year this may be a frozen date. The coin could have been struck later, possibly in the 60sH, though again an authentic Hijrī date cannot be excluded particularly as he was appointed governor of Khurāsān in 54H.[544] His brother Salm b. Ziyād was appointed to Khurāsān and Sīstān in 61H.[545] Tahla b. ʿAbd Allāh was briefly appointed governor of Sīstān in 62H and the sources refer to him being reappointed in 64H and dieing in 65H.[546] The coinage of 64H and 65H in his name is consistent with this. Issues, probably dated 66H, are inconsistent with the historical sources and may either have been struck posthumously or the sources may be wrong.

The coinage confirms that these must have been turbulent times. In 65H there are issues of the anonymous Khusrau type as well as coins in the names of Tahla b. ʿAbd Allāh (a very rare issue), ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (or Hārith / Hārīq / ʿArāq) and Mālik [b. Aws] (also rare). The sources refer to Mālik b. Aws al-Azdī being appointed in 62H as officer in charge of public order in Sīstān.[547]

In 66H the picture is even more confusing with drachms in the names of Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh (uncertain date), ʿAbd al ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (or Hārith / Hārīq / ʿArāq) and Malik [b. Aws]. It seems that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz arrived in Sīstān in about 66H and remained there until 72H.[548] His coins

[543] Paruck 1944, p. 108 refers to anonymous Khusrau type issues of years 61(?) and 63(?). The date legend on (**Pl. 85, 993**) appears to be **TLTʾst'** for 103 and while the date seems less clear on other examples, it is probable that 103 was intended for all.

[544] Bosworth 1968, p. 43.

[545] Bosworth 1968, p. 44.

[546] Bosworth 1968, p. 45.

[547] Bosworth 1968, p. 45.

[548] Bosworth 1968, p. 51 which states he was sent out during the caliphate of Marwān.

dated 66, 69 and 72H are thus in accordance with the historical sources, but the absence of issues dated 67, 68, 70 and 71H may indicate that his control was for the most part tenuous. The other officials named on coins dated 66H are difficult to reconcile with the historical texts, including the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*. No coins are known for 73 and 74H though from 75 to 77H there are drachms in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya. The governorship of Khurāsān and Sīstān had passed to Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh in 74H, who in turn appointed his son ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya as a sub-governor over Sīstān.[549]

There is another gap in the coinage for 78H. In 79 and 80H there are drachms in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra who had been governor of Sīstān during the reign of Muʿāwiya (51–3H) and was reappointed in 78H by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. The sources state that he died in 79H after an unsuccessful campaign against Zunbīl in Zābulistān.[550] Since there are coins in his name dated 80H he may have died in 80H or, possibly, his name was retained until the confusion following his death was sorted out. On the death of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra, al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf appointed ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (known as Ibn al-Ashʿath) over Sīstān. During his rebellion, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Mujāshiʿī as viceroy, an event which al-Tabarī placed in 81H.[551] The *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* suggests that this occurred in 82H, but the very rare issue in his name dated 80H indicates it was earlier. ʿAbd al-Rahmān's rule over Sīstān is reflected in his drachms dated 80 to 84H, 80 and 81H being the commonest. Al-Hajjāj was able to expel ʿAbd al-Rahmān from Kirmān and Fārs, but ʿAbd al-Rahmān held out in Sīstān until at least 84H, where he died no later than 85H.[552]

The final issues in the name of any Umayyad official are the scarce drachms of ʿUmāra b. Tamīm dated 84 and 85H and Mismaʿ b. Mālik dated 85 and 86H. ʿUmara was appointed governor of Sīstān by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, in recognition of his help in the defeat of ʿAbd al-Rahmān in 84H. These drachms help pinpoint the final defeat of ʿAbd al-Rahmān to 84H. ʿUmāra was dismissed in 85H and apparently replaced by Mismaʿ b. Mālik,[553] who is recorded as having died while governor in 86H.

After the issues in the names of officials ceased, there is a series of drachms in the name of Khusrau of relatively crude style dated from 87 to 109. These are Hijrī dates and would have been struck during the late Umayyad period, albeit not necessarily under Umayyad control. The date legends are often crudely and defectively written.

Finally, there are the crude and very debased ʿAbbāsid issues where the date is little more than a few strokes and the mint signature is poorly engraved. These are in the name of Khusrau, but have the name of an official in Arabic in the obverse margin. They can be split into different classes or periods (see Chapter 15).[554]

Copper. In addition to the drachms there is a rare copper issue:

Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust right, unread word on right, **pylwc** (*pērōz*) on left. *Rev*. Fire altar with unread word on left; **SK** on right. Gyselen type 57

7.88 SLC' / SLCN (slč' / slčn) سلچ (within Kirmān, possibly Sirjān)

SLCN or **SLC'** (**SRCN** / **SRČ'**) appears both on its own and as a suffix to form **KLMAN-SLC'**. This confirms that the signature represents a location within Kirmān, which is also supported by the signature being known for ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd and Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs whose coinage is known only for Kirmān. The signature could also be read as **ALC' / ALCN**[555] or even possibly **HLCN** or **HLJN**. The latter

[549] Bosworth 1968, p. 51.

[550] Bosworth 1968, pp. 52–5.

[551] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1055; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 6.

[552] Bosworth 1968, p. 62.

[553] *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p. 142.

[554] Sears 1999, has classified such coinage into four classes.

[555] Paruck 1944, p. 81 read it as **ARJN** and referred to Walker's suggestion of Arrajān in Fārs. This is erroneous as the signature almost certainly refers to a mint in Kirmān.

reading is favoured by Mochiri,[556] who has tentatively suggested the town of Hurjand, but the geographers do not indicate that it was anything other than a small settlement at the time.[557] It is conceivable that the signature represents Sirjān, but this is speculative. The signature is rarely encountered and ceases in 57H, three years before the first known examples of **KLMAN-SLC'**.

Year 54(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(**Pl. 99, 1156**)
ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd
Walker p. 85, no. Dam.6; ANS.1963.170.1; Eshragh p. 18, no. 53 (read as **ARJN**)

Year 56(H) **Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
Walker p. 87, no. B.27; ANS.1988.100.2; Gaube pl. 5, no. 51 (Paris = BN 1967.463); (**Pl. 99, 1157**)

Year 57(H) **Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs**
Eshragh p. 20, no. 61 (read as **AJRN**); Weber p. 49, no. 119 (read as **ARCN**)

All the known issues with this mint signature span the period 54 to 57H and bear Hijrī dates.

Copper. There is a copper fals in the name of ʿAbd Allāh in the style of a drachm dated 44(H). The mint signature can be variously read. On a poor example Gyselen read **ST** as a possibility but from a clear example the mint signature appears to be **SLCA** (**slč'**) for **SLCAN** (Sirjān).[558]

7.89 ST (**st**) (Istakhr, Fārs): four variants:

7.89.1 ST (**AT**)

7.89.2 ST

7.89.3 ST

7.89.4 ST

At least four varieties of the mint signature **ST** are found on Arab-Sasanian coins. It is often followed by a pellet. The first variety starts with two vertical joined strokes as in a Pahlavi **a**. The second is written as if the first letter is an **s** (starting with two backward curved joined strokes). The third variety starts with a backward curved stroke followed by a vertical stroke with the two strokes joined at the bottom. The fourth variety is similar to the third save that the join is at the top of the second stroke rather than the bottom. It is sometimes difficult in practice to distinguish between the varieties. This raises the question of whether we are dealing with distinct mint signatures and places or simply variants for the same mint place.

For the Sasanian period the signatures **AT** and **ST** are often found for the same date, for instance under Khusrau II the two variants are known for the same regnal years.[559] This is a good indication that they represent two distinct mint places when used by the Sasanians. **ST** appears regularly on Sasanian coins from Vahrān V until year 15 of Yazdgard III's reign.

It is generally accepted that **ST** represents Istakhr (Stakhr), a provincial capital and important place under the Sasanians. This interpretation is confirmed by the existence of Sasanian administrative clay bullae with seal impressions referring to Istakhr. These have the abbreviation **ST** (type 89.2) in the centre and a fuller legend in a surrounding circle referring to Istakhr in full. The example in the Muzeh Melli

[556] Mochiri 1985.

[557] *SICA* 1, p. 56.

[558] Gyselen type 121; Album Auction 17 (19 September 2013), lot 89 (clear example, mint signature read as **KARCA**).

[559] Malek 1993b, nos 32–34, 213, 217 (**AT** and **ST** for years 30 and 35 for example).

Iran, found at Dekhade-ye Eqlid, bears the Pahlavi outer legend **sthly ʾndlčpty** (‘stakhr *handarzbed*’).[560] The interpretation is also supported by coins of Vahrān IV (388–99) and Yazdgard I (399–420) with **ST** behind the bust on the obverse and the full place name on the reverse.[561] According to the *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, the *shahrestān* of Istakhr was founded by Ardavān (Ardawān), the Parthian king.[562] In fact this is merely a legendary account as the site dates back to Achaemenid times. Papak, father of the first Sasanian king Ardashīr I, was a chief priest at the temple of Anāhitā in Istakhr in the late Parthian period. Istakhr strenuously resisted Arab attempts to take the city on a number of occasions.[563] It was badly damaged when the city was taken for second time in 29H by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir’s forces. After the Islamic conquest, the importance of Istakhr diminished[564] and it was overtaken by Shīrāz. Now all that remains of Istakhr are ruins on the plains of Marudasht, 32 kilometres north east of Shīrāz. Istakhr was on the banks of the Pulwār river. In the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods, Fārs was divided into five districts: Istakhr, Ardashīr-Khurra, Dārābgerd, Sābūr (Bīshāpūr) and Arrajān. The district of Istakhr extended to Yazd and Nāyin.[565] The city of Istakhr had a rectangular grid plan measuring 1.2 x 0.8 kilometres and was probably one of the most populated cities of Sasanian Iran.

For the Arab-Sasanian series, it is likely that most of the time **AT** was simply a variant way of writing the signature **ST**. The possibility that, at least for the early anonymous issues, there were two separate mints cannot be excluded. Some numismatists take the view that, during the period Arab-Sasanian coins were struck, **AT** was a distinct mint signature and location.[566] The predominant view, though, is that both **ST** and the version inscribed like **AT** represent Istakhr.[567] The picture becomes less clear when one takes into account a fals issue in the name of Yazīd from the region of Kirmān with **KLMAN-N** (**KLMAN'**) to the left and **AT** to the right of the altar shaft on the reverse (7.58.25), but this is unlikely to represent the same place as drachms with **AT** signature (7.89.1).

Both forms, **ST** and **AT**, are known for ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh. Since he governed only Fārs this favours the suggestion both forms are variants of the same mint signature and it should be located in Fārs.

Various copper issues of Istakhr are known which include varieties with **ST** and others with the name **Istakhr** in full. Post-reform Islamic dirhams are known from 79H for Istakhr.[568]

Year 26 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H) (**Pl. 99, 1158**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST**)
Year 26 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***[569]
(YE = 37H or Unknown era) *SICA* 1 pl. 26, no. 373 (Shamma; signature 89.2 **ST**)

[560] Cereti and Bassiri 2016, p. 18, no. 17, DE2. The title *handarzbed* relates to a provincial functionary. The site of Eqlid is not far from Istakhr.

[561] Tyler-Smith 2017, pp. 127–8.

[562] Line 41; Daryaee 2002, p. 41.

[563] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), p. 490; Rossi 2018, p. 3. The first attack came in around 17 or 19H when al-ʿAlā b. al-Hadrami, the governor of Bahrayn (Bahrain), attached Istakhr, but the city did not fall. In 24H the city was overcome by an onslaught led by ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀs, who defeated the forces of the *marzābān* of Fārs, Shahrak. However the city later rebelled.

[564] Miri 2009, p. 16. In the third to fourth centuries Hijrī it was still a large prosperous town, but by the sixth it was only a small village. Wheatley 2001, p. 146 by the fourth century Hijrī it was about a mile in diameter and had been surpassed in size by four other cities in Fārs: Shīrāz, Fasā, Sirāf and Arrajān.

[565] Barthold (trans. Soucek, 1984), pp. 151–3.

[566] Mochiri, *ENIS* II, pp. 369–70 attributes **AT** to Ardebil.

[567] *SICA* 1, p. 56; Sears 1997, pp. 119–21.

[568] Klat 2002, nos 66–84 (79–84, 90–9, 102, 128, 129H; 88 and 100H unconfirmed); Eshragh 2010, pp. 63, 69, 74, 79, 85, 90, 96, 108, 112, 113, nos 288 (83H), 323 (90H), 351–352 (91H), 382–383 (92H), 416–416 (93H), 448 (94H), 483 (95H), 554–555 (97H), 583–584 (98H), 640 (100H); *SICA* 2, pl. 17, nos 394–410 (90–8, 102H).

[569] If the date is 26H or a YE date equivalent to 37H, then it appears rather early for a legend including *rabbī*, which is usually only found on later issues from the 40sH. It is possible that the coin is a mule using an old Khusrau II reverse die.

Year 28 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 39H) (**Pl. 99, 1159**) (signature 7.89.3 **ST**)
Year 30 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**[570]
(unknown era) Weber p. 26, no. 60 (year read as 3, mint signature 7.89.1); (**Pl. 99, 1160**) (signature 7.89.1 **AT**), 730244 (signature 7.89.1 **AT**)
Year 31 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 42H) *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)[571]
Year 33 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 44H) Walker p. 12, no. 17 (year read as 31); Album 1992 pl. 26, no. 49; (**Pl. 99, 1162**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST**)
Year 35 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H) ANS.1963.170.3 (date ambiguous, 50 is an alternative reading; signature 7.89.2 **ST**); *SICA* 1 pl. 26, no. 374 (signature 7.89.1 **AT**); (**Pl. 99, 1163-1164**) (signature 7.89.1 **AT**)
Year 37 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 48H) (**Pl. 99, 1165**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***rabbī allāh***
Album auction 16 (17 May 2013), lot 75 (signature 7.89.2 **ST**)
Year 42(H) **ʿAbd Allāh**
SICA 1 p. 10, fn[30] (Warden-Album); Paris (BN 1965.458)
Year 44(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**[572]
(**Pl. 99, 1166**) (signature 7.89.3 **ST**)
Year 47(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(**Pl. 100, 1166A**) (signature 7.89.2 ST)
Year 49(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Warden-Album (signature 7.89.1 **AT**); Weber p. 8, no. 17 (signature 7.89.1 **AT**, read as 43)
Year 49 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 61H) (**Pl. 101, 1184**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST**)
Year 50(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**[573]
(**Pl. 100, 1167**) (signature 7.89.1 **AT** with · before)
Year 51(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 44, no. I.20 (not illustrated; read as 51, but could be 53); Weber p. 25, nos 58–59 (signature 7.89.2 **ST**); (**Pl. 100, 1168-1171**) (signature 7.89.3 **ST**)
Year 52(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(**Pl. 100, 1172**) (signature 7.89.1 **AT**)
Year 52 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 64H) Walker p. 70, no. To.2 (not illustrated); Warden-Album (signature **AT** ·); Weber p. 43, no. 106 (signature 7.89.1 **AT**)
Year 53(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.2) (signature 7.89.1 **AT** ·); *ENIS* II p. 382, fig. 1365 (Mochiri; signature 7.89.1 **AT** ·; date unclear); (**Pl. 100, 1173**) (signature 7.89.1 **AT**); (**Pl. 100, 1174**) (signature 7.89.1 **AT** ·)

[570] The same date legend is known for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān for the mint signatures 7.21 **AYL**, 7.34 **BYŠ**, 7.36 **DA**, 7.44 **GD**, 7.63 **LD** and 7.75 **NY**.

[571] Paruck 1944, p. 111 (noted without illustration).

[572] Reportedly a coin of ʿAbd Allāh dated 44 of this mint was found in Ulugh Art, Wuqia, Xinjiang, China: Thierry 1993, p. 92.

[573] There are various references to anonymous Khusrau type coins dated 50, but these are generally misreadings of coins dated 35 with *bism allāh.*

Year 54(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 44, no. ETN.8 (= ANS.1944.100.51210); British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.3) (signature 7.89.1 **AT**); ANS.1971.316.1305 (signature 7.89.1 **AT**); (**Pl. 100, 1175**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·); (**Pl. 100, 1176-1177**) (signature 7.89.1 **AT**)
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād
British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.15) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·); (**Pl. 101, 1178**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·)

Year 56(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Paruck 1944, p. 111 (noted without illustration; subject to confirmation)[574]
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād
Weber p. 43, nos 105 (read as 51; date uncertain; signature 7.89.2(?) **ST** ·), 107

Year 57(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
SICA 1 pl. 26, no. 375 (Shamma); ANS.1957.84.18; (**Pl. 101, 1179**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·)

Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.15) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·); *ENIS* II p. 382, fig. 1366 (signature 7.89.1 **AT** ·); (**Pl. 101, 1180-1182**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST**)

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 71, no. 106 (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·); (**Pl. 101, 1183**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·)

Year 61(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 71, no. 107; ANS.1972.169.175; Eshragh p. 22, no. 78; (**Pl. 101, 1185-1187**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr
SICA 1 p. 20, fn[99] (Warden-Album; date unclear and equivocal)
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. (**Madūr**?)[575]
Kolesnikov 1998 p. 384, no. 119 (Hermitage)

Year 62(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Walker p. 71, no. I.40 (not illustrated, but listed as ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād); (**Pl. 101, 1188**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST**)

Year 63 or 66(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**[576]
Walker p. 36, nos 49 (signature 7.89.3 **ST** ·), RB.5 (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·) and RB.6 (read as 66); ANS.1959.123.31; Gaube pl. 3, no. 32 (P); *ENIS* II p. 382, fig. 1364 (read as **AT**); *SICA* 1 pl. 26, no. 376; Eshragh p. 25, no. 94; Weber p. 20, nos 43–44; (**Pl. 101-102, 1189-1194**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·)

Year 64(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Warden-Album (signature **ST** ·)

Year 66(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
(**Pl. 102, 1196**) (89.2)

Year 67(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
ENIS II p. 381, fig. 1362 (Mochiri; read as **AT**); (**Pl. 102, 1195**) (7.89.3)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr
Paris (= Guillou 25)

[574] 56H would appear to be too late for an issue of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, so the date may have been misread or the coin may be posthumous. A coin of this date has been reported for mint signature 7.34 **BYŠ**, but this too should be treated as unconfirmed.

[575] Sears 2002. Here illustrated in Chapter 9, section 12, p. 265, fig. 9.12.

[576] In the catalogue examples listed as 63. The date legend may be read either as 63 or 66; however *SICA* 1, p. 20 reads all 63 as 66.

Year 68(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
ENIS II p. 381, figs 1361 (Mochiri; read as **AT**), 1363 (Mochiri, read as **ST**); Eshragh p. 29, no. 116; (**Pl. 102, 1196-1198**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·; date 66 or 68 probably an abbreviated 66 **hššst**)

Year 69(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Walker p. 101, no. Cam.10 (= Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.26-R); ANS.1972.169.181; *SICA* 1 pl. 26, nos 377–378 (Shamma); Weber p. 60, nos 143–144; (**Pl. 102, 1199-1200**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·)

Year 70(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Walker pp. 101–2, nos 204–205 (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·); Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.IS.27-R); ANS.1956.137.74; Gaube pl. 9, no. 103 (Trade, 1965); *ENIS* II p. 381, fig. 1363 (Mochiri); *SICA* 1 pl. 26, nos 380 (Shamma), 379 (Ashmolean); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 19, no. 251; Eshragh p. 51, nos 128–129; Weber pp. 61–2, nos 145–149; (**Pl. 102-103, 1201-1205**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·)

Year 71(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Walker p. 102, no. Sch.6 (not illustrated; unconfirmed)

Year 72(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Mochiri 1987 p. 100, no. 108, pl. 16, no. 102 (signature **ST** ·); *SICA* 1 p. 21, fn[105] (= Paris 1965.554); Weber pp. 62–3, nos 150–152; (**Pl. 103, 1205**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST**)

Year 74(H) **ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh**
(**Pl. 103, 1206**) (signature 7.89.3 **ST** ·)

Year 75(H) **Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa**
(**Pl. 103, 1207**) (signature 7.89.2 **ST** ·)

Year 76(H) **al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra**
Walker p. 115, no. B.37 (date read as 69 or 79, unclear); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 19, no. 252; Eshragh p. 57, no. 165; Weber p. 71, no. 167; (**Pl. 103, 1208**) (signature 7.89.3 **ST** ·)

Year 78(H) **al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra**[577]
Walker p. 116, no. 228; ANS.1964.12.4; Gaube pl. 6, no. 61 (Haddad); Mitchiner 1978 p. 215, no. 1370; (**Pl. 103, 1210-1211, 1213**) (signature 7.89.4 · **ST** ·); (**Pl. 103, 1211**) (7.89.4), (**Pl. 103, 1212**) (7.89.4) (**ʾp** in Q4 obverse); (**Pl. 103, 1209**) (signature 7.89.4 **ST**, year 76 or 78)

Year 80(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**
(**Pl. 104, 1214**) (signature 7.89.4 · **ST** ·)

Year 81(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**
ANS.1988.100.3 (date unclear; coin damaged); *SICA* 1 p. 29 (Warden-Album; date legend **ʾywkhšt'** for 81; signature 7.89.3 · **ST** ·)

Year 82(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad** (in Arabic)
Gaube pl. 4, no. 41 (= ANS.1966.151.2), pl. 4, no. 42 (Paris, BN 1968.853) (Mansūr in Pahlavi in Q3 obverse); Baldwin's Islamic Coin Auction 10 (20 July 2005), lot 18 (signature 7.89.3 · **ST** ·)

Year 83(H) **ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad** (in Arabic)
(**Pl. 104, 1215**) (signature 7.89.4 · **ST** ·)

Istakhr, like other mints in Fārs such as Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**) and Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA**), was one of the most prolific mints both under the Sasanians and in the early Islamic period. The anonymous Khusrau type drachm with the date 26 is not of the Hijrī era as it includes *rabbī* in the obverse margin, a feature which

[577] Paruck 1944, p. 111 refers to a possible issue dated 79(?) for al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra. This remains unconfirmed.

does not appear until the 40sH. The anonymous Khusrau type drachms dated 28, 31, 33 and 35 probably all use the YE era. There is some doubt about the issue dated 37. This is probably a YE date equivalent to 48H, but it could be a Hijrī date. The only other coins from the 40sH are those of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, dated 42 and 44H, who was governor of Kūfa in 41H and then of Basra from 41 to 44H). There is a crude issue in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān which appears to be dated 30, but this cannot be reconciled with the various Hijrī, YE and PYE eras. His other coins, from 50 to 54, all use the Hijrī era. The coin reportedly dated 56H may be a misreading as his coinage generally ends in 55H. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād was governor of Basra from 55H until his death in 67H, hence the very rare issue dated 49 must bear a YE date equivalent to 60H. The reference to a drachm reportedly of year 52 is probably the result of an erroneous reading. Otherwise his drachms from Istakhr span the years 54 to 61H (with an unconfirmed reference to a coin of 62H).

Three officials are named on drachms of Istakhr in 61H: ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (but equivocal year) and a person who has not been reconciled with the historical texts, ʿAbd Allāh b. (Madūr). Perhaps surprisingly ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr is otherwise only known for 63H (this issue has also been read as 66H) for Istakhr. In contrast coins in his name are known for other dates from other mints in Fārs province: Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**) 65 to 67H, Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA**) 65 to 72H (using YE dates), and Tawwaj (7.103 **TART**) 67H.

The commonest drachms of Istakhr are those of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh dated 67 to 72H, followed by those of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (76 and 78H) which are also known in significant numbers. The coins of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (74H), Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa (75H), al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (80–1H) and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (82–3H) are all rare. The names of the last two are inscribed in Arabic instead of Pahlavi.

Copper. The most prolific and varied Arab-Sasanian copper coins are those of **ST** (Istakhr).[578] As with the silver drachms, the signature **ST** comes in four variants often accompanied with one or two pellets. In addition on some issues the signature is written in full, **STHL** (7.90).

The dated copper coins are placed in more or less date order, save that the coins of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād are listed in blocks. This is because the copper coins of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr overlap with issues of ʿUbayd Allāh, but the mint signature 7.89.2 found for the former and 7.89.3 found for the latter. It would not have been the case that the same mint place would have concurrently struck coins in the names of ʿAbd Allāh and his enemy ʿUbayd Allāh and this is reinforced by the fact that the mint signatures are different. This raises the possibility that mint signatures 7.89.2 and 7.89.3 represent different mints, at least during this period.

1. **ST**, year 60(H). **Khusrau**(?). *Obv*. Bust right, **ʾwylwy** or **ʾwslwy** on right, **GDH ʾpzwt** (*xvarrah abzūd*, ‘the royal glory has been increased’) on left, *bism allāh* / *rabbī* (‘In the name of God / my Lord’) in Q2 and Q3. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, 60(?) on left, **ST** on right (7.89.3 **ST**).[579] (**Pl. 120, 1426**)
2. **ST**(?), year 30(?) (unknown era). **Khusrau**. *Obv*. Bust right, **ʾwslwy** on right, **GDH** / **ʾpzwt** on left, *bism allāh* (‘In the name of God’) in Q2. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, 30(?) on left, **ST**(?) on right. (**Pl. 120, 1427**)
3. **ST**, year 30(?) (unknown era). *Obv*. Bust right, unread legend on right, **GDH** / **ʾpzwt** on left, *bism allāh* in Q2. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, 30(?) on left, **ST** on right. (**Pl. 120, 1429**)
4. **ST**, year 43 (?) (uncertain era, perhaps H). Uncertain word or name (**čhlyč**?). *Obv*. Bust right, uncertain word right **čhlyč** (?), **GDH** / **ʾpzwt** left, **ʾpd** in Q2. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, 43 (?) on left, **ST** (7.89.1, **AT**) on right. Stephen Album Rare Coins auction 32 (13 September 2018), lot 194.

[578] Treadwell 2008, pp. 353–5, which considers some of the issues from Istakhr and the difficulties in their chronology.

[579] There is a variant of this type where the legend on the right on the obverse is uncertain, but the date on the reverse may be 30: (**Pl. 120, 1427**).

5. **ST**, year 44(H). ʿ**Abd Allāh**. *Obv*. Bust right, ʿ*abd allāh* on right, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt'** on left, *bism allāh* in Q2. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, 44(?) on left, mint initially read as **ST**(?) on right. From a clear example the signature could be read as **SLČA**. Gyselen type 121
6. **ST** with · before, year 48?(H). **Khusrau**. *Obv*. Bust right, ʾ**wslwy** on right, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt'** on left, ʾ**pd** in Q2. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, 48(?) on left, **ST** on right (7.89.2 **ST**). (**Pl. 120, 1428**)
7. **ST**, year 57(H). ʿ**Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād**. *Obv*. Bust right, ʾ**wbytyl**ʾ / **Y zyy**ʾ**t**ʾ**n** (ʿ*ubayd allāh b. ziyād*) on right, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt'** on left. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, 57 on left, **ST** (7.89.1 **AT**) with stroke after on right. Gyselen type 18b
8. **ST**, year 59(H). ʿ**Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād**. *Obv*. As 7 above, but with ʾ**pd** (*abd*, 'excellent') in Q2. *Rev*. As 7 above, but dated 59(?) on left, **ST** (7.89.1 **AT**) on right. Gyselen type 18a.1; Walker, p. 73, no. 108
9. **ST**, year 61(H). ʿ**Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād**. As 7 above, but dated 61. Gyselen type 18a.2; (**Pl. 120, 1437**)
10. **ST**, year 61(H). ʿ**Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād**. Type as 7 above, but dated 65. Stephen Album Rare Coins Auction 10 (22 April 2011), lot 43
11. **ST**, year 67(H). ʿ**Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād**. Type as 7 above, but dated 67(?). Gyselen type 18a.3
12. **ST**, undated. ʿ**Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād**. *Obv*. Bird standing right, **ST** above. *Rev*. Four-line legend: **GDH** / ʾ**pzwt** / ʾ**wbyt**ʾ**l**ʾ / **y zyy**ʾ**t**ʾ**n**. (**Pl. 120, 1438**)
13. **ST**, year 60(H). ʿ**Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**. *Obv*. Bust right with, ʾ**pdwl**ʾ ʾ**myl** / **wylwyšnk**ʾ**n** (ʿ*abd allāh vurrōyišnigān*, ''Abd Allāh Commander of the Believers') on right, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt** on left, *bism allāh* in Q2. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, 60 on left, **ST** (7.89.3 **ST**) with · after on right. (**Pl. 120, 1431**)
14. **ST**, year 61(H). ʿ**Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**. As 13 above, but dated 61. (**Pl. 120, 1432**)
15. **ST**, year 62(H). ʿ**Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**. As 13 above, but dated 62 (uncertain, could be 63). Gyselen type 63
16. **ST**, year 63(H). ʿ**Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**. As 13 above, but dated 63 (probably). (**Pl. 120, 1434**)
17. **ST**, year 67(H). ʿ**Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**. As 13 above, but dated 67. (**Pl. 120, 1435**)
18. **ST**, year 69(?)(H). *Obv*. Bust right, **tslm** on right, **GDH** on left, *bism allāh* in Q2. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, 60(?) on left, **ST** on right (7.89.2 **ST**). Gyselen type 19 (**Pl. 121, 1439**)
19. **ST**, undated. ʿ**Umar**. *Obv*. Bust right, ʿ**Umar** on right, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt**, **gwšn** or **lwy**ʾ**n** (*rwyān*) in Q2. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, ʾ**pst**ʾ**n** (*ābestān*, 'confidence') on left, · **ST** · on right. Gyselen type 104 (**Pl. 121, 1442-1444**)
20. **ST**, year 60 (YE? = 72H). *Obv*. Elephant right with rider with winged headdress, *bism allāh* on left. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, 60 on left, **ST** · (7.89.2), on right. Gyselen type 105 (**Pl. 121, 1445-1446**)
21. **ST**, year 43(?) (PYE = 75H). **Muhallab**(?). *Obv*. Bust right, **mn**ʾ**lwp'** or **mwhl**ʾ**p** on right, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt'** on left, **gwšn** / **d**ʾ**n** ʾ**pd** in Q2 and Q3. *Rev*. Fire altar, 43(?) on left, **ST** (7.89.1 **AT**) on right. (**Pl. 121, 1447-1448**)
22. **ST**, year 76(H). **Muhallab**. *Obv*. Bust right, **mwh**ʾ**lp'** (Muhallab) on right, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt** on left. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, 76 on left, · **ST**, on right. (**Pl. 121, 1449-1450**)
23. **ST**, undated. **Muhallab**. *Obv*. Bust right, **mwh**ʾ**lp'** (Muhallab) on right, **GDH** (*xvarrah*, 'splendour') on left. *Rev*. Facing nimbate bust, ʾ**pzwt'** (*abzūd*, 'increase') on left, **ST** (7.89.2) on right.[580] Gyselen type 23 (read official as Mansūr in 2009 edition, p. 219, but initially in 2000, p. 138, as Muhallab) (**Pl. 121, 1451-1452**)
24. **ST**, year 70 or undated. **Mansūr**. *Obv*. Bust right, **mnswl** (*mansūr*) on right, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt'** on left. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, ʾ**pst**ʾ**n** (*ābestān*) or date **hpt**ʾ**t** (70) on left, **ST** ·, on right (7.89.3 **ST**). (**Pl. 122, 1454**)

[580] Treadwell 2008, p. 354. Muhallab was in all probability al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra and this coin was struck between 76 and 78H.

25. **ST** undated. **Mansūr**. *Obv*. Bust right, **mnswl** (*mansūr*) on right, **GDH ʾpzwt'**, **lwbʾk** (*ravāg*, 'current') in Q2. *Rev*. Standing Caliph with legend **plhwyh** ('Benediction') on left, **· ST ·** , on right (7.89.4 **ST**). Gyselen type 20 (**Pl. 122, 1455**)
26. **ST**, undated. **Mansūr**. *Obv*. Winged horse, **GDH ʾpzwt'** / **mnswl** (*xvarrah abzūd* / *mansūr*, 'the royal glory has been increased, Mansūr'). *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, **ŠRW** on left, **· ST ·** , on right (7.89.4 **ST**). Gyselen type 22 (**Pl. 122, 1456**)
27. **ST**, undated. **Mansūr**. *Obv*. Bust right, **mnswl** (*mansūr*) on right, *al-ʿizzat lillāh* on left ('the glory is to God'). *Rev*. Five-line legend **ʾpd** / **yzdt' w** / **pylwc** / **yh mnswl** / **· ST ·** (7.89.2) (*abd rasīd i yazd ud pērūzīh mansūr*, 'excellent god, and victory to Mansūr'). Gyselen type 24
28. **ST**, undated. **Ōstāndār**. *Obv*. Facing bust, legend in Arabic *al-ʿizzat lillāh* ('the glory is to Allāh') on left, in Pahlavi **ʾwstʾndʾl** (*ōstāndār*) on right. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, **GDH ʾpzwt'** on left, **· ST ·** (7.89.1 **· AT ·**) on right. Gyselen type 21 (**Pl. 122, 1457**)
29. **ST**, undated. *Obv*. Bust right, uncertain legend **dwšnwʾl** (?) on right. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, **plmʾw** on left, **ST ⁝ ·** on right (7.89.2 **ST**). (**Pl. 122, 1458-1460**)
30. **ST**, undated. *Obv*. Camel right, unread legend above and on right. *Rev*. Three-line legend in Pahlavi: **ST ·** (7.89.1 **AT ·**) / ...**lmšn** / **gwšn**. Gyselen type 127 (**Pl. 122, 1461**)
31. **ST**, undated. *Obv*. Camel left, no visible legend. *Rev*. Three-line legend with first two lines unclear and last line **ST** with three vertical strokes after. (**Pl. 122, 1462**)
32. **ST**, undated, **Shurayk b. al-Hārith**. *Obv*. Facing bust, Arabic legend *shurayk* on left, *b. al-hārith* on right. *Rev*. Three-line legend: **ST** (7.89.1 **AT**) / *shurayk* / *b. al-hārith*. Gyselen type 72 (**Pl. 122, 1463**)
33. **ST**, undated. **Shurayk**. *Obv*. Two-headed bust, Arabic legend: *li ʿumar* on left, *shurayk* on right. *Rev*. Three-line legend: **ST** (7.89.1 **AT**) / *bi amr* / *shurayk*. Gyselen type 106 (**Pl. 122, 1464**)
34. **ST**, undated. **Shurayk**. *Obv*. Bust right, Arabic legend *shurayk* on right, **GDH ʾpzwt** on left, *bism allāh* / *rabbī* in Q2 and Q3. *Rev*. Fire altar and attendants, **ST** (7.89.3) on left, Arabic *shurayk* on right. Gyselen type 120. Heritage Auctions 3021 (7 January 2013), lot 21566 (**Pl. 123, 1475**)
35. **ST**, undated, **Shurayk**. As 34 above save that on reverse **ST** right and *shurayk* left. Gholami and Zahoosian 2017, p. 63, fig. 2B.
36. **ST**, undated. *Obv*. Bust right, **msw** ... (?) on right, **GDH ʾpzwt** on left. *Rev*. Two- or three-line legend including **ST**, remainder illegible. Gyselen type 25
37. **ST**, undated. *Obv*. Bust with unread legend on right. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, **ST ·** (7.89.1 **AT ·**) on right, Arabic *wafā* (?) in Q3. Gyselen type 29
38. **ST**, undated. *Obv*. Bust left with legend **lwbʾk** (*ravāg*, 'current') on left. *Rev*. Four-line Arabic legend: *lā ilāh illā* / *llāh wahda-hu* / *lā sharīk la-hu* ('there is no God but God and he has no partner') in Pahlavi **ST** (7.89.4 **ST**). Gyselen type 26 (**Pl. 122, 1466-1467**)

There are other issues which may be of Istakhr (**ST**), but the known specimens are too poor for the legends to be read. As further types or clearer specimens emerge, the list of copper types for Istakhr will no doubt expand in the coming years.

7.90 STHL (sthl) دحصرل (Istakhr, Fārs province)

There is one copper fals issue with the mint name in full: **STHL** (**STHR**) for Istakhr. The signature is rarely encountered in the Sasanian period but is known for Vahrān IV (388–99).[581]

STHL, undated. *Obv*. Byzantine style facing bust, **tslm** [untranslated] on right, **GDH ʾpzwt** (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased') on left. *Rev*. Large **M** with cross above, **ʾpʾt** (*ābād*, 'prosperous') on left, **STHL** on right. Gyselen types 27–28; (**Pl. 121, 1440-1441**)

[581] Curtis 2010, no. 198 (**ST** to left and **HL** to right of altar shaft; Muzeh Melli Iran).

7.91 SYLY (syly) 𐭮𐭩𐭤𐭮 (unknown location)

SYLY is only known for one year under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and may be variously read as **SYLY** (**SYRY** or **ŠLY** (**ShRY**, **šly**). Its location is unknown and is one of a number of mint signatures only recorded for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. There is one unique coin.

Year 49(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Eshragh p. 7, no. 45 (read as **ŠLY**)

7.92 SYC (syč) 𐭮𐭩𐭲 (unknown location)

This very rare mint signature, only known for one year in the early Islamic period, may be variously read as **SYC**, **SP** or **SYP**. It is similar to one found for the Sasanian king, Kavād I, where the signature clearly ends with **p**, **SYP**. On the Arab-Sasanian issue the last letter is not closed like a normal **p**, so it could be either **p** or **c**. It is also unclear whether there is an additional letter between the first and last letter, if so then it may be **y**, making **SYP**. If not then the reading would be **SP** giving rise to the possibility that Spahān (Isfahān) is intended. In conclusion the reading preferred here is **SYC** with the long stroke leading up to the last letter being a **y** and the last letter a **c** given that it is open. Its location is unknown.[582]

Year 35 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H) (**Pl. 104, 1216**)

7.93.1 SYW' (syw') 𐭮𐭩𐭥

(unknown location)

7.93.2 SYW (syw) 𐭮𐭩𐭥

SYW' (**SYWN**) has been variously read and interpreted. The signature takes three distinct forms where the first letter or two strokes may be two curved strokes for an **S**, two straight vertical strokes for an **A**, and the first stroke being curved and the second straight vertical. The suggestion of **ZRGWN** for Zargūn seems improbable,[583] as is **ZANK** for Zanjān.[584] **SYWKAN** (7.94) and **SYWK'** (7.95) may be the same place as **SYW** but this is uncertain.

A number of points may help narrow down the location of this mint. Drachms with all three signatures (7.93 **SYW'** / **SYW**; 7.94 **SYWKAN**; 7.95 **SYWK'**) seem similar in style and all are known for ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. **SYW'** is known for ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād only. The mint letters are often preceded by a pellet, a feature also known for **BYŠ** (for Bīshāpūr 7.34) and **BCRA** (for Basra, 7.27). These are both points which may help locate the mint. The signature is not found in conjunction with **KLMAN**, nor does it use the crude style common for drachms from eastern Iran. **SYW'** coins are rarely found countermarked, a feature common on coins struck in Khurāsān. By a process of elimination it therefore seems probable that these coins were struck in Iraq, Khūzistān or Fārs.

Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
British Museum (BM 1982, 0526.16); (**Pl. 104, 1217-1220**)

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād** (signature with • before)
Walker p. 72, nos B.20 and B.21;[585] British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.17); ANS.1956.163.630; ANS.1976.275.20; Gaube pl. 7, no. 83 (Paris); Eshragh p. 22, no. 74 (read as **ZRGWN**); (**Pl. 104, 1221-1222**)

Year 61(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād** (signature with • before)
British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.18); (**Pl. 104, 1223**)

[582] Album has suggested that **ST** may have been intended. If so, the **T** has been incorrectly engraved.

[583] Eshragh 2010, p. 22, no. 74.

[584] Walker 1941, p. cxxxii, who noted such a suggestion to be conjectural.

[585] Mochiri 1987, p. 96, no. 68 read date as 56 and mint signature as **SINGAN**.

Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 72, no. B.19; Gaube pl. 7, no. 84 (Paris)

The drachms with mint signature **SYW** / **SYW**ʾ are scarce and bear Hijrī dates. They are only struck from 59 to 63H and for ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād alone, an official known for a large number of mints.

7.94 SYWKAN (sywkʾn) 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭪𐭭 (unknown location)

SYWKAN can be read in different ways. It may represent the same location as **SYW'** and **SYWK'** (7.93, 7.95) which are also known for ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and are of similar styles. Some numismatists have suggested Zanjān as a possible identification,[586] but this seems unlikely given the lack of importance of Zanjān at the relevant time and the style of the coins.

An alternative reading of **ADWKAN** has been posed and cannot be entirely excluded in view of the ambiguity of the Pahlavi letters.[587]

The location should be regarded as unknown, but for the same reasons as considered under **SYW'** (albeit without the point before the mint signature) it is likely to represent a location in Iraq, Khūzistān or Fārs.[588]

Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
ANS.1974.142.1; Mochiri 1987 p. 97, no. 76, pl. 13, no. 76 (mint read as **SINGAN**); *SICA* 1 pl. 27, no. 382 (Shamma); (**Pl. 104, 1224-1225**)
Year 65(H) **Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh**[589]
Naqshabandi, pl. 5, no. 68 (read as **Zanjān**, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh); *SICA* 1 pl. 27, nos 383–384 (Shamma) (with *rabbunā* or **dʾw**? in obverse Q3); Weber p. 64, no. 155; (**Pl. 105, 1226**)

The coins with mint signature **SYWKAN** all bear Hijrī dates and are scarce. The issue of Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh dated 65H is rare. His only other known drachms, also dated 65H, have the mint signatures **BCLA** (Basra, 7.27) and **DŠT** (Dasht-i Maysān, 7.42), both in southern Iraq. This supports placing **SYWKAN** in Iraq, Khūzistān or Fārs and is consistent with it being in southern Iraq.

7.95 SYWK' (sywk') 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭪 (unknown location)

The mint signature **SYWK'** can be variously read (**SYWKN** or **SYWKW**) and may represent the same location as **SYW'** and **SYWKAN** (see 7.93, 7.94). It is unknown for the Sasanian period and only known for a few issues in the Arab-Sasanian series. Coins of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād are known for both **SYWK'** and **SYW'** for 59 and 60H, and for **SYWK'** and **SYWKAN** for 63H. The location is unknown but, for the same reasons as considered under **SYW'**, it is likely to represent a location in Iraq, Khūzistān or Fārs.

Year 54(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
British Museum (BM 1982, 0524.8); ANS.1976.274.11; *SICA* 1 pl. 27, nos 385–386 (Shamma); (**Pl. 105, 1227-1228**)
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād
Warden-Album (Album read mint signature as **AYWKW**)
Year 59(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(**Pl. 105, 1229**) mint (signature with • before)
Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
SICA 1 pl. 27, no. 387 (Shamma) (mint signature with • before)

The drachms with mint signature **SYWK'** all bear Hijrī dates and are rare.

[586] Mordtmann 1879, nos 40 and 60b (**ZANKAN**); Walker 1941, pp. cxxxi-cxxxii (**ZANKAN**?).

[587] Gaube 1973, p. 83, no. 4.2.2.

[588] *SICA* 1, p. 56 suggests the most likely location is in Southern Iraq, which is plausible.

[589] See also Sothebys auction (25 March 2000), lot 234.

7.96 SYWY (sywy) (unknown location)

SYWY is only known for one very rare issue with the name Muhammad in the margin. The mint location is unknown, but the crude style of the coin indicates that it is unlikely to have been struck in the central regions of Iraq and Iran. This is related to the Muhammad issues considered under 7.20 **AY** or **ŠY** (?) above. Neither date nor mint signature may be authentic. The era of the date (if authentic) is unknown.

Year 2 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***Muhammad***
(Pl. 105, 1230)

7.97 SYZAPTAN (syzʾptʾn) (unknown location, probably in Khurāsān or Sīstān)

SYZAPTAN can be variously read and other possibilities have been put forward. Walker read the signature as **SIZAĴA(N)**. The suggestion of **SYKACTAN** is unlikely as neither the letter **k** nor **c** is discernible.[590] An alternative reading of **ŠŠHPTAN**[591] is also unlikely as the first letter appears to be **s** rather than **š**. The ambiguity of the Pahlavi script and the unclear letters on the only published example, means that the current reading is only tentative.

SYZAPTAN is only known for one date, 73H, for Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh, who was appointed governor of both Khurāsān and Sīstān in 74H. He in turn appointed his son ʿAbd Allāh to be subordinate governor in Sīstān.[592] It is probably best to regard the location as uncertain, but within Khurāsān or Sīstān, and possibly even Sīstān itself.

Drachms were also struck in Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh's name for Khurāsān (7.55 **HWLASAN**, 74H), Anbīr (7.6 **ANBYR**, 74H, 64YE = 76H), the camp mint (7.26 **BBA**, 77H), Marw al-Rūd (7.69 **MLWLWT**, 64 YE = 76H), and the place represented by the mint signature **SYZSTN** (7.98). There are no coins of **SK** in his name, but they are well known for his son ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya from 75 to 77H.

Year 73(H) **Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh**
Walker p. 107, no. Cam.12 (= Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.29-R)

7.98 SYZSTN (syzstn) (unknown location, probably in Khurāsān or Sīstān)

SYZSTN (**SYZSTW** or **SYZT'**) is probably related to **SYZAPTAN** (7.97) as both signatures are only known for the same year of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh. Given the similarity in the style of the coins, they may both represent the same location. The signature can be read in other ways and **ŠHSTW** has been suggested.[593] **SYZSTN** may be the same place as **SYZAPTAN**. The mint signature represents a place within Khurāsān and Sīstān, possibly Sīstān itself.

Year 73(H) **Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh**
Walker p. 107, no. 212

This coin bears a Hijrī date and is very rare. It is dated the year before the sources refer to Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd's appointment as governor of Khurāsān and Sīstān.[594]

7.99 ŠTWLSTAN (štwlstʾn) (Shahristān, probably in Khurāsān)

ŠTWRSTAN is only known for one issue, in the name of an unidentified official, with a Hijrī date. In this context Shahristān is probably not the name of a place, but merely the word for 'district'. It has

[590] Walker 1941, pp. civ, cxxviii, mint signature, no. 51, suggested this for Sīstān.

[591] Sears 1997, p. 162.

[592] Bosworth 1968, pp. 49–53.

[593] Sears 1997, p. 163.

[594] Bosworth 1968, p. 49.

previously been suggested it may represent a town called Shahristān on the frontier of Gorgān (Jurjān) and Khurāsān.[595]

Year 67(H) **Tā'ī-i Pilgūn**(?)[596]
Mochiri 1987 p. 101, no. 111, pl. 15, no. 89 (Private, Tehran; mint signature read as **ŠTRISTAN**); (**Pl. 105, 1231**)

7.99A ŠW (šw) 𐭱𐭥 (unknown location, probably in Fārs)

The letters **ŠW** (or **ŠN**) are found on issues of Dārābgerd in the region of Fārs either side of the altar shaft on certain issues of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād with years 48 (YE = 60H) and 49 (YE = 61H). The only coin with the letters in the usual place for mint signatures is on a coin of Qatarī b. al-Fujā'a dated 69(H).[597] The obverse marginal legend in Q2 and Q3 is *bism allāh* / *lā hukm illā Allāh* ('In the name of God. There is no judgment except God'). The coin was probably struck in Fārs, possibly within the Dārābgerd district.

7.100 ŠWŠ (šūš) 𐭱𐭥𐭱 (Susa, Khūzistān)

ŠWŠ (Shūsh, Susa) is only known for copper issues in the Arab-Sasanian series.[598] It is not known at all for Sasanian coins. It may seem odd that a completely different signature is used for Arab-Sasanian drachms (possibly 7.19 **AY** and 7.21 **AYL**), but these silver issues appear to have been struck well before the coppers which (apart from the ʿAbd Allāh copper issue dated 44H) were probably all struck after the introduction of post-reform Islamic dirhams with the signature al-Sūs in 79H.[599] Susa is located within Khūzistān province and had to be taken more than once by the Arabs during the conquest by forces sent by Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.[600]

1. **ŠWŠ**, year 44(H). ʿ**Abd Allāh**. *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend ʿ**Abd Allāh** on right, **GDH** ʾ**pzwt** on left (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased'), *bism allāh* in Q2. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, Pahlavi date on left, **ŠWŠ** (Shūsh / Susa) on right. Gyselen type (**Pl. 123, 1468**)
2. **ŠWŠ**. Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi unread legend / ʾ**pzwn'** (*abzūn*, 'growth') on right, **GDH** [ʾ**pzwn**?] on left. *Rev*. Four-line Pahlavi legend unread / ...**stʾn** / **šwš** / **lwbʾk** (… *šūš ravāg*, 'current in Susa'). Gyselen type 37 *SICA* 1 pl. 35, no. 503 (Ashmolean)
3. **ŠWŠ**. Anonymous. *Obv*. Bust left, unread Pahlavi word on left. *Rev*. Three-line legend *bism allāh* / **šwš** / **lwbʾk** ('in the name of Allāh, current in Susa').[601] Gyselen type 38
4. **ŠWŠ**. Anonymous. *Obv*. Standing Caliph, **ŠWŠ** (Shūsh / Susa) on left, ʾ**pzwn'** (*abzūn*, 'growth') on right. *Rev*. Altar-like figure (two variants) with Pahlavi legend **plnyk'** (*farnig*) on left, **W lwbʾk** (*ud ravāg*) on right ('brilliant and current'). Gyselen type 39

[595] Mochiri 1987, pp. 58–9 (a town in Khurāsān located between Nīshāpūr and Khwārizm); *SICA* 1, p. 56. On Mochiri's interpretation, the first name is the Arabic Tā'ī, and Pilgūn is a patronymic of Iranian origin literally meaning 'of elephant temperament'. Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 183–4 suggests a reading of **tar y pylzwr** for Tār, son of Pilzor. These are both speculative, but no other plausible interpretation has been put forward.

[596] c.f. *SICA* 1, p. 26.

[597] Formerly in the Warden collection. Illustrated in Chapter 9, section 45, p. 310, fig. 9.45.1. Foss 2013, p. 13 refers to a coin of Qatarī b. al-Fujā'a dated 69H with mint signature **ŠWSN** in the De Shazo collection. This is probably a reference to the same issue. De Shazo himself was unable to confirm he ever had such a coin.

[598] Treadwell 2008, pp. 357–63, who notes that the coins show a strong and consistent western influence. He was unaware of the ʿAbd Allāh issue, which is of the usual style found on Arab-Sasanian drachms.

[599] Klat 2002, nos 473–482 (79–81, 83, 90, 91, 94–7H); *SICA* 2 pl. 36, nos 780–786 (80, 81, 90, 94, 96, 97H).

[600] Hoyland 2015, p. 83.

[601] Examples of this type have been found in the excavations of Susa. Walker, with some hesitation, read the name on the obverse as **baiwrsb** for Baiwarāsb: Walker 1952b, no. (1), p. 236.

5. **ŠWŠ**. Anonymous. *Obv*. Standing Caliph with Pahlavi legend **PWN ŠM** [**Y**] (*pad nām* [*i*]) on left, **yzdt'** (*yazd*) on right ('in the name of God'). *Rev*. Altar-like figure, Pahlavi legend **ŠWŠ** (Shūsh / Susa) on left, **W lwbʾk** (*ud ravāg*, 'and current') on right. Gyselen type 40
6. **ŠWŠ**. Anonymous, 82H. *Obv*. Standing Caliph, Pahlavi legend **ŠWŠ** (Susa) on left, **lwbʾk** (*ravāg*, 'current') on right. *Rev*. Three-line Arabic legend *bism allāh* / *sanat ithnayn* / *wa thamānīn* ('In the name of Allāh, in the year 82'). Gyselen type 41
7. **ŠWŠ**. **Bushir**. *Obv*. Three standing persons with no (visible) legend on obverse. *Rev*. Three-line Pahlavi legend **bwšyl** / **šwš** / **lwbʾk** (*bušir šūš ravāg*; 'Bushir, current [in] Susa'). Gyselen type 42
8. **ŠWŠ**. **Zādoy**. *Obv*. Winged horse right, Pahlavi legend **plhwyh** (*farroxih*) above and **pylwcyh** (*pērōzīh*) below ('Benediction, victory'). *Rev*. Four-line Pahlavi legend **zʾtwy** / **plmwt'** / **šwš** / **lwbʾk** (*zādōy framūd šūš ravāg*; 'Zādoy ordered, current [in] Susa]') on reverse. Gyselen type 43
9. **ŠWŠ**. Anonymous. *Obv*. Three-line Arabic legend *muhammad* / *rasūl* / *allāh* ('Muhammad is the Messenger of Allāh'). *Rev*. Three-line Pahlavi legend unread / **ŠWŠ** / **lwbʾk** (... *šūš ravāg*, 'current [in] Susa'). Gyselen type 44 (**Pl. 123, 1470**)
10. **ŠWŠ**. Anonymous. *Obv*. Three-line Arabic legend *wazn* / *sabʿa* (?) / *jāʾiz* ('weight of 7, current'). *Rev*. Three-line Pahlavi legend unread / **ŠWŠ** / **lwbʾk** (…*šūš ravāg*, 'current [in] Susa'). Stephen Album Rare Coins auction 32 (13 September 2018), lot 199.
11. **ŠWŠ**. **Khurshīd** (?). *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend **Khurshīd** on right, **plmwt** (*framūd*, 'ordered') on left. *Rev*. Winged figure left, Pahlavi legend **ŠWŠ** (Shūsh / Susa) on left, **lwbʾk** (*ravāg*) on right ('current [in] Susa'). Gyselen, type 45
12. **ŠWŠ**. Anonymous. *Obv*. Three-line Arabic legend *lā illāh* / *illā llāh* / *wahda-hu* ('There is no God but God, he is unique'). *Rev*. Four-line Pahlavi legend [ ] / **plmwt'** / **šwš** / **lwbʾk** (… / *framūd* / *šūš* / *ravāg*, 'has ordered, Susa, current'). Gyselen type 77 (**Pl. 123, 1469**)

7.101 ŠY (šy) ـسـ (probably Shīrāz, Fārs)

ŠY (**ShY**) is a relatively common mint signature in the second half of the Sasanian era. Drachms of **ŠY** are known from Vahrān IV until the first year of Yazdgard III. They are common for Khusrau II[602] and **ŠY** is one of the only two mints known for the Sasanian queen Āzarmidokht.[603] Numismatists have long been puzzled by the precise mint place for the signature. The suggestion of Sirjān (Shirjān) in Kirmān[604] is unlikely to be correct, not least because **ŠY** is not used as a prefix or suffix for coins with **KLMAN**, nor is it known for officials only known to have struck coins within the Kirmān region. Perhaps the most plausible attribution is to Shīrāz in Fārs.[605] The strongest evidence for this is a drachm of Vahrān IV with the abbreviation **ŠY** on the obverse and the complete name **šilʾz** (Shīrāz) on the reverse.[606] Nevertheless the attribution has continued to be doubted,[607] primarily on the basis that Shīrāz was either a minor town in the Sasanian period or founded in the Islamic period. The excavations in and around Shīrāz as well as the existence of fire temples and seal evidence,[608] indicates to the contrary, and Shīrāz was in fact a substantial town in Sasanian times. It may have declined towards the end of the Sasanian period. The points in favour of an attribution to Shīrāz seem persuasive.[609] The possibility that **ŠY** represents Shīrāz under Vahrān IV, but later came to represent another place, cannot be entirely excluded.

[602] Malek 2013, p. 472, the proportions of Khusrau II drachms with this mint signature in five hoards ranges from 2.71% to 12.79%.

[603] Mochiri *ENIS* II, p. 172, fig. 443.

[604] Walker 1941, pp. civ and cxxviii; Paruck 1944, p. 112; Miles 1960, pp. 86–8.

[605] Mordtmann 1879, p. 118, no. 4; Mochiri *ENIS* II, p. 443; *SNS* 3/1, p. *SNS* 3/1, pp. 168–9. For the suggestion of Shūstar in Huzestān see Tyler-Smith 2017, pp. 128–31.

[606] Mochiri 2010b, pl. I, A.

[607] *SICA* 1, p. 56.

[608] For a Sasanian bulla found in Susa with the legend in centre of **šylʾzy mgw** (*shirāz mow*; Mow of Shīrāz), see Akbarzadeh and Daryaee 2012, p. 12. Al-Muqadassī (trans.), p. 346 writing in the fourth century Hijrī states that Shīrāz was not formerly a district, just a city. The Muslims colonised it when they occupied the region and it became one of their administrative centres.

[609] Mochiri 2010b.

The Arab geographers attribute the foundation of Shīrāz to the time of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf under whom Muhammad b. Yūsuf Saqqafi set up a military camp from which to attack Istakhr.[610] Other written sources refer to an older foundation and a pre-Islamic citadel called Fāhndar. Excavations of Shīrāz and its environs have provided evidence for a substantial settlement prior to the Islamic conquest.[611] The literary sources also indicate Shīrāz was a town prior to the Islamic period. For example, clay tablets from Persepolis from the Achaemenid era refer to labourers from Shi-razi-ish (the town of the secrets), Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* refers to a general Safrai from Shīrāz under the Sasanian king, Pērōz, and al-Tabarī refers to a chief called Sukhrā from Fārs, from the people of Shīrāz who expelled the Hephthalites from Khurāsān.[612] At some point after the Islamic conquest, Shīrāz overtook Istakhr in importance.

Arab-Sasanian coins of **ŠY** are scarce and cease relatively early, the latest issue being of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād from 62H (PYE 30).

No Umayyad post-reform coins are known with the mint name Shīrāz, which is an indication that it was not then a major town. Under the ʿAbbāsids coins were struck in Shīrāz. The earliest type is a copper fals dated 137H with a Sasanian style bust on the obverse and Arabic legends on the reverse.[613] This is an isolated type and it was not until 272H that the ʿAbbāsids began striking dirhams at Shīrāz. These continued until 321H,[614] after which Shīrāz became the foremost Buwayhid mint.

Year unread	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with **ʾpd** in Q2[615] (**Pl. 106, 1244**)
Year 8	**Anonymous Hormizd type** with ***rasūl allāh lillāh***[616] Morton and Eden auction 52 (30 November 2011), lot 795
Year 11	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**[617] Paruck 1944 p. 112 (noted without illustration, but assumed to have been a re-used reverse die from Sasanian times); Walker p. 44, no. Dam.1 (= Mochiri 1987 p. 90, no. 2 (read date as **šydō** = *dēw* = 'devil'))
Year 17(?)	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***jayyid***[618] Amini and Dashkov 2013 p. 45, no. 39 (date read as 17?)
Year 20	**Anonymous Khusrau type**
(YE = 31H)	*SICA* 1 p. 9, fn[27] (noted without illustration) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***jayyid*** Mochiri 2010a p. 197, no. 44 (Mochiri; attributed to Khusrau IV)
Year 21	**Anonymous Khusrau type**
(YE = 32H)	Mochiri 2010b p. 216 (Mochiri, noted without illustration)
Year 22	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE 33H)	(**Pl. 105, 1232**)

[610] Barthold (trans. Soucek) 1984, p. 153; Wheatley 2001, p. 145. The camp evolved into an urban centre and by the third to fourth centuries Hijrī it was an important city. It became the chief city of the Saffarids as well as the Buwayhids (Buyids): Wheatley 2001, p. 288.

[611] Frye 1973; Barthold (trans. Soucek) 1984, p. 154.

[612] Mochiri 2010b, p. 215; al-Tabarī, i, 873; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 5, pp. 110–11.

[613] *SICA* 2 pl. 74, no. 1502; Mochiri 2010b, pl. I, nos 1–5; Gyselen 2009, type 60.

[614] Eshragh 2010, pl. 282, no. 1685 (321H); *SICA* 4 pls 30–32, nos 633–670 (275, 287, 289, 300–22H)

[615] The crude style, the form of the date legend and the presence of a pellet in Q4 reverse margin, are all indicators that this coin was struck well after Khusrau II's death.

[616] This coin was almost certainly not struck in Shīrāz, but is an imitation struck in the Caucasus region. These crude types in the name of Hormizd tend to be found in Armenia and Georgia.

[617] This is probably the same issue considered under year 33 below.

[618] The date legend on this type appears to be **hpdh** (?) and is defective. It is unlikely to be an authentic date. For another example, see Morton and Eden auction 73 (2 April 2015), lot 5 (date read as 7). It is not year 7, and the closest date would be 17, albeit the letters are not clear and 17 should be written **hptdh**. These issues are unlikely to have been struck in Shīrāz.

Year 24 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 35H) *SICA* 1 pl. 27, no. 381 (Shamma); Miles Kirmān 1960, pl. 1, no. 1 (= ANS.1956.137.1); (**Pl. 105, 1233**)
Year 25 **Anonymous Khusrau type with *bism allāh***
(YE = 36H) Gaube pl. 2, no. 14 (Dr Lindpaintner); (**Pl. 105, 1234**)
Year 25 **ʿAbd Allāh**[619]
(unknown era) In trade 2015 (with **ʾpd** in obverse Q2)
Year 26 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H) (**Pl. 105, 1235**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***muhammad***[620] in Q2
Eshragh p. 12, no. 17 (year read as 28)
Year 27 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 38H) *SNS* (Israel) pl. 19, no. 253
Anonymous Yazdgard type
(**Pl. 105, 1236**) (without obverse marginal legend)
Year 27 **ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**[621]
(unknown era) Paris (BN1965.510)
Year 28 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 39H) (**Pl. 105, 1237**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh*** / ***al-malik***
SICA 1 p. 12, fn[51] (= BM 1970-3-4-2)[622]
Year 29 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***[623]
(YE = 40H) Album 1992 pl. 25, no. 47; Eshragh p. 12, no. 18; (**Pl. 106, 1238-1239**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***muhammad*** in Q2[624]
Illisch 2007 p. 20, fig. 11 (Iraq Museum); Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 26 (with letter T in place of ✸ at 6h obverse margin)[625]
Year 30 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 41H) Walker p. 11, no. 16; (**Pl. 106, 1240**)
Year 30 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(uncertain era) Mochiri 1987 p. 90, no. 5, pl. 3, no. 14 (read as **šydā**)[626]
Year 30 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 62H) (**Pl. 106, 1246**) (**yzʾn** in Q1 obverse margin)
Year 31 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 42H) Paris (BN 1969.881); *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)
Year 32 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 43H) (**Pl. 106, 1241**)

[619] In view of the unusual observe margin legend for ʿAbd Allāh, the coin is probably a contemporary imitation not struck in Shīrāz.

[620] This is clearly not an issue which fits in with the other coins of **ŠY**. It is not from Shīrāz, but should be treated as part of the same series of other Muhammad issues: see above under 7.20 **AY** or **ŠY**(?).

[621] The date seems wrong for ʿAbd Allāh, nevertheless 27 appears to be the correct reading. Album considers that the form of date and mint legends suggests that an old reverse die of Khusrau II has been employed.

[622] Date is written as 28, but possibly an error for 48 as this marginal legend is found on coins dated 47 for **BYŠ** (7.34).

[623] Mordtmann 1865, p. 464, no. 150 refers to a coin of this date with Muhammad in the margin.

[624] This, and other issues with Muhammad, dated 26 and with a blundered date, are not from Shīrāz.

[625] This coin is doubtful. It is underweight and has three different languages on it (Arabic, Pahlavi and Greek) and most of the Pahlavi is defectively written. It is probably a modern forgery.

[626] Mochiri does not consider that this coin has a date or mint signature. In place of the date he reads **ŠY** and in place of the mint signature he reads **DA**, albeit the letter **D** is not written in the usual way. He thus concludes this is a reference to *dēw* = devil. This seems unlikely.

Year 33	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 44H)	Album 1992 pl. 26, no. 48; *SNS* (Israel) pl. 19, no. 254; (**Pl. 106, 1242**)
Year 33	**Anonymous Yazdgard type** with ***jayyid***[627]
(H or YE	Mochiri 1987 p. 99, no. 98, pl. 14, no. 81
= 44H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***jayyid***
	SICA 1 p. 8 (Warden-Album)
Year 33?	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(unknown era)	Walker p. 44, no. Dam.1 (year read as 11)
Year 35	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H)	(**Pl. 106, 1243**)
Year 35	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***jayyid***
(H or YE = 46H)	Trade (Najaf Coins, 2013)
Year 35	**ʿAbd Allāh**
(unknown era)	Walker p. 51, no. Dam.4 (c.f. *SICA* 1 p. 10, fn[20] – uncertain year 35 or 50, neither of which fits a known era)
Year 37	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 48H)	Warden-Album
Year 38	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***muhammad***
(YE = 49H)	Gaube 1973 p. 36 and table (listed without illustration; subject to confirmation)[628]
Year 42(H)	**ʿAbd Allāh**
	(**Pl. 106, 1245**)
Year 52(H)	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**[629]
	SICA 1 p. 15, fn[59] (noted without illustration); Paris (BN 1965.503)
Date unclear	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***muhammad*** in Q2[630]
	Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 27 (year blundered; with letter **M** in place of ✸ at 3h reverse margin).
Date unclear	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with **ʾpd** in Q2 (no Islamic or other Arabic text)
	(**Pl. 106, 1244**)

In addition there are issues in the name of Muhammad with the name either in the right field or in Q2 on the reverse or in both places. The mint signature is equivocal and may be read as **ŠY** or **AY**. For current purposes they are discussed under 7.20 **AY** or **ŠY**(?) above.

The first three coins listed here are anomalous crude types and may have been struck elsewhere. The Muhammad issues are also not from Shīrāz. The remaining coins are mostly the anonymous Khusrau types, probably from Shīrāz. Their dates are likely to be in the YE, from 31 to 48H. Coins of **ŠY** in the names of officials are very rare. These coins include those with dates which are difficult to reconcile with any of the main eras. The drachms of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān have a date of 30 which is found with various other mint signatures, including **ST** for Istakhr. The unusual drachms of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān may have the date 33, but this has been read in different ways.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir's coins also have unexpected dates, apart from the type dated 42H. The dates 27 and 35 are probably not authentic.

[627] It is possible that these *jayyid* coins bear a Hijrī date, which would be consistent with the bulk of *jayyid* issues which are dated 20 (YE = 31H).

[628] The coin may be the type that Mordtmann 1865, p. 464, no. 150 read as year 29. The era could be YE or even Hijrī.

[629] Gaube 1973, table, also lists year 53 for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. This indeed is possible, but should nonetheless await confirmation.

[630] This type is not from Shīrāz. This coin is doubtful and is probably a modern forgery. It is underweight and has three different languages. The Pahlavi legends are largely defective.

The regular drachm issue of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān dated 52H is rare. The latest issue from **ŠY** is in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, dated in the PYE equivalent of 62H. A number of issues with the signature **ŠY** are unusual and with date legends which are either crudely inscribed or cannot be reconciled with the known date eras. The pattern of issues is different from Istakhr (**ST**) where a number of different officials are named in the period 61 to 83H.

7.102 ŠYYW (unknown location)

ŠYYW is a very rare Arab-Sasanian mint signature. It may be variously interpreted, and **ŠYGW** and a variant of **LYW** are possibilities. Its location as a mint place is unknown and one can only speculate as to what the abbreviation designates.

Year 33 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***[631]
(YE = 44H) *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)

7.103 TART (tʾrt) 𐬙𐬁𐬙 (probably Tawwaj, Fārs)

TART (**T-ART**) is clearly linked with the well known signature **ART** (7.14) for Ardashīr-Khurra in Fārs. While **ART** is common for the Sasanian period and continued into the early Islamic period, **TART** first became active in 67H and continued until 80H. The close link between the two signatures is demonstrated by the similarity in the style of their coins and also that the same dates are known for both **ART** and **TART**, e.g. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (67H),[632] ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh (68H)[633] and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (77–80H). The most likely centre in the Ardashīr-Khurra district represented by **TART** is the city of Tawwaz / Tawwaj near the coast,[634] which in the pre-Islamic era was known as Tavak.

Most, but not all, Arab geographers locate Tawwaj in the Ardashīr-Khurra district. Its foundation probably goes back to Achaemenid times and it is referred to in the *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr* as Tūzag (Tūg) which was said to have been founded by Humāy, the daughter of a Kayanid king (a legendary account).[635] Tawwaj became famous for textiles in the Sasanian and early Islamic periods.[636] In 16–17H Tawwaj was captured by the Arabs and became a base from which the army could attack other areas in Fārs. It may have been retaken as the sources refer to Tawwaj being a base for the Sasanian regent of Fārs, Shahrak-i Marzbān, in 23H before he was killed.[637] Archaeological remains near Zirah and Saʿad Ābād (near the Shirin river to the north of Borāzjān, within current Bushehr province) may be site of Tawwaj.[638]

Tawwaj appears to have thrived as a centre in the Umayyad period and post-reform Islamic dirhams are known dated 82H.[639]

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
ANS.1956.137.77; *Damascus* pl. 33, no. AS.57; *SICA* 1 pl. 27, nos 388–389 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 27, no. 107; (**Pl. 106, 1247-1248**) (with **dwwyst** in Q3 obverse margin)

[631] In addition there is an anonymous Khusrau type with *lillāh* dated 25 with a signature noted here as **LYW**, but **ŠYYW** is a less plausible reading: (**Pl. 70, 824**).

[632] Indeed both these coins have the same marginal inscription on the obverse *bism allāh* / **dwnyst**.

[633] Same obverse margin with · *lillāh al-hamd* : : / ·.

[634] Gaube 1973, pp. 104–5, para. 4.2.36; *SICA* 1, p. 56; Mochiri 1987, pp. 75–6; Sears 1997, pp. 117–18 (who doubts attribution to Tawwaj). Paruck 1944, p. 113 read signature as **TAUT**.

[635] Daryaee 2002, pp. 20 and 51.

[636] Barthold (trans. Soucek, 1984), p. 163. The accounts of the conquest are confusing and often internally inconsistent. For example, al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), pp. 127–8 refers to two separate accounts. In the first, ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀs crossed the sea to Fārs and landed at Tawwaj, which he conquered, built mosques and settled Arab tribes. In the second, al-Hakam conquered it in 19H and settled Arab tribes there. By the fourteenth century AD it lay in ruins.

[637] Mochiri 1987, pp. 73–6, who reads the mint signature as **TAVKU** and transliterates the letters as **tʾwkw**.

[638] Miri 2009, pp. 42–4 (useful discussion with references).

[639] Klat 2002, no. 199.

Year 68(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Miles *Persepolis* (1959), p. 25, no. 102 (Istakhr); Mochiri 1987 p. 100, no. 107, pl. 17, no. 100 (mint signature read as **TAVKU**); Weber p. 63, no. 153; (**Pl. 107, 1249**)

Year 74(H) **ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh**
Walker p. 97, no. B.32 (read as 71)[640]; British Museum (BM 1977, 1004.11); Mitchiner 1978 p. 216, no. 1379 (date unclear, probably 74); ANS.1975.238.38; ANS.1975.238.36; ANS.1975.238.32; ANS.1973.316.1343; ANS.1963.170.11; ANS.1975.238.39; ANS.1975.238.33; ANS.1976.275.13; ANS.1975.238.34; ANS.1975.238.37; *SICA* 1 pl. 27, no. 390 (Shamma); (**Pl. 107, 1250-1252**) (date equivocal may be 73 or more likely 74H)

Year 75(H) **Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa**
Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), pl. 28, no. 42; Gaube pl. 6, no. 70 (Paris); Eshragh p. 35, no. 154; (**Pl. 107, 1253**)
al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra
ANS.1957.108.12; ANS.1976.275.14 (Farrukhzād in Q3 obverse); *SICA* 1 pl. 27, nos 391–392 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 35, no. 152; (**Pl. 107, 1254**)

Year 76(H) **al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra**
Walker p. 116, no. ANS.16 (= ANS.1917.215.3361; Farrukhzād in Q3 obverse margin); Weber p. 71, no. 168; (**Pl. 107, 1255**)

Year 77(H) **al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra**
Weber p. 72, no. 169 (date uncertain, read as 80)[641]
al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf
ANS.1957.84.16; Weber p. 80, no. 190; Morton and Eden auction 48 (4 April 2011, lot 8 (letters *lam-alifs* arranged horizontally in obverse marginal legend); (**Pl. 107, 1256-1257**)

Year 78(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**
Walker p. 121, no. B.38; Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), p. 29, no. 49 (= ANS.1951.185.1); *Damascus* p. 204, no. AS.117A (not illustrated); *SICA* 1 pl. 27, nos 393–395 (Shamma); (**Pl. 107, 1258-1259**)

Year 80(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**
Walker p. 121, no. Flag.1

All the coins from Tawwaj (**TART**) bear Hijrī dates from 67 to 80H. Unlike **ART**, there are no issues prior to 67H such as the anonymous Khusrau types or those of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. There are close similarities between the issues of Tawwaj and Ardashīr-Khurra (**ART**) though **ART** is the commoner and includes issues in the name of officials not found at **TART**.

Table 7.4. Officials named on coins of **TART** and **ART**, 65 to 81H

Date	*Official*	*ART*	*TART*
65H	ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr	√	
66H	ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr	√	
67H	ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr	√	√
68H	ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh	√	√
69H	ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh	√	
70H	ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh	√	
71H			
72H	Humrān b. Abān	√	

[640] This issue has often been read as dated 71 or 73, but is probably 74 with the Pahlavi numeral 4 followed by **hptʾt**.

[641] 80H is too late for this governor. The date appears to be defective, reading **tʾtʾt** possibly for 77.

73H	ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān	√	
74H	ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh	√	√
75H	Qatarī b. Al-Fujāʾa	√	√
	al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra		√
	Khārijite issue	√	
76H	Khārijite issue	√	
	al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra	√	√
	al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf	√	
77H	al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf	√	√
78H	al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf	√	√
79H	al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf	√	
80H	al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf	√	√
81H	al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf	√	

7.104 TNBK' (tnbk') صالد (Unknown location within Fārs province)

TNBK' (**TNBKN**) may also be read as **TNBT**, albeit the former reading appears more likely. It is unknown for the Sasanian period and for the Arab-Sasanian series is only known for copper issues. The issue with a ram indicates that the coins were probably struck in Fārs, as animals and the name Farrukhzād are found on copper issues of other mints within Fārs. Furthermore, examples of the type with a fire altar and attendants have been found in excavations at Bīshāpūr.[642] It has been plausibly suggested that the mint signature may represent Tanbūk located between Shīrāz and Arrajān,[643] but this is only one of a number of possibilities.

1. **TNBK'**. **Khālid b. ʿAbbād**. *Obv*. Facing bust, Pahlavi legend **GDH ʾpzwt'** (*xvarrah abzūd*; 'the royal glory has been increased') on left, Arabic legend *khālid b. ʿabbād* on right, Arabic legend Q2 and Q3. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, unread Pahlavi legend on left, **tnbk'** on right. Gyselen type 58.
2. **TNBK'**. **Farrukhzād** (Farroxzād). *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend **GDH ʾpzwt'** on left, **plhzʾt** (name Farroxzād / Farrukhzād, or epithet 'Born Fortunate') on right. *Rev*. Ram right, mint legend **ʾpʾd tnbk'** on right ('may Tanbūk be prosperous'). Gyselen type 59; (**Pl. 123, 1471**)

7.105 TPWLSTAN (tpwlstʾn) طبرستان (Tabaristān)

TPWLSTAN (**TPWRSTAN**) denotes the province of Tabaristān, in north-east Iran roughly covering modern Mazandarān and the northern part of Semnān province. Protected by its mountainous terrain it remained independent of the Umayyads. Various incursions were repelled. The Dābūyid Ispahbads governed Tabaristān from the late Sasanian period until after the fall of the Umayyads. The coins of Tabaristān struck by the Dābūyid Ispahbads and the early ʿAbbāsid governors were modelled on the Sasanian type. The coinage of Tabaristān is often discussed with Arab-Sasanian coins,[644] even though they date from after the Umayyads had ceased striking Arab-Sasanian style coins in 86H (albeit the type continued to be struck in the peripheral region of Sīstān for some time later). The coins are almost always dated according to the Post Yazdgard Era starting in 652, apart from a few rare issues with Hijrī dates in Arabic. The first coins were struck by Farrukhān in PYE60 (93H).[645]

[642] Gyselen 2009, p. 83; Treadwell 2008, p. 352, who considers the mint town was either in the Ardashīr-Khurra or Bīshāpūr district or perhaps even transferred from Ardashīr-Khurra to Bīshāpūr district. Mochiri 1987, pp. 73–5 suggests Tavak, later called Tawwaj, a port of the Ardashīr-Khurra district of Fārs and thus equates with the place denoted by **TART** on drachms.

[643] *SICA* 1, p. 69.

[644] Walker 1941; *SICA* 1; Gyselen 2009.

[645] The coinage is dealt with fully in Malek 2004; see also Malek 2017b.

7.106 TSPWN' (tspwn') (Ctesiphon, Central Iraq)

TSPWN' (**TSFWN**) is not known at all under the Sasanians and only for one rare issue in the Arab-Sasanian series. It no doubt represents Ctesiphon (Ktesiphon / Tisfūn),[646] the important Sasanian administrative capital, well known for the enormous arched palace called Tāq-i Kisra considered by the Arabs as one of the wonders of the world, built under Khusrau I. Ctesiphon, along with Weh-Ardashīr and other cities, was known as al-Madāʾin, 'the cities'.[647] Its importance diminished after the Arab conquest.

Post-reform Islamic dirhams are known for Madīna al-ʿAtīqa[648] (the sub-district in which Ctesiphon was located) and Nahr Būq[649] (a sub-district north east of Ctesiphon).

Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Gaube pl. 8, no. 96 (= Paris, BN 1969.889); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 19, no. 255 (signature read as **TSPWN**); (**Pl. 107, 1260**)

In addition, there is a drachm in the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf with the mint and date in Arabic of Madāʾin (7.65A), 76H.[650]

7.107 WH (wh) (Uncertain location); Weh-Andīyōk-Shāpūr in Khūzistān and Weh-Ardashīr in Iraq possible)

7.107.1 WH

7.107.2 WH

WH (which has also been read as **NH**)[651] has not been conclusively attributed. There are two variants of the signature. First, the usual form of **WH** with an initial horizontal stroke before or with the **W**. This is found on the Khusrau anonymous issues. Second, the form of **WH** with no initial horizontal stroke is found on coins of ʿAbd Allāh. The signature is commonly encountered in the Sasanian period from Vahrān IV[652] to Ardashīr III, but is comparatively rare in the Arab-Sasanian series. In hoards of Khusrau II drachms it is well represented, except in the Seleucia hoard which only has 1.07% of this mint signature.[653] **WH** probably represents a place beginning with Weh (Beh; Veh, 'new'), but the problem is that numerous places in Sasanian times started with that word. Weh-Ardashīr (Veh-Ardaxšīr) in central Iraq (adjacent to the Hellenistic city of Seleucia and close to Ctesiphon) is a possibility and until recently appears to be favoured by most modern writers.[654] The town had been founded by Ardashīr I on the west bank of the river Tigris

[646] *SICA* 1, p. 56; Sears 1997, pp. 68–9; Gaube 1973, read **TAP**(?); De Shazo 1992.

[647] Barthold (trans. Soucek, 1984), p. 201.

[648] Klat 2002, no. 579 (97H).

[649] Klat 2002, no. 636 (90H).

[650] Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 25, p. 280, fig. 9.25.5.

[651] This transliteration is unlikely, though both Nēhāvand (Mordtmann 1879, p. 117; Walker 1941, pp. cxxiii–cxxiv) and Nahr-Tīrā (Göbl 1971, p. 82) have been suggested as locations.

[652] *SNS* 3/2, pl. 41, nos 62–63.

[653] Malek 1993b, p. 85: Göbl 1973.

[654] Mochiri 1977, pp. 263–82; *SICA* 1, p. 56; Sears 1997, p. 65; Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 131; but see Schindel's arguments for a location in Khūzistān, *SNS* 3/1, pp. 169–70 and Schindel 2005, pp. 290–2. In year 12 Khusrau II hoards, for the final years of 11 and 12 there are relatively high percentages of coins with **AY** and **WH** mint signatures. Further, Schindel has noted stylistic similarities between coins with **AW**, **AY** and **WH** mint signatures in the period from Vahrān IV (388-99) to Pērōz (457–84), thus indicating that these mints may have been in the same locality. Given that **AW** and **AY** both represent mints in Khūzistān province, this is some support for **WH** also to be located in Khūzīstān. If this is correct, then Weh-Andīyōk-Shāpūr is credible, being one of the largest cities in Khūzistān which begins with Weh. Further supporting evidence may be found in a hoard group of 198 Sasanian drachms which included 24 drachms of Kusrau II of regnal year 1. These year 1 coins were primarily from three mints: **AW** (Hormizd-Ardashīr), **AY** (Ēran-Khurra-Shāpūr and **WH**; see Heidemann 2018, pp. 170-1.

opposite Ctesiphon. At the time of the Islamic conquest Weh-Ardashīr was the capital of the district of Ardashīr-Bābakān.[655] It is odd that the signature is so poorly represented in the Seleucia hoard. It has been suggested the reason for this is that the hoard was not drawn randomly from circulation, but was stored in unknown circumstances.[656] On the other hand **WYH** (7.109 below) may denote Weh-Ardashīr. **WH** and **WYH**[657] are known for the same regnal years in the late Sasanian period so are unlikely to represent the same place. Weh-Andrew (Andīyōk)-Šabuhr (Shāpūr) in Khūzistān cannot be excluded as a realistic possibility, and indeed is probably the most likely attribution in all the circumstances.[658] Other possibilities put forward are Weh-Ardashīr (Veh-Ardaxšīr) in Kirmān and Bahman-Ardashīr (Vahman-Ardashīr).[659] Weh-Ardashīr in Kirmān is unlikely. **WH** is not found in conjunction with **KLMAN** on Arab-Sasanian coins, unlike other mint signatures such as **BN**. It is doubtful whether Bahman-Ardashīr was sufficiently large to justify such a large output of coins. Weh-Kavād is also unlikely as **WH** is found on coins before the reign of Kavād I. In view of the foregoing, although Weh-Ardashīr in Iraq and Weh-Andīyōk-Shāpūr in Khūzistān are both plausible (with a preference for the latter), it is probably safer to regard the location as at least uncertain.

Year 24	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 35H)	Album 1992 pl. 25, no. 43 (72H hoard; mint signature read as **WYH**; Warden-Album); *SNS* (Israel) pl. 19, no. 256; (**Pl. 108, 1261-1262**)
Year 25	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H)	Walker p. 6, no. B.2; *ENIS* II p. 282, fig. 843 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 108, 1263-1264**)
Year 26	**ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 58H)	Mochiri 1987 p. 96, no. 66, pl. 12, no. 72[660]
Year 26	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 37H)	Walker p. 7, no. ETN.2 (= ANS 1944.100.42539); ANS 1956.137.39; Album 1992 p. 171, pl. 25, nos 40–41; (**Pl. 108, 1265**)
Year 27	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 38H)	*SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (Warden-Album); (**Pl. 108, 1267**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
	ENIS II p. 282, fig. 844 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 108, 1266**)
Year 28	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 39H)	Walker p. 8, no. M.5 (unconfirmed); (**Pl. 108, 1268**)
Year 29	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 40H)	Walker p. 9, no. 13; *ENIS* II p. 282, fig. 845 (Mochiri); Eshragh p. 13, no. 19; (**Pl. 108, 1269**)
Year 30	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 41H)	Walker p. 10, no. RB.2; Miles *RIC* pl. 1, no. 2 (= ANS.1973.244.30); *ENIS* II p. 282, fig. 846 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 108, 1270**)
Year 31	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 42H)	(**Pl. 108, 1271**)

[655] H. H. Gaube, 'Ardašīr Bābakān', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (vol. 2, fasc. 4, pp. 382–3, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ardasir-babakan-sasanian-and-early-islamic-district consulted 19 April 2018).

[656] Sears, 1977, p. 65.

[657] The Seleucia hoard contained 18.72% coins of **WYH**, making **WYH** a possible abbreviation for Weh-Ardashīr (Seleucia): Göbl 1973.

[658] Paruck 1944, p. 114 (read signature as **VH**), also favoured by Schindel as noted above.

[659] Gyselen and Kalus 1983, pp. 148–9; Gyselen 1979, p. 210.

[660] Album in *SICA* 1, p. 19 considers the date to be spurious. Mochiri considers the date to be a PYE date and thus equivalent to 58H, which seems plausible.

Year 32	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 43H)	(**Pl. 108, 1272**)
Year 33	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 44H)	Walker p. 12, no. M.11 (unconfirmed); (**Pl. 109, 1273**)
Year 34	ʿ**Abd Allāh**
(uncertain era)	ANS 1987.146.1
Year 35	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 46H)	ANS.1999.54.3; Mochiri 1987 p. 98, no. 87, pl. 10, no. 59 (mint read as **NIH**); (**Pl. 109, 1274**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
	ENIS II p. 282, fig. 847 (Mochiri)
Year 36	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 47H)	*SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (Warden-Album)
Year 37	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 48H)	(**Pl. 109, 1275**)
	Anonymous Khusrau type with ***bism allāh***
	(**Pl. 109, 1276**)
Year 37	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(uncertain era)	*SICA* 1 p. 15, fn[59]; p. 19, fn[88] (Warden-Album; noted without illustration; spurious date)
Year 41(H)	ʿ**Abd Allāh**
	Walker p. 51, no. B.10 (date either 41 or 43)
Year 42(H)	ʿ**Abd Allāh**
	(**Pl. 109, 1277-1278**) (variants in date legends)
Year 69(H)	**Musʿab b. al-Zubayr**
	Walker p. 104, no. M.50 (noted without illustration = Mordtmann 1879, p. 103, no. 89; unconfirmed).

Most issues with the mint signature **WH** bear YE dates and are anonymous Khusrau type issues struck from 35 to 48H (24 to 37YE). The issues in the name of ʿAbd Allāh probably represent ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir who was appointed governor of Basra in 29H and later replaced. He was then briefly appointed governor of Kūfa in 41H and then of Basra again from 41 to 44H. The coin in his name dated 34 is of an uncertain era. One possibility is 34H, struck during his first governorship of Basra, but this seems unlikely as coins in his name do not otherwise appear until 41H and at that time drachms were being struck without the name of any official. Another possibility is that it is a YE date equivalent to 45H. The problem with that is that the sources identify 44H as the date he ceased being governor. On the other hand there are moderately rare coins in his name from other mints dated 47 which must be 47H: **NAL** (7.72 within Kirmān province), Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**) and Yazd (7.114 **YZ**). ʿAbd Allāh's other drachms struck at **WH** use the Hijrī era: 41 and 42H. There are other unconfirmed references to coins with this mint signature: Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (year 37, uncertain era) and Musʿab b. al-Zubayr. The latest confirmed issue is from 58H (PYE26) in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

7.108 WSY (wsy) االلـ (unknown location)

The mint signature **WSY** in this form is unknown for the Sasanian period[661] and only one issue is known for the Arab-Sasanian series. Due to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script alternative readings are **NSY**, **NAY** and **WAY**, or even a poorly inscribed **WYH**. The location denoted by this rare signature is unknown.

[661] There is a similar signature, written slightly differently, known for a 'Hormizd' dated year 2, e.g. Johnson 025068. On this coin, in the style of early drachms of Khusrau II, the first letter has a curve. On the Arab-Sasanian issue the first line is vertical. It is not clear whether both signatures are meant to represent the same place.

Year 34 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 45H) (**Pl. 109, 1279**)

7.109 WYH (**wyh**) (uncertain location probably within Iraq, possibly Weh-Kavād)

7.109.1 WYH

7.109.2 WYH

WYH has also been read as **NYH** and has not been conclusively attributed.[662] For the Arab-Sasanian series there are two variants of this signature. First, the usual form of mint signature with an initial horizontal stroke before or with the **W**. Second, the form of **W** which starts off curved at the bottom moving to form a vertical stroke, only known for the issue of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. Before Kavād I (484–531) **WYH** is only known for Vahrān IV (unconfirmed) and a drachm of Pērōz (457/9–84) (Johnson 0740-0032) and is rare. Later, between Kavād I and Khusrau II, it is relatively common often being struck for the same dates as **WH**. The last Sasanian issue was struck under Ardashīr III (628–30). It is rarely encountered as an Arab-Sasanian mint striking some anonymous Khusrau issues, but is used by only two Umayyad officials. An attribution to Weh-Ardashīr (Veh-Ardashīr) in Iraq (within the Ctesiphon conurbation) is plausible given the high percentage of Khusrau II drachms of **WYH** in the Seleucia hoard (18.72%).[663] Nēhāvand in the Jibāl (Māh / Media) has also been considered as a possibility,[664] as has Nīshāpūr.[665] More recent writers have favoured Weh-Kavād[666] (Bihqubādh) in central Iraq on the basis that a mint locality in Iraq is likely given the early dates on the first anonymous Khusrau type drachms and the apparent fact that the signature first appears under Kavād I, under whom Weh-Kavād was founded.[667] It is also supported by the existence of administrative bullae with the initials **WYH** and the full place name. This is a plausible and probably the better interpretation, but Weh-Ardashīr cannot be entirely excluded as a possibility.

Year 23 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 34H) *SICA* 1 p. 66, fn[313] (noted without illustration)
Year 25 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 36H) *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)
Year 27 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**[668]
(PYE = 59H) Walker p. 68, no. M.45 (spurious date); Mochiri 1987 p. 91, no. 11, pl. 2, no. 8 (**yz'n** in Q1 obverse); *SICA* 1 pl. 33, no. 473 (Shamma)
Year 27 **Anonymous Khusrau type**
(YE = 38H) Paruck 1944 p. 101 (noted without illustration; subject to confirmation)
Year 29 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 40H) *Damascus* pl. 31, no. AS.9; (**Pl. 109, 1280**)
Year 30 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***

[662] Paruck 1944, p. 102 (read signature as **NIH**).

[663] Malek 1993b, p. 85. See also *SNS* 3/1, p. 170.

[664] Walker 1941, p. cxv Mitchiner 1978, p. 475; Mochiri 1977, p. 454; Göbl 1971, p. 82; Sellwood 1985, p. 48. Bates, in a personal communication, has noted that the Warden-Album collection included a drachm with **WYH** mint signature, year 27 which is die linked to a drachm of **NY**, year 29. He takes this as an indication (albeit not conclusive) that the two abbreviations represent the same mint place.

[665] Mordtmann 1879, p. 120.

[666] Sears 1997, pp. 69–70; *SICA* 1, p. 56 (Bihqubad); Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 131 (Weh-Kavād)

[667] *SNS* 3/2, pl. 136, nos A22–A24 (years 19, 28 and 35). Other dates for Kavād I are known, including undated, 24, 30, 36, 38, 40–43.

[668] This coin, like a number of other issues of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, has a word read as **yz'n** in Q1 of obverse margin. The date may use the PYE, equivalent to 59H.

(YE = 41H) *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration)
Year 30 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(uncertain era) Walker p. 42, no. O.1 (spurious date)[669]
Year 33 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 44H) Walker p. 12, no. M.11 (unconfirmed); Album 1992 pl. 25, no. 46; *SICA* 1 pl. 33, no. 472 (Shamma); (**Pl. 109, 1281**)
Year 33 **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
(uncertain era) Mochiri 1987 p. 96, no. 62, pl. 12, no. 67; (**Pl. 109, 1282**)
Year 34 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 45H) *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (Warden-Album)
Year 35 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 46H) (**Pl. 109, 1283**)
Anonymous Khusrau type with ***lillāh***
(**Pl. 110, 1284**)
Year 36 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 47H) (**Pl. 110, 1285**)
Year 37 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
(YE = 48H) Walker p. 15, no. I.8 (noted without illustration)
Year 63(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(**Pl. 110, 1286**)

WYH drachms use a variety of date eras, but all the anonymous Khusrau issues probably bear YE dates (23–37) equating to 34 to 48H. The only two named officials are Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (uncertain era, dated 30 and 33) and his son ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād who uses the PYE (PYE27 = 59H) and Hijrī (63H). Coins with **WYH** mint signature are generally scarce and are rare in the names of officials.

7.110 WYHC (**wyhc**) (probably initially Weh-az-Andīyōk-Khusrau in Ctesiphon area, later Weh-az-Amid-Kavād / Arrajān in Fārs)

7.110.1 WYHC

7.110.2 WYHC

WYHC (sometimes transcribed as **NYHC**) has been variously read.[670] The signature first regularly appears from year 23 of Khusrau I[671] following on immediately after the cessation of **AS**, as Mochiri has noted.[672] This suggests that the two signatures may represent the same location. From Khusrau I on the signature is one of the most commonly encountered in the late Sasanian period. It is known for all of the short reigned kings and queens from Kavād II (628) to Khusrau IV (631), including Bōrān (years 1 and 2). It is one of the only two mints striking for Āzarmidokht (the other being **ŠY**). Its use decreases under Yazdgard III and it is only known for his year 7.[673] The signature rarely appears on Arab-Sasanian coins.

[669] Mochiri 1987 p. 90, no. 4 considers that in place of the date is the word **š(y)dā** = *dēw* for devil, which seems unlikely.

[670] Paruck 1944, p. 102 read signature as **NIHJ**; Mochiri 1972, pp. 39–40; Mochiri *ENIS* II, pp. 223–49 argued for **VSP** (**WSP** is also possible). This is unlikely as the last letter is clearly a **C** rather than a **P**.

[671] Mochiri *ENIS* II, p. 236, fig. 606 (Khusrau I, year 23). There are some very rare drachms of Kavād I with this mint signature: *SNS* 3/2, pl. 136, no. A25 (year 17).

[672] Sasanian coins with **AS** are known from Vahrān IV until year 22 of Khusrau I. **AS** was a major mint in that period. Mochiri *ENIS* II p. 233, fig. 605 (Khusrau I, year 22).

[673] Mochiri 2012, p. 186, who regards those dated year 20 as being Arab-Sasanian.

Various attributions have been suggested. Weh-Ardashīr in Iraq (adjacent to Seleucia) is a possibility though the Seleucia hoard had a greater proportion of **WYH** (18.72%) than **WYHC** (2.67%).[674] Although Mochiri's suggested transliteration of **VSP** and its identification as Visp Shād Khusrau is unlikely, his view that it represents the Sasanian capital appears to be sound.[675] Nīshāpūr is also an unlikely location, although it has been favoured by some numismatists.[676] Gyselen has proposed an attribution to Weh-[az] Amīd-Kavād (Veh-az-Amid-Kavād), supported by the presence of the abbreviation on an official seal of that town or district (Arrajān).[677] This attribution is supported by the appearance of the signature for the first time on coins of Kavād I. Kavād refounded and renamed the city to which he had deported the population of Amida, implying that it was made by 'Kavād better than Amida'.[678]

The Sasanian town of Weh-az-Amid-Kavād was renamed Arrajān in the early Islamic period and then renamed again as Bizamqubādh under the later Umayyads. From the late Sasanian period, and into the Islamic period, it was one of the five districts of Fārs as well as the chief town of the district. The town flourished in the third to fourth centuries Hijrī but then declined. It was devastated by an earthquake in AD1085 and never recovered.[679] Its ruins are located near the modern town of Behbehān,[680] next to the Marum river, on the border of the provinces of Khūzistān and Fārs.[681]

The use of **WYHC** as a mint by several short-reigned Sasanian rulers suggests it was a major city, perhaps the capital or administrative centre. Ctesiphon (Ktesiphon) called Tisfūn / Tūsfūn / Tayafūn under the Arabs,[682] or somewhere in the vicinity of Madā'in (Madāen, which incorporated it within its area), is a likely location. As that the signature commences regular production during the reign of Khusrau I, following on immediately from **AS** (probably representing Aspānabr / Asbānbar), Weh-az-Andīyōk-Khusrau seems the most probable location within the Ctesiphon / Madā'īn conurbation. Weh-az- Andīyōk-Khusrau (literally meaning Khusrau's better Antioch) was built under Khusrau I to house the captives taken from Antioch after his forces sacked it in 540. The alternative location of Arrajān seems unlikely under the Sasanians as it was not important enough to have been such a major mint.

It is possible that for the Arab-Sasanian series we have two locations for **WYHC**.[683] The epigraphy of the signature changes, with the earlier Arab-Sasanian drachms (the anonymous Khusrau types and those of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān) having the same epigraphy as late Sasanian drachms: the legend starts with a horizontal stroke joining the vertical stroke for **W**. The second type, which does not have an initial horizontal stroke, is first found in 67H on coins of 'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allāh, governor of Fārs. It is then found on all subsequent issues. These later drachms are in the same style as other drachms struck at Fārs mints (e.g. 7.14 **ART** and 7.103 **TART**). In particular there is a pellet before and after the mint letters, a typical feature of the Fārs mints and found on other Arab-Sasanian issues of **WYHC**. Further, an issue of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf dated 77H includes the name of the sub-governor, al-Hakam b. Nahīk who is recorded as having started the construction of a mosque and palace in Arrajān.[684]

[674] Bivar 1963, p. 163; Göbl 1973, p. 259.

[675] Mochiri 1972, pp. 39–40; *ENIS* II, pp. 233–49. Mochiri 2012, pp. 186–7.

[676] Mordtmann 1879, p. 120; Sellwood 1985, p. 49.

[677] Gyselen and Kalus 1983, pp. 149–51; Gyselen 1989, p. 120.

[678] Barthold (trans. Soucek 1984), pp. 164–5. Before then it was called Argān: Gyselen 2008, pp. 288–9. It is mentioned as a town through which the first Sasanian king, Ardashīr I had passed en route to Ahwāz. Tyler-Smith 2017, pp. 132–3 considers that under Kavād I the signature represents Weh-az-Amid-Kavād, but from Khusrau I year 23 until the end of Sasanian rule represents Weh-az-Andīyōk-Khusrau.

[679] H. Gaube, 'Arrajān', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* vol. 2, fasc. 5, pp. 519–20, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/arrajan-medieval-city-and-province-in-southwestern-iran-between-kuzestan-and-fars (consulted 19 April 2018).

[680] Miri 2009, p. 45.

[681] Álvarez-Mon 2011, p. 301, which puts the distance as 9km northeast of Bebehān.

[682] J. Kröger, 'Ctesiphon', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* vol. 6, fasc. 4, pp. 446–8, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ctesiphon consulted 19 April 2018.

[683] *SICA* 1, pp. 56, 65–7 for a very useful discussion.

[684] Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 17.

If we can distinguish these two forms of the mint signature it suggests the earlier types were struck in the Ctesiphon region, as the Sasanian issues had been, and the later variant in Fārs province, probably Arrajān. It is noteworthy that the seal with **WYHC** and the name of Weh-az-Amid-Kavād in full (**wyhc ʾmt kw ʾt**) has **WYHC** inscribed in the same way as on the later Arab-Sasanian drachms.

It appears that the signature may have represented two distinct locations as follows:

1. Kavad I: Weh-az-Amid-Kavād
2. Khusrau I from year 23 until end of Sasanian period: Weh-az-Andīyōk-Khusrau
3. Arab-Sasanian coins until Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (50H): Weh-az-Andīyōk-Khusrau
4. Arab-Sasanian coins from ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh (67H): Weh-az-Amid-Kavād

No post-reform Islamic coins are known in the name of Arrajān for the Umayyad period. From 79H, however, the town struck dirhams with its new name Bizāmqubādh.[685] Dirhams of Arrajān are known under the ʿAbbāsids and it was a very common Buwayhid mint until 392H.[686]

Year 5	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** (**Pl. 110, 1287**) (reverse die from Khusrau II drachm)
Year 23 (YE=34H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh*** *SICA* 1 pl. 33, no. 474 (Shamma) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** (**Pl. 110, 1288**) (signature 7.110.1)
Year 25 (YE=36H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** (**Pl. 110, 1289**)
Year 33 (YE = 44H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** (**Pl. 110, 1290**)
Year 35 (YE=46H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (noted without illustration); (**Pl. 110, 1291**) (signature 7.110.1)
Year 35 (unknown era)	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān** Paris (BN 1965.488); *SICA* 1 p. 15, fn 59 (unconfirmed, noted without illustration, date may be 50).
Year 36 (YE=47H)	**Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh*** *SICA* 1 p. 7, fn[19] (Warden-Album)
Year 50(H)	**Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān** *ENIS* II p. 249, fig. 710 (Mochiri); ANS.1979.130.1 (date possibly 35, imitation); Weber p. 25, no. 57; (**Pl. 110, 1292**) (signature 7.110.1)
Year 67(H)	**ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh** *SICA* 1 pl. 33, no. 475 (Shamma; · **WYHC** ·); (**Pl. 110, 1293**) (signature written as 7.110.2)
Year 68(H)	**ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh** *ENIS* II p. 249, fig. 711 (Mochiri); *SICA* 1 pl. 33, nos 476–477 (Shamma), 478 (Ashmolean); Weber p. 64, no. 154; (**Pl. 110, 1294**) (· **WYHC** ·; signature 7.110.2)
Year 69(H)	**ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh** Walker p. 102, no. B.35; Miles *Persepolis* (1959), Naqsh-i Rustam, nos 49–50; Gaube pl. 9, no. 102 (N.M. 1959); *ENIS* II p. 249, fig. 713 (Mochiri); (**Pl. 110, 1295**) (· **WYHC** ·; signature 7.110.2)
Year 71(H)	**ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh** *SICA* 1 pl. 33, no. 479 (Shamma); (**Pl. 111, 1296**) (· **WYHC** ·; signature 7.110.2)

[685] Post-reform Islamic dirhams were struck under the Umayyads with the name Bizamqubādh until 96H: Klat 2002, nos 160–164 (79, 80, 90, 91, 93H); Baldwin's Islamic Coin Auction 19 (25 April 2012), lot 36 (96H).

[686] 271–5, 299–322H. Eshragh 2010 p. 234, no. 1348 (275H); *SICA* 4 pls 2–3, nos 37–45 (274–5, 302–3, 321H).

Year 72(H) **ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh**
Miles *ANSMN* 7 (1957), p. 240, no. 37 (not illustrated, date unclear, · **WYHC** ·) (= ANS.1949.163.917)

Year 73(H) **Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh**
British Museum (BM 1965, 0202.1); *ENIS* II p. 249, fig. 714 (Mochiri); *SICA* 1 pl. 33, no. 480 (Shamma); Weber p. 67, no. 160; (**Pl. 111, 1297**) (· **WYHC** ·; signature 7.110.2)
Numayla b. Muslih(?)[687]
Walker p. 106, no. Cam.11 (year read as 71, mint **ŠAJA**, al-Mughīra b. al-Muhallab; = Gaube pl. 5, no. 59 year read as 64; = Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.28-R); *ENIS* II p. 249, figs 715, 1557 (Mochiri, year read as 71; · **WYHC** ·)

Year 76(H) **Abū Saʿīd b. Numayla**(?)
Eshragh p. 295, no. 1758 (· **WYHC** ·; name read as Abū Hādhir b. Hajan)

Year 77(H) **Abū Saʿīd b. Numayla**(?)
Morton and Eden auction 48 (4 April 2011), lot 9 (official read as Abū Saʿid b. Numayla?)
al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (with **al-Hakam b. Nahīk** in Q3 obverse margin)
Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 17

The issues of **WYHC** with the first type of mint signature (7.110.1) were struck from 34 to 50H. The issues of the anonymous Khusrau type all bear YE dates. The issue of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān dated 50 bears a Hijrī date, but there is a reference to an issue of his dated 35, which may either be a mistake for 50H, or be of an unknown era. All issues of the first type are rare, apart from the drachm in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufra.

The issues of **WYHC** with the second type of mint signature (7.110.2) cover the period 62 to 77H. All these issues have Hijrī dates and the mint signature is preceded and followed by a pellet. The copper issue of ʿUbayd Allāh (b. Ziyād) dated 62H with Farrukhzād (Farroxzād) in the margin raises the question as to whether 'Farrukhzād' refers to an individual or merely an attribute or epithet ('Prosperity'). The word is also found on copper issues which are likely to be dated 82 and 83H. ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh's name appears on drachms of **WYHC** from 67 to 72H. This is similar to his other issues in Fārs province: Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**), Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**), Istakhr (7.89 **ST**) and Tawwaj (7.103 **TART**) which all strike for some of these years. ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh's coins are not known for any other mints in Fārs, such as the Dārābgerd mints and Yazd (7.114 **YZ**), but his name is found on issues of Kirmān and Basra dated 65H. This reflects the historical sources as he was briefly governor for Basra in 64–5H and then appointed governor of Fārs in 67H. The numismatic evidence is consistent with him having control over part only of Fārs: while ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh was striking coins in parts of Fārs ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr was striking coins in the Dārābgerd district and Yazd.

There are drachms of **WYHC** dated 73H in the name of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh, whose coinage is otherwise only known for Basra (7.27 **BCLA**, 73–4H) and Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**, 73–4H). These issues are followed by drachms where the names of the officials have been variously read and are difficult to reconcile with the historical texts: Numayla b. Muslih (73H) and Abū Saʿīd b. Numayla (76–7H). The latest issue is dated 77H in the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. All issues with the second type of mint signature are rare, apart from the relatively plentiful drachms of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh dated 67 to 69H and Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh dated 73H.

Copper[688]

1. · **WYHC** ·; year 82(?). *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend **GDH ʾpzwt'** (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased') on left, **plhwyh pylwcyh** (*farrokhīh pērōzīh*, 'benediction victory') on right, in Q2 in Arabic *nasara allāh al-haqq* ('may God give the victory to the Truth'). *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, Pahlavi date on left, mint on right. Gyselen type 48

[687] *SICA* 1, p. 33. The title has also been read as Numayra b. Mālik by De Shazo 2000b.

[688] Treadwell 2008, pp. 356–7; Curiel and Gyselen 1984, pp. 24–8. These are historically important coins which may reflect the struggle between al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf and Ibn al-Ashʿath (ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad), who was in rebellion in Fārs in 80–3H.

2. · **WYHC** ·; year 83(?). *Obv*. Two faced bust, Pahlavi legend **hwbhtyh** (*hubaxtih* / *hubakhtin*) on left, **W pl'hwyh** (*ud frākhih*) on right ('Fortune and Prosperity'), in margin in Arabic *muhammad rasūl allāh wa lladhīn yatlūna maʿa-hu ashiddāʾ ʿalā l-kuffār ruhamāʾ bayna-hum* ('Muhammad is the Messenger of God, those who recite with him are violent to the infidels and compassionate between them'). *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, Pahlavi date on left, mint on right, in Q4 **lwb'k** (*ravāg*, 'current'). Gyselen type 49; *ENIS* II p. 249, fig. 716 (Foroughi; attributed to ʿUbayd Allāh and date read as 62H)

7.111 WYŠ 𐭥𐭱𐭮 (see under 7.76 **NYŠ**)

7.112 YALY (?) (**y'ly**) (?) 𐭩𐭠𐭤 (unknown location)

There is a reference to a drachm with the mint signature read as **YARY**. An examination of the mint signature shows that it is written equivocably and may be transliterated as **y'ly**. The location of the mint place is unknown, albeit the view has been expressed that it was probably in the Kūfan prefecture.[689]

Year 39 (H or YE=50H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh***
SICA 1 p. 7, fn[19] (Warden-Album)

This coin may either have a Hijrī or YE date. 50H is late for a regular anonymous Khusrau issue, so a Hijrī date is more likely.

7.113 YHLWN (**yhlwn** or **ghlwn**) 𐭩𐭧𐭤𐭥 (Jahrōm, in Fārs)

YHLWN (**YHRWN**) is only known for copper issues in the Arab-Sasanian series. It represents Jahrōm in Fārs. The issues are rare. Some sources regarded Jahrōm as being within the Dārābgerd district, which is consistent with a copper issue of **DA** with Jahrōm, in Arabic, as a countermark.[690]

1. **Khusrau** type, year 29. *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend **GDH 'pzwt'** (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased') on left, **hwslwy** (Khusrau) on right. *Rev*. Fire altar, Pahlavi date on left (**nwwyst**), mint (**YHLWN**) on right. Gyselen type 54
(**Pl. 123, 1475**)
2. **Khusrau** type, uncertain date. *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend **GDH** / **'pzwt'** on left, **hwslwy** (Khusrau) on right; **'pd** in Q2 margin. *Rev*. Fire alter, either Pahlavi date or Arabic *bism allāh* ('in the name of God') crudely inscribed and unclear left, mint (**YHLWN**) on right. (**Pl. 123, 1474A**)
3. **Khusrau** type (undated). *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend **GDH 'pzwt'** on left, **hwslwy** (?) (Khusrau) on right. *Rev*. Pahlavi legend **YHLWN** (Jahrōm) with circle. Gyselen type 107
(**Pl. 123, 1474**)
4. *Obv*. Two faced bust, illegible Pahlavi legend left and right. *Rev*. Pahlavi legend in two lines: *lillāh* (?) · / **YHLWN** (Jahrōm). Gyselen type 108 (**Pl. 123, 1473**)

7.113A YWAY (?) (**yw'y**) (?) 𐭩𐭥𐭠𐭤 (unknown location)

YWAY (**yw'y**) is a mint signature known for an isolated Arab-Sasanian bronze issue. The mint signature itself is equivocal and can be read in more than one way and **YWAL** (**yw'l**) is also a possible reading. The coin has a facing bust on the obverve with what is presumed to be the official's name, **wlw'smy** (?) to the right. On the reverse is a fire altar with the date (98H) to the left and mint signature to the right.[691]

[689] *SICA* 1, p. 56.

[690] Gyselen 2009, p. 20.

[691] (**Pl. 123, 1472**).

7.114 YZ (yz) 𐭩𐭦 (probably Yazd, Fārs)

The two letters, **YZ**, have been variously read but Mochiri has convincingly demonstrated that **YZ** is the best reading and Yazd the most probable location.[692] The identification is based on linguistic similarity and the fact that no other place of a sufficiently large size to justify a substantial output, is known.[693] Earlier numismatists allocated the signature to Zaranj in Sīstān on the basis of a reading of **ZR**.[694] This reading is clearly wrong, not just on epigraphical grounds. The coins are all of regular style, not the cruder distinctive style found on issues of **SK** (Sīstān).

In the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods Yazd was regarded as being within the Istakhr district of Fārs, even though geographically it was close to Kirmān. Zoroastrianism remained the predominant faith after the Arab conquest and even today Yazd has a Zoroastrian community.[695]

No post-reform Umayyad or ʿAbbāsid coins of Yazd are known. It re-emerged as an ongoing important mint after the Mongol invasions.[696]

Year 26 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(PYE = 58H) Walker p. 71, no. B.18 (signature read as **ZR**);[697] Mochiri 1987 p. 96, no. 65, pl. 12, no. 70
Year 35 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***lillāh***
(YE = 46H) Künker auction 188 (20 June 2011), lot 494
Year 37 **ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
(uncertain era) *ENIS* II p. 309, fig. 968
Year 43(H) **ʿAbd Allāh**[698]
Walker p. 52, no. SHM.1 (signature read as **ZR**; date read as 41)
Year 44(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir**
(**Pl. 111, 1298-1300**)
Year 47(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
Walker p. 19, no. 24 (signature read as **ZR**); British Museum (BM 1956, 0409.40); ANS.1997.97.1; *SICA* 1 pl. 33, no. 482 (Ashmolean); (**Pl. 111, 1301-1302**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir
SICA 1 p. 10, fn[30] (noted without illustration)
Year 49(H) **Anonymous Khusrau type** with ***bism allāh rabbī***
(**Pl. 111, 1303**)
Year 49 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 61H) *SICA* 1 p. 16, fn[64] (Warden-Album)
Year 50 **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
(YE = 62H) ANS.1964.92.42; (**Pl. 112, 1314-1315**)
Year 50(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Gaube pl. 10, no. 115 (Dr Lindpaintner); Album 1992 pl. 28, no. 84; Eshragh p. 17, no. 47; (**Pl. 111, 1304**)
Year 51(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 45, no. 65 (signature read as **ZR**); *SICA* 1 pl. 33, no. 483 (Shamma); Warden-Album (*bism allāh rabbī* removed from obverse margin, probably after striking); (**Pl. 111, 1305**)

[692] Mochiri 1987, pp. 68–9; *SICA* 1, p. 56; Paruck 1944, pp. 115–6.

[693] Tyler-Smith 2017, p. 133.

[694] Walker 1941, p. cxxxi, following Mordtmann 1879, p. 121, no. 30.

[695] Barthold (trans. Soucek 1984), pp. 152–3, 167.

[696] In addition to the following Paruck 1944, p. 115 refers to an issue dated 40 of Muhammad b. Musalmān (?). No illustration was provided.

[697] The date has been considered spurious but it is probably a PYE date equivalent to 58H.

[698] Peus auction 333 (6 May 1992), lot 986: date read as 41H (?), but may be 43H.

Year 52(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 45, no. I.21 (noted without illustration; mint read as **ZR**); *SICA* 1 pl. 33, no. 484 (Shamma); Weber pp. 26–7, nos 61–63; (**Pl. 111, 1306-1307**)

Year 53(H) **Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān**
Walker p. 45, no. Do.2 (noted without illustration); Album 1992 pl. 28, nos 85–86; Eshragh p. 18, no. 52; (**Pl. 112, 1308**)

Year 57(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Walker p. 71, no. ETN.15 (signature read as **ZR**); ANS.1944.100.51211)

Year 60(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
SNS (Israel) pl. 19, no. 258; (**Pl. 112, 1309-1310**)

Year 62(H) **ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād**
Mochiri 1987 p. 97, no. 73, pl. 13, no. 77 (with **m** in Q3 obverse margin); Weber p. 44, no. 109; Gyselen and Nègre 1982, p. 191, AS52, pl. 14 (Gazīra hoard, date read as 61); (**Pl. 112, 1311-1313**)

Year 63(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Miles *Persepolis* (1959) – Persepolis Terrace, pl. 13, no. 3 (date uncertain, may be 66H); (**Pl. 112, 1316**) (date can be read as 63 or 66H)

Year 64(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim**[699]
Walker p. 95, no. M.47 (noted without illustration)

Year 66(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**[700]
ANS.1957.84.19 (date uncertain, possibly barbarous); (**Pl. 112, 1316**) (date uncertain, 63H also possible)

Year 67(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Mochiri 2000, p. 45, no. 21, pl. 18, no. 32 (Warden-Album; signature read as **YZD**)

Year 69(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**[701]
Walker p. 32, no. M.20 (noted without illustration); Gaube pl. 3, no. 25 (year read as 63; Haddad); Mochiri 1987 p. 95, no. 56, pl. 3, no. 18; *SICA* 1 pl. 34, nos 485–492 (Shamma); Weber p. 17, no. 37; (**Pl. 112, 1317-1319**)

Year 75(H) **Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa**
Walker p. 113, no. I.47 (signature read as **ZR**); Eshragh p. 35, no. 155
al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra
Walker p. 116, no. I.49 (signature read as **ZR**)

Year 76(H) **al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra**
Walker p. 116, no. M.52 (noted without illustration); Gaube pl. 6, no. 62 (Paris); (**Pl. 113, 1320**)

Year 81(H) **al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf**
ENIS II p. 309, fig. 969 (Mochiri); ANS.1972.169.185 (**mnswl** (*mansūr*) in obverse Q3); ANS.1957.108.5; Gaube pl. 5, no. 50 (Paris); *SICA* 1 pl. 34, no. 493 (Shamma); Eshragh p. 40, no. 181; Morton and Eden auction 37 (9 June 2009), lot 494; Weber p. 80, no. 191 (**mnswl** (*mansūr*) in obverse Q3; year read as 83); Weber p. 80, no. 192 (year read as 83); (**Pl. 113, 1321**)

[699] This reference may be an error as all the other known issues of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ziyād are from mints within Khurāsān province. The only other issue with a non-Khurāsāni mint signature of **GD** for Jayy, is likely to be a contemporary imitation and not struck in Jayy.

[700] Bates considers the coins attributed to 63 are in fact 66H (personal communication).

[701] Many examples of these issues have **m** in Q3 and a word which has been variously read in Q1 of the obverse margin. Mochiri 1987 p. 95, no. 56 reads it as **šyd**(**a**) for *dēw* (devil). Album reads it as **hš** (*SICA* 1 pl. 34, nos 485–487).

Most drachms of Yazd (**YZ**) bear Hijrī dates, but there are exceptions (e.g. 35YE = 46H). The anonymous Khusrau type is rare, except for the issue dated 47H. The coins of ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿĀmir) are of interest. The issue dated 37 is of an uncertain era. The coins dated 43 and 44H fit in with his governorship of Basra. The issue dated 47 is most probably using a Hijrī date, even though the sources refer to his dismissal as governor in 44H. From 50 to 53H all the issues are in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and these are followed by coins in the name of his son ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dated 57, 60 and 62H as well as an issue with a YE date (50YE = 62H). The issues of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr dated 63 and 67H are rare, but those of 69H are relatively plentiful. Then there is a gap until 75H with rare issues of Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa and al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra. The latter also struck coins for 76H. Finally there is an issue of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf for 81H.

7.115 YZD (yzd) 𐭩𐭦𐭦 (probably Yazd, Fārs)

The mint signature **YZD** may also be read as **YZY** or **YZD**. The last letter is written like a **Y**, but in the present context **D** may be a better reading. It is probably a variant of **YZ** (7.114) for Yazd and is only known for one Arab-Sasanian issue, where the name legend is crudely inscribed suggesting it may be a contemporary imitation. Under the Sasanians it is only known for Khusrau I, years 4 (different epigraphy) and 5.[702]

Year 66(H) **ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr**
Mochiri 1987 p. 99, no. 105, pl. 15, no. 87 (mint signature read as **YZD**); Morton and Eden auction 49 (9 June 2011), lot 402 (year read as 63; mint signature read as **YZB**)

7.116 *Zaranj* 𐭦𐭩𐭭 (Zaranj, Sīstān)

The mint signature *Zaranj* is only found in Arabic on copper issues. It is unknown as a signature on its own on silver drachms of the Arab-Sasanian type, save possibly non-Arab issues with a Bactrian marginal legend referring to Caesar of Rome (**phromo kesaro**).[703] The coins are crudely inscribed as is common with drachms of **SK** (7.87 Sīstān). The Umayyads had difficulty in maintaining control over Zaranj, but struck rare post-reform Islamic dirhams with mint name Zaranj.[704] The place name Zaranj is found in the obverse margin of some Arab-Sasanian drachms of the late Sīstān issue type, which would have been struck in the ʿAbbāsid period.[705] Examples are included in the catalogue under **SK**. Zaranj (Zarang) is nowadays the capital of Nimrūz province in Afghanistan near the Iranian border. In the third century Hijrī, al-Yaʿqūbī stated that Great Zaranj was the capital of King Rutbit, four farsakhs in circumference, surrounded by a trench, with four gates, with a river flowing through the middle of it.[706] In the fourth century Hijrī, al-Muqadassī described Zaranj as the capital of Sīstān (Sijīstān) which had been built by Ardashīr I and Khusrau. It had many gates and roads and a fortified castle.[707]

1. **Zaranj**. *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend **ʾpzwt'** (?) (*abzūd*, 'increase') on left, **GDH** (*xvarrah*, 'splendour') on right. *Rev*. Three-line legend: *zaranj* / **nywkyh** (*nēkīh*, 'goodness') / **ʾpzwn** (*abzūn*, 'growth') (zaranj in Arabic and the rest in Pahlavi). Gyselen type 50
   Walker p. 170, no. 351; (**Pl. 123, 1476-1478**)
2. **Zaranj**. *Obv*. As 1. above. *Rev*. As 1. but legend retrograde. Gyselen type 50a
   Walker p. 170, no. 352; (**Pl. 123, 1480-1481**)

[702] Mochiri 1987, p. 68.

[703] Mochiri 1987, pp. 88–9, no. 142, pl. 21, no. 125. He read the date as 77H and mint signature as **ZRNG**.

[704] *SICA* 2 pl. 33, no. 716 (101H).

[705] For examples from Zaranj mint of conventional Islamic dirhams from the ʿAbbāsid period, see *SICA* 3, pls 35–36, nos 788–825 (166, 176, 178–190, 192, 196, 209H).

[706] Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 281, (trans.), p. 117

[707] Al-Muqadassī (trans.), pp. 248–9.

7.117 ZAWL (z'wl) 𐭦𐭠𐭥 (Zābul)

7.118 ZAWL (z'wl) 𐭦𐭠𐭥 (Zābul) or ZWB or ZAB 𐭦𐭥𐭡 (Uncertain)

7.119 ZAWLSTAN (z'wlst'n) 𐭦𐭠𐭥𐭮𐭕𐭭 (Zābulistān)

ZAWLSTAN denotes Zāvulistān (Zābulistān). **ZAWL** denotes Zāvul (Zābul), an ancient town which is now in Afghanistan in the Ghazni area. The region in ancient times was part of Arachosia. Such issues are not the focus of this book as the coins were not minted under the Umayyads – the region fell outside their domain – nor are Arabic words found on the coins.

There is a very rare drachm with the name *Fromo Kēsaro* (Caesar of Rome) in Bactrian in the obverse margin with what may be the mint signature of **ZAWL** on the reverse.[708] An alternative reading is **ZRNG** for Zaranj. Its date usually includes the letters **hpt** which could be 7.[709] This could either be a regnal year[710] or an abbreviated version of a date in the 70s, in which case it could be a Hijrī date. *Fromo Kēsaro* was the son of Tegin and succeeded his father about 738. In the obverse field on the right is the two-line Pahlavi legend **bg** / **hwtyp'** (*bay xvadēv*, 'his Majesty, Lord').[711] Another issue with the **ZAWL** mint signature and dated regnal year 8 is a drachm in the name of Spur.[712] Other types in the name of Spur are either dated 4 (regnal year) or have a crude and equivocal date.[713] Another unusual issue is in the name of Khusrau and has the Bactrian legend *gōzogano* (Gōzgān) in Q1 of the obverse margin. The date can be read as 35 (**pnčsyh**) or 50 (**pnč'h**) and the mint signature is equivocal, but could be **ZAWL**.[714] As regards the mint signature **ZAWLSTAN**, it appears on drachms with regnal years 5 (or more probably 15), 8 and 10 with a facing bust on the obverse in the name of Spur and a nimbate facing bust on the reverse.[715] The copper issues, listed below, are varied.[716]

1. **ZAWLSTAN**. *Obv*. Facing bust without legends. *Rev*. Facing bust (of Anāhitā?) with flame nimbus, Pahlavi legend in part undeciphered ['**pwl**['**bg**] **hwt'p** on left, **LT' z'wlst'n** [ ] (Zābulistān) on right. Gyselen type 51.
2. **ZAWLSTAN**. **Pangul**. *Obv*. Bust right, Bactrian legend **sri bago ddēbo** on left, Pahlavi legend **GDH pngwl bg hwtyp'** ('Royal splendour, Pangul, his majesty, Lord') on right. *Rev*. Facing bust (of Anāhitā?) with flame nimbus, Pahlavi legend **sply L sm'ny'n** (?) on left, **z'wlst'n** (Zābulistān) on right, in margin Bactrian legend **sri bago azorobddigo Panogolo bago xoddēoo**. Gyselen type 114
3. **ZAWLSTAN**. **Pangul**. *Obv*. Bust right, two-line Pahlavi legend **pngwl** / **hwtyp'** (*pangul khvadēv* / *xvadēv*; 'Pangul, Lord') on right. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, unread Pahlavi legend on left, **z'wlst'n** (?) (Zābulistān) on right. Gyselen type 115; (**Pl. 124, 1483**)
4. **ZAWLSTAN**; year 11(?). **Spur**. *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend **GDH 'pzwt'** (*xvarrah abzūd*, 'the royal glory has been increased') on left, **spur bay xvadēv** ('Spur, his Majesty, Lord') on right. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, Pahlavi legend date (**y'cdh**?) on left, mint (**z'wlst'n**) on right. Gyselen type 116; (**Pl. 124, 1484**)

[708] Göbl 1967, pl. 68, types 249–51, reading of **ZAWL** for Zābul).

[709] (**Pl. 113, 1330**) On one coin there is a tamga symbol in each quarter on the reverse margin: (**Pl. 114, 1338**).

[710] (**Pl. 113, 1329**) Mochiri 1987, pp. 88–9, pl. 21, 125, reads the date as 77H and mint signature as **ZRNG** for Zaranj.

[711] This has been erroneously read as 'Uttāb for 'Uttāb b. Warqā, who is not known to have commanded in Khurāsān: e.g. Roma Numismatics e-Sale 2 (2 November 2013), lot 358 and Morton and Eden auction 92 (26 April 2018), lot 1 (mint read as Herāt (?)).

[712] Göbl 1967, pl. 51, type 211; (**Pl. 113, 1326**). Related issues have **LHWT** (7.64) and **HYWKHL** (7.55A) mint signatures: (**Pl. 113, 1327-1328**).

[713] Göbl 1967, types 247–8, (**Pl. 113, 1323**) (date equivocal), (**Pl. 113, 1322**) (year 4).

[714] Walker 1941, p. 14, T.2, BM 1894, 0506.1282; Sims-Williams 2008, p. 118, fig. 1, who suggests the mint signature looks like **ZWB** or **ZNB**. Another possibility is **ZAB** (p. 117).

[715] Göbl 1967, pls 51–2, types 212–16. The reading of 15 is uncertain unless one reads the letters after **pnč** not as **ZY** ('of') but as **dh** to make **pnčdh**. The number 5 is usually represented by the ideogram **HWMŠY**. Examples of years 5 or 15 (**Pl. 113, 1339**) and 10 (**Pl. 114, 1344**) are found in the Catalogue. Year 10 is hitherto unpublished.

[716] Gyselen 2010. They are in the main related to the issues of Rakhvad / Raxvad.

5. **ZAWLSTAN**; year 11(?). **Spur**. *Obv*. Bust right, Pahlavi legend **GDH ʾpzwt'** on left, **spwl bgl** / **hwtyp'** (‘Spur, his Majesty, Lord’) in two lines on right. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, Pahlavi legend date (**yʾcdh**?) on left, mint (**zʾwlstʾn**) on right. Gyselen type 117; (**Pl. 124, 1485**)
6. **ZAWLSTAN**; year 2. **Tegin**. *Obv*. Bust three quarter right, Pahlavi legend **GDH ʾpzwt'** on left, three-line legend on right: **tkyn' bg** / **hwtyp'** / **hwlʾsʾn MLK**ʾ (*tegin bay* / *xvadēv* / *xvarāsān šāh*, ‘Tegin, his Majesty, Lord, king of the East’). *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, Pahlavi legend: date (**TLYN'**, *dō*) on left, mint (**zʾwlstʾn**) on right. Gyselen type 118
7. **ZAWL**; year 2. **Tegin**.[717] *Obv*. Bust three quarter right, Pahlavi legend: **GDH** (*xvarrah*, ‘splendour’) on left, **tkyn' bg** / **hwtyp'** (‘Tegin, his Majesty, Lord’) in two lines on right. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, Pahlavi legend: date (**TLYN'**, *dō*) on left, mint (**zʾwl**, Zābul) on right. Gyselen type 113; (**Pl. 124, 1482**)

7.120 WITHOUT MINT

Arab-Sasanian drachms without any mint signature are generally very rare.

Year 1 **Anonymous Khusrau type** with **ʾpd** in obverse margin
On reverse left **ŠNT ʾywk'** (Year 1) and right **y yzyt'** (of Yazīd)
Mochiri 1987 p. 92, no. 19, pl. 1, no. 1 (Mochiri).[718]
Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān
On reverse left **SNT ʾywk'** (Year 1) and right **y yzyt'** (of Yazīd)
Mochiri 1987 p. 90, no. 1, pl. 1, no. 2 (Mochiri)

Year 6 **Anonymous Hormizd type** with ***bism allāh lā*** / ***ilāh illā allāh wa*** / ***hdahu muhammad*** / ***rasūl allāh*** in obverse margin. Fire altar with attendants with **ŠTA** (6) left and **ZWZWN** (drachm) right with *rabbī allāh* in reverse Q2
Walker p. 24, no. I.12;[719]Sotheby’s auction (23 April 1998), lot 1; Morton and Eden auction 42 (4 April 2011), lot 1; Morton and Eden auction 73 (23 April 2015), lot 12 (variant with *rabbī allāh* right of attendant in place of **ZWZWN**, and not in reverse margin).[720]

Undated **Anonymous Hormizd type** with ***lā quwwa illā lillāh*** in obverse margin. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, unread legend on left and illegible on right
Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 25 (date read as possibly 4);[721] Morton and Eden auction 85 (26 April 2017), lot 4 (date read as 6)

Undated **Saʿīd b.**(?)
Morton and Eden auction 48 (4 April 2011), lot 10 (*ʿumar* right and *saʿ* left of attendants on reverse)

[717] Because of the name Tegin, this could be treated as a Hephthalite issue.

[718] Mochiri 1987, pp. 25–6 attributes this and the following coin to Yazīd b. Anisa and dates them to around 50–3H. Mochiri 1982 had erroneously attributed the coin to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, but later abandoned this attribution. In fact the style is too early to be of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, who was Umayyad caliph from 60 to 64H, and Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (whose name appears on the related coin with the same reverse) died in around 54H. Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 32, type 6, p. 291, fig. 9.32.5. Hoyland 2015, pp. 129–30, picking up on Mochiri’s 1982 article, has treated this as a coin of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya.

[719] The Sasanian drachms of Hormizd IV span regnal years 1 to 13. The date on this coin with year 6 appears to be spurious as it is likely that the coin was struck in the late 70s Hijrī. Amini and Dashkov 2013, p. 32, no. 1 have published a coin of the same reverse type, but instead of the Arabic marginal legend on the obverse there is a Pahlavi word which they have translated as ‘men’.

[720] Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 28, p. 285, fig. 9.28.1. This type has been described by the cataloguer as Arab-Armenian, possibly struck in Bardaʿa or al-Bab *c*.73–4H. This involves a degree of speculation. While the issue may have been struck in the north west in the Azerbaijān or Armenian region, it is not possible to be sure about mint place or date based on current knowledge.

[721] Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 28, p. 285, fig. 9.28.3.

Undated **Anonymous type** with ***muhammad rasūl allāh*** in place of official's name with **ʾpd** (*afīd*, 'excellent') in Q2 in obverse margin. *Rev*. Fire altar with attendants, *bism allāh* on left, **ʾyny** (?) on right.[722]
Ilisch 2007, p. 18, fig. 4 (= Sotheby's auction (8 October 1992), lot 1.

Undated **Anonymous type** with ***muhammad rasūl allāh*** in place of official's name and ***allāh*** in retrograde behind bust. *Rev.* Fire altar with attendants with **h**(?) left and **gy**(?) right of attendants
Baldwin's Islamic Coin auction 19 (25 April 2012), lot 1 (mint read as **YZ**)

Year 75(H) **Without official's name** and **Standing Caliph** reverse[723]
Walker 1952, pl. 9, no. 4 (Azizbeglou); Miles 1952, pl. 28, no. 5; Bates 1986 pl. 31, no. 11 (= ANS 1966.151.1); Paris (BN 1967.208); Shah Firzan collection[724]

Undated **Anonymous Khusrau type** and **Mihrāb** reverse[725]
Walker p. 24, no. ANS.5 (= ANS.1944.100.612 = Miles 1952 pl. 28, no. 3 = Bates 1986 pl. 31, no. 14); Miles *ANSMN* 7 pl. 24, nos 7–8 (Azizbeglou); *Damascus* pl. 32, no. AS.13; Paris (BN 1967.209); Shah Firzan collection;[726] Morton and Eden auction 85 (26 April 2017), lot 3.

In addition there are various copper issues where there is no mint signature, many of which are described by Gyselen.[727]

[722] Ilisch 2007, p. 18 considers readings of **AYL** or **HYL** possible, but correctly observes that the mint initials may make no sense at all; c.f. Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 24 with a suggested mint reading of **AKWLA**.

[723] This type is considered to have been struck in Damascus c.f. Bates 1986, pp. 254–5. Gorny and Mosch auction 161 (11 October 2007), lot 5599; Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 23. See Chapter 9, section 61. Anonymous, pp. 9.62.5.

[724] Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 62, p. 336, fig. 9.62.5.

[725] This type is also probably from Damascus: Bates 1986, p. 255. See Chapter 9, section 32, type 30, p. 298.

[726] Illustrated here, Chapter 9, section 32, type 30, p. 298, fig. 9.32.27.

[727] Gyselen 2009. See also Chapter 11, below.

CHAPTER 8

DATES AND ERAS

For further information about dates and eras see the following tables:

Table 7 in Part IV sets out the date legends for the years covered in the Catalogue. It should be relatively easy to ascertain a date on a coin by using that table

Table 1 in Part IV provides a summary for each of the various eras

Table 2 in Part IV sets out the comparative eras for YE, PYE and Hijrī and provides a conversion chart from Hijrī to the Julian calendar

Introduction[1]

The vast majority of Arab-Sasanian coins have a date on the reverse written in Pahlavi. Reading these dates can be difficult, even for the specialist. This is in part because of the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script, the lack of reliable transcriptions of dates, and the fact that in quite a few instances the date is crudely written, probably by an illiterate engraver. Sometimes it is unclear whether the date was intended to be legible. On late Sīstān issues, for example, the date is usually represented by a series of dashes.

There are a few rare late issues, such as those struck in Damascus, where the date is written in Arabic. These pose no difficulty in their reading, or in ascertaining the era employed: they are all dated in accordance with the Hijrī era.

In general, Pahlavi words are used for the date but there are exceptions. Pahlavi numerals are occasionally used: either for the whole date or just for the digit, with the decade written as a word. Rarely, the Aramaic ideogram for 2, 3 and 4 is used for the digit, with the decade as usual written as a Pahlavi word.[2]

8.1 *Dates*

Pahlavi numerals. These are rarely used to write the entire date on Arab-Sasanian coins but can be found thus used on some drachms from Kūfa[3] and an isolated issue from Kavād-Khurra:

Bishr b. Marwān	**AKWLA** (7.4), 73H, 74H, 75H (**Pl. 2, 13**)
Marwān b. al-Muhallab	**KWAT** (7.59), 74H (**Pl. 70, 816A**)

Hybrid issues are more common, where the decade is written with the usual Pahlavi word, but the digit is written as a numeral. This is found on certain coins dated 74H. It has been argued that it is also found on coins dated 73H from a limited number of mints within Fārs. In the latter instance the number 3 can either be read as a numeral or the letters **sy**. Album treats these as numerals, but **sy** is preferred here.[4] It is accepted that the numeral 3 is similar to **sy**, but **sy** is more likely to have been intended given that no numerals are used on dates either side of 73 on coins of Muqātil b. Misma‘ (72H) and Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh (74H). Examples of those read by Album as including the numeral 3 are:

‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān	**ART** (7.14), 73H (**Pl. 8, 87**)
Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh	**BYŠ** (7.34), 73H (**Pl. 28, 322**)
	WYHC (7.110.2), 73H (**Pl. 111, 1297**)
Muqātil b. Misma‘	**BYŠ** (7.34), 73H (**Pl. 28, 321**)

[1] See Gaube 1973, chapter 8, though this is now somewhat dated.

[2] Pahlavi ideograms as well as numerals for 1 to 10 are set out in Part IV, Table 7B.

[3] *SICA* 1, p. 59 notes this for Basra as well.

[4] *SICA* 1, pl. 13, nos 190, 191, pl. 33, no. 480.

In contrast there is no doubt that certain coins dated 74H have the Pahlavi numeral 4 (with four strokes):[5]

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh **TART** (7.103) (**Pl. 107, 1250**)

Aramaic ideograms. In written Pahlavi Aramaic ideograms are used for the numbers 2 to 10 and appear on later Sasanian coins for those years. In the rare cases where Arab-Sasanian coins are dated between 2 and 6, the date is also written as a Pahlavi ideogram. For example the anonymous Khusrau issue, with Muhammad in the obverse margin, and **SYWY** as a 'mint' (7.96) has the date 2 written as **TLYN** (**Pl. 105, 1230**).

In the Sasanian period Aramaic ideograms are not added to other numbers (20 **wyst**, 30 **syh** etc.). By contrast dates on Arab-Sasanian coins are occasionally written using the ideograms for numbers 2 to 4 in conjunction with the written Pahlavi word for the decade. A partial explanation for this may have been to avoid confusion. The written words for the digits, 1 (**yʾč**) and 3 (**syč**), and 2 (**dwʾč**) and 3, when used in numbers over 10, can be confused with each other. Examples of the ideograms **TLYN**, **TLTʾ** (**TLTA**) and **ʾLBʾ** (**ALBA**) for 2, 3 and 4 respectively are as follows:

1.	ʿAbd Allāh	**WH** (7.107), 42H (**Pl. 109, 1278**)	**čhylTLYN**
2.	ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād	**GD** (7.44), 62H (**Pl. 49, 570**)	**TLYNšstʾ**
3.	Salm b. Ziyād	**MLWLWT'** (7.69), 62H (**Pl. 75, 874**)	**TLYNsst'**
4.	Khusrau type	**SK** (7.87), 63H (**Pl. 85, 993**)	**TLTšst**
5.	ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad	**KLMAN** (7.58.1), 72H (**Pl. 56, 652**)	**TLYNhptʾt**
6.	ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh	**ST** (7.89), 72H (**Pl. 103, 1205**)	**TLYNhptʾt**
7.	ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad	**SK**, 82H (**Pl. 90, 1050**)	**TLYNhštʾt**
8.	ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad	**SK**, 83H (**Pl. 90, 1058**)	**TLThštʾt**
9.	Khālid b. Abī Khālid	**GD**, 83H (**Pl. 50, 585**)	**TLThštʾt**
10.	Khusrau type	**SK**, 103H (**Pl. 94, 1106**)	**TLčnʾst**
		(**Pl. 95, 1108**)	**TLTYst** (?)
11.	Khusrau type	**SK**, 104H (**Pl. 94, 1100**)	**ʾLBʾst'**
		(**ALBAst'**)	

The same mint signature may show significant variations in epigraphy for the same date. For example, Figs 8.1 to 8.3 show drachms of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād from Jayy all dated 62H with three versions of the date legend.[6]

Fig. 8.1. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, mint **GD**, 62H as **TLYNššt'**, 3.69g
(British Museum, Walker 103)

Fig. 8.2. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, mint **GD**, 62H as **dwšst'**, 3.89g
(British Museum, Walker 104)

[5] In the literature there are references to an example with 7.14 **ART** mint signature, but this is not confirmed: *SICA* 1, pp. 25 and 59.

[6] A similar pattern can be seen for other dates, e.g. 102H for Sīstān issues. See Chapter 15, pp. 410-1, figs 15.5-10.

Fig. 8.3. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, mint **GD**, 62H as **dwššt'** in usual form 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬙, 3.93g (**Pl. 49, 575**)

8.2 *Eras, frozen dates and blundered dates*

Even when the date has been correctly read, the problem of the era intended remains. The great majority of Arab-Sasanian coins are dated in accordance with one of three eras:

1. Yazdgard Era (YE) which commenced in AD 632, the year when the last Sasanian king ascended to the throne.
2. Post-Yazdgard Era (PYE), which commenced in AD 652, the year following the death of Yazdgard III in AD 651.
3. Hijrī (H), which commenced in AD 622, and was reckoned from the year of the flight of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina.

Table 2 in Part IV (p. 687) provides comparative table of eras. No individual coin uses more than one dating era but some officials struck coins using different eras on different coins. Further, some dates on coins are frozen, the same date being deployed for a number of years. This is so, for example, with coins dated 20 in the name of Yazdgard and those dated 43 from mints within the Dārābgerd district in the names of various officials (see 8.E below).

Ascertaining which era is being used can be a complex exercise needing a proper understanding of the historical sources. Conversely, by correctly reading the date, identifying the era and attributing the mint signatures, numismatics can help supplement the written historical sources. The latter were mostly written down in the third and fourth centuries Hijrī and the dates they quote may often be wrong by one or two years, or even more.

The remainder of this chapter deals with dates in the following categories:

8.A Yazdgard Era
8.B Post-Yazdgard Era
8.C Hijrī
8.D Other eras
8.E Coins with frozen dates
8.F Coins with no known era
8.G Coins with blundered dates

8.A *YAZDGARD ERA*

The earliest Arab-Sasanian drachms are dated in accordance with the solar Yazdgard Era, which began when Yazdgard III ascended to the Sasanian throne in 4H/ AD 632. It made practical sense to adopt the era which was familiar to the local population in the areas conquered from the Sasanians.

The first date which appears on confirmed Islamic coins is year 20 (YE = 31H) on coins of the anonymous *bism allāh* types either in the name of Yazdgard or Khusrau. About 32 YE (= 43H) the lunar Hijrī calendar began to replace the Yazdgard Era on coins. By 37 YE (= 48H), most coins used the Hijrī calendar, although there were still some exceptions. The vast majority of coins in the name of Yazdgard and Khusrau use the YE.[7] In general the coins in the names of Khusrau and Yazdgard dated between 20 and 37 bear YE dates.

[7] Mochiri 1987, p. 62 considers drachms in the name of Yazdgard dated between 29 and 35 were using the PYE.

After this, dates on these anonymous issues are usually Hijrī though one has to consider on an individual basis whether coins dated 38 or 39 are using the YE or Hijrī. With dates from 40 onwards one is no longer dealing with YE, but Hijrī, for these Khusrau and Yazdgard types. Album considers the transition from YE to Hijrī dates began in 31 YE (42H).[8] He does this by attributing certain issues in the name of Khusrau dated 31 or 33 to the Hijrī era. While this is possible, it is more likely these issues have YE dates. One clear example of the transition is shown by coins from mints within the Kirmān region dated from 20 to 58. Coins are known dated 20 to 37 YE (31 to 48H). There is then a gap in the dates used and the next sequence of dates is from 48 to 58 which are obviously Hijrī dates which follow on from the last YE date of 37 (= 48H).[9]

The majority of coins in the name of an official are dated in by the Hijrī calendar, with the notable exception of coins from the Dārābgerd district in Fārs. Drachms from this area illustrate the changes in the eras used. Coins dated from 20 to 71 YE (31 to 83H) are known, but this was not the only era used. There is a series of coins dated 43, which appears to be a frozen date, in the names of various officials who clearly did not all rule at the same time. Later coins dated 75 and 76 in the names of Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa and al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra are dated by the Hijrī era and agree with the historical literature. Thereafter there are coins with YE dates: ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, **DA** (7.36), 64 YE (76H), 65 YE (77H), **DA-P** (7.38), 65 YE (77H); ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad, **DA**, 70 YE (82H), **DA-GH** (7.37), 70 YE (82H); al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, **DA** and **DA-P**, 71 YE (83H).

Outside the Dārābgerd district there are isolated issues using the Yazdgard Era. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād has the most such issues: **BCLA** (7.27), 52 YE (64H), **BYŠ** (7.34), 47 YE (59H), 53 YE (65H); **ST** (7.89), 49 YE (61H), 52 YE (64H); **YZ** (7.114), 49 YE (61H), 50 YE (62H).[10] A coin in the name of ʿAbd Allāh with the **BN** (7.30) mint signature dated 33 may be using a YE date (44H) (**Pl. 20, 221**). A drachm of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad with **GLM-KLMAN** (7.46) mint signature dated 63, must have a YE date (= 75H) in order to fit in with the historical sources and the period of his coinage generally. Finally, there are drachms of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh with **ANBYR**[11] (7.6) and **MLWLWT**[12] (7.69) mint signatures from Khurāsān dated 64 YE (76H).

8.B *POST-YAZDGARD ERA*

The Post-Yazdgard Era (PYE) began on 11 June 652, the beginning of the first solar year after the death of Yazdgard III. In the early Umayyad period the PYE (alongside the YE and Hijrī) was used only on the coins of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, and the only known issue of Nuʿmān b. Bashīr (PYE 28), and then rarely.[13] The variations noted in Chapter 7 (mints):

PYE 26 (58H): **BCLA** (7.27), **YZ** (7.114)
PYE 27 (59H): **AYLAN** (7.22), **GD** (7.44), **WYH** (7.109)
PYE 28 (60H): **GD** (7.44)
PYE 29 (61H): **AYL** (7.21), **AYLAN**, **GD** (7.44)
PYE 30 (62H): **AYLAN**, **ŠY** (7.101)
PYE 31 (63H): **AYLAN**
PYE 32 (64H): **AYLAN**
PYE 35 (67H): **GD** (7.44), **AYLAN**
PYE 37 (69H): **AYLAN**

[8] *SICA* 1, p. 57.

[9] See table of Kirmān mints in Chapter 7, section 7.58, pp. 161-2, table 7.2.

[10] Gaube 1973, p. 140, paras 8.3.16 and 8.3.18 lists only Istakhr (**ST**) and Yazd (**YZ**, 49 YE), a reflection of how much has been learned since 1973.

[11] Gaube 1973, p. 136, para. 8.3.1.

[12] Gaube 1973, p. 139, para. 8.3.11.

[13] Gaube 1973, p. 137, para. 8.3.3, which lists PYE 30 to 32 from **AYLAN**, identified as Susa.

PYE dates are most commonly found on the coins of the Dābūyid Ispahbads and early ʿAbbāsid governors of Tabaristān. This region remained autonomous during the Umayyad period and the earliest drachms are in the name of Farrukhān (Farkhān) dated PYE 60 (= 93H). By this date Arab-Sasanian drachms had ceased being struck in the areas under Umayyad control with the exception of Sīstān where they continued to be struck for decades after the collapse of the Umayyads.

Some numismatists have suggested other Arab-Sasanian coins used the PYE but none can be accepted without question. For example Walker considered that issues from various mints in the name of Salm b. Ziyād, which were dated 26, bore a PYE date equivalent to 58H. This includes coins from places in Fārs (**ART**, **DA**), although the historical sources do not refer to any governorship by him outside Khurāsān (see 8.F.3 below). Walker assumed that Salm must have deputised for his brother ʿUbayd Allāh who was then governor of Basra.[14] Since ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād undoubtedly struck drachms dated PYE 26 (7.27 **BCLA**) and PYE 27 (7.22 **AYLAN**) an attribution of PYE 26 for these coins in the name of Salm in Fārs, albeit unlikely, cannot be rejected out of hand.[15] Gaube also thought other types were dated by the PYE but his attributions are not convincing.[16]

8.C *HIJRĪ*

Hijrī dates were introduced gradually in the 40sH. Anonymous coins in the name of Yazdgard never bear Hijrī dates, nor do those in the name of Khusrau, up to the late 30s YE. For a period of about five years, up to 48H, YE and Hijrī dates were used simultaneously at many mints, e.g. coins in the name of Khusrau used the YE while those in the name of ʿAbd Allāh [b. ʿĀmir] usually used Hijrī dates. Thus for example the issues with mint signature **ST** (7.89) display this overlap with a Khusrau type issue of YE 33 equivalent to 44H (**Pl. 99, 1162**) and one of ʿAbd Allāh b ʿĀmir dated 44H (**Pl. 99, 1166**), albeit with different versions of the signature. This transition from YE to Hijrī was largely completed by about 37 YE (= 48H). As a result the vast majority of drachms struck in an official's name bear a Hijrī date. The exceptions are coins struck within the Dārābgerd district. For example, coins of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, the uncompromising figure who promoted the use of Arabic in the administration, used YE dates as late as 71 YE (83H) on coins with **DA-P** (7.38) mint signature (**Pl. 44, 510**). The rare late coins such as those from Dimashq (Damascus) where the date is written in Arabic, rather than the normal Pahlavi, naturally use the Hijrī era.

Many mints, particularly those which did not strike any anonymous Khusrau type issues, used only Hijrī dates (e.g. 7.4 **AKWLA**, 7.6 **ANBYR**, 7.7 **ANWAT**).[17]

The interchangeability of the three main eras is most pronounced in the coinage of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād where all three eras are found for the same periods. Thus for Jayy (7.44 **GD**) there are coins dated PYE 29 (= 61H) as well as 60H to 63H, while for Istakhr (7.89 **ST**) there are coins dated 52 YE (= 64H) as well as 64H. This may have been confusing to some officials at the time, but presumably did not matter to most people who were probably illiterate.

8.D *OTHER ERAS*

8.D.1 *Khusrau era*

There is no conclusive evidence for the Khusrau (II) era being used in the Umayyad period, but it could have been. Amini has correctly observed that drachms of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra from Ardashīr-Khurra

[14] Walker 1941, p. 1.

[15] Gaube 1973, p. 137, para. 8.3.2 considers it to be a PYE date. *SICA* 1, p. 58 considers the Salm b. Ziyād year 26 coins were struck with old dies salvaged from the Sasanian treasury. The date is therefore meaningless.

[16] Gaube 1973, p. 137, paras 8.3.3 and 8.3.4: an anonymous Khusrau type dated 25 (= PYE 57H); and coins in the name of Salm b. Ziyād which have dates he considered could be read as PYE 37 and 38. A coin of **ANBYR** year 25 may have a PYE date equivalent to 57H (**Pl. 2, 14**).

[17] In general, these are usually mints which did not strike coins in the late Sasanian period, but commenced striking during the Umayyad administration.

(7.14 **ART**) dated 75H and Tawwaj (7.103 **TART**) dated 75 and 76H have in the third quarter obverse margin the word **plʾwzʾt** (Farroxzād, Farrukhzād). Copper coins with **DST'** (7.42) and **GWBL** (7.43) mint signatures in the name of Farrukhzād have an equivocal date legend which is either 64 or 104. It is possible that the drachms and copper coins were struck at around the same time by the same Farrukhzād. If the date on the copper coins is read as 64, this could be a YE date equivalent to 76H. Amini considers 104 the correct reading, which he is able to place at around 75 and 76H by proposing that the era used is a 'Khusrau era' dating from the start of Khusrau II's reign in AD 590. Thus 104 would be AD 694, which is 75/6H.[18]

8.D.2 *Zābulistān era*(*s*)

Various copper coins from Zābulistān bear years which could either be regnal or dynastic dates. These coins are from three rulers and bear three different mint marks.

Pangul, **LHWT'** (7.64, Raxvad, Rakhvad), year 1 (Gyselen 2009, type 111; **Pl. 120, 1424**, **Pl. 120, 1425**)
Pangul, **LHWT'**, year 4 (Gyselen, type 112)
Tegin, **ZAWL** (7.117, Zābul), year 2 (Gyselen 2009, type 113; **Pl. 124, 1482**)
Tegin, **ZAWLSTAN** (7.118, Zābulistān), year 2 (Gyselen 2009, type 118)
Spur, **ZAWLSTAN**, year 11 (Gyselen 2009, types 116 and 117; **Pl. 97, 1135**, **Pl. 124, 1485**)[19]

Pangul's coins are known for years 1 and 4 and Tegin's for year 2. If these two rulers belonged to the same dynasty these dates are more likely to be the regnal years of each ruler, rather than a dynastic dating. On the other hand, the two rulers may have belonged to separate dynasties. Pangul may have come from one dynasty while Tegin and Spur came from another. Pangul's coins were struck at Rakhvad in Arachosia, whereas Tegin has issues from Zābul which is in the Ghazni area. Thus it is at least possible that Pangul's coins used his own dating era, whereas those of Tegin and Spur used a separate era which dated from the start of Tegin's rule.

8.E *COINS WITH FROZEN DATES*

8.E.1 *Year 20 used in Sīstān*

The most common issue in the Arab-Sasanian series is that in the name of Yazdgard from Sīstān (7.87, **SK**) dated year 20 (Yazdgard III's last regnal year).[20] These coins vary in style and quality and are often crudely inscribed. The most common type has *bism allāh* in the second quarter of the obverse margin. It is likely that, although these are some of the earliest Arab-Sasanian coins, they continued to be struck for a number of years after 20 YE (= 31H) – perhaps for at least another 10 years.

8.E.2 *Year 43 used in the Dārābgerd district*

One of the most common dates found on Arab-Sasanian drachms is 43, used by mints in the Dārābgerd district.[21] The coins are all carefully engraved and are of a strikingly similar style suggesting all the dies were cut in the same workshop. The perplexing thing is that these coins were struck in the names of various officials who were not in office at the same time: ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, Samura b. Jundab, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and Muʿāwiya. The date is almost certainly frozen and the coins were struck over a period of years from 43H to, perhaps, as late as 56H.[22] Mochiri mis-read the date and treats all these issues as having a YE date of 41 (= 53H), with Samura being responsible for the issue in the

[18] Amini 2008, pp. 290–2.

[19] Silver drachms are also known in the name of Spur with **ZAWLSTAN** mint signature for years 5 (or 15), 8 and 10.

[20] **Pl. 81, 946-951**.

[21] Gaube 1973, pp. 138–9, para. 8.3.8 reads 43 as 41.

[22] Chapter 7, p. 134.

name of the Caliph Muʿāwiya. He concludes that the large number of issues from Dārābgerd struck in the same year, in the name of numerous personalities, is a sign of endemic disorder in the region.[23]

8.F *COINS USING AN UNKNOWN ERA*

8.F.1 *Anonymous Khusrau and Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān: year 1*

Mochiri has published two drachms using the same reverse die but with different names on the obverses. One coin is in the name of Khusrau with ʾ**pd** (*afīd*, 'excellent') in the second quarter of the obverse margin. The other is in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān with *bism allāh* / *rabbī* in the obverse margin. Mochiri has read the reverse legend as **ŠNT ʾywkw** (**ʾywk'**) to the left and **y yzytw** (**yzyt'**) to the right, translating the whole as 'year one of Yazīd'. He has attributed these issues to the Yazīdiya (an offshoot of the Khārijites), suggesting they were struck by Yazīd b. Anīsa from 50 to 53H.[24] While the reading of the reverse legend is plausible, the attribution to Yazīd b Anīsa, an opponent of Ziyād is doubtful.

8.F.2 *ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād: year 2*

A coin in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād from Hulwān (7.22, **AYLAN**) is dated year 2. This is an unusual coin as, instead of the standard *bism allāh* in the second quarter of the obverse margin, we find *al-Rahmān* ('the Compassionate'), one of the 99 names of God.[25] It is not known what era year 2 represents, but it could denote the second year of a particular office.

8.F.3 *Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and Salm b. Ziyād: year 26*

There is a series of coins in the names of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and his son Salm b. Ziyād all dated year 26. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān's drachms have the mint signatures **ART** (7.14, Ardashīr-Khurra), **DA** (7.36, Dārābgerd), **NY** (7.75, Nēhāvand). Salm b. Ziyād's have the mint signatures **ART**, **DA** and **MLW** (7.68, Marw). Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān was governor of Basra from 45H to about 53H and struck an extensive coinage in Fārs (see 9.59). The historical sources do not refer to Salm b. Ziyād holding any positions in Fārs, though he was appointed governor of Khurāsān in 61H (see 9.46). One suggested explanation is that old dies, 'purloined' from the Sasanian treasury, were used.[26] This seems implausible as four different mint signatures were used from a wide geographical area. It has also been suggested by Gaube that the coins in the name of Salm b. Ziyād may bear PYE dates equivalent to 58H.[27] This too sounds doubtful. Mochiri's explanation is more complex.[28] He notes that in 58H ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (see 9.53), governor of Khurāsān from 54H, governor of Basra from 55H, was defeated by the Khārijites. By treating year 26 as a PYE date, he places the coins in 58H. He concludes that these coins were struck by the victorious Khārijite groups who did not care in whose name they struck coins. While ingenious, this theory again seems implausible. Perhaps the simplest and probably correct answer is that the coins do not bear authentic dates, just like the frozen year 43 issues from Dārābgerd.[29]

8.F.4 *Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān: years 25, 26, 30, 33, 35, 36* (see also 8.F.3 above)

The coins of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān often have dates which are either crudely inscribed or impossible to reconcile with the three main eras known for Arab-Sasanian coins (see 9.59). Almost certainly most, if

[23] Mochiri 1987, p. 53.

[24] Mochiri 1987, pp. 25–6, nos 1 and 19, pl. 1 nos 1 and 2.

[25] Warden-Album collection. Illustrated Chapter 9, section 9.53, p. 319, fig. 9.53.3.

[26] *SICA* 1, p. 58.

[27] Gaube 1973, p. 137, para. 8.3.2.

[28] Mochiri 1987, pp. 45–6.

[29] Chapter 9, section 9.58, p. 332.

not all, of these coins bear non authentic dates. Mochiri considers that these were issued by the Khārijites using the PYE era.[30]

8.G *COINS WITH BLUNDERED DATES*

The most stark examples of coins with blundered dates are the late Sīstān (7.87 **SK**) drachms struck during the ʿAbbāsid period where, in the place of the date, there is usually nothing more than a few meaningless strokes. Even the Sīstān issues struck during the Umayyad period often have dates which are crudely inscribed, especially for the period from around 80H to 110H.

Apart from these issues, other mints from time to time issue coins with blundered dates, where it can be difficult to ascertain the intended date. This reflects either a lack of care as to whether the coins were properly dated or not, a degree of illiteracy on the part of the engraver, and sometimes the fact that the coins are imitations.

[30] Mochiri 1987, p. 45. As noted above, this is not established.

CHAPTER 9

PERSONS NAMED ON COINAGE

Many different persons are named on Arab-Sasanian silver and copper issues. Most can be identified with known rulers and officials. The earlier issues coins were struck in the names of the late Sasanian kings Khusrau II (590–628) and Yazdgard III (632–51). This was no doubt to promote the recognition and acceptance of such coins by the local populace who would have been predominantly Zoroastrians and not necessarily content to be ruled by Arab governors.

The persons named on the coinage are often opponents of the Umayyads. Thus ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr was a rival caliph from 61 to 73H and his name and those he appointed, such as his brother Musʿab b. al-Zubayr and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim are featured on much of the coinage of that period. Khārijites, such as ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad and Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa, who were opponents of both the Umayyads and Zubayrids, also struck coins. Others, such as ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad and his supporters including ʿAmr b. Laqīt, were simply people who had revolted against Umayyad rule and temporarily held control of certain areas.

For the most part, the coinage is either anonymous, being in the names of former Sasanian kings Khusrau, Yazdgard, and rarely Hormizd, or in the name of the governors of the East (such as Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf), major subdivisions of the East or single provinces. Occasionally coins were struck in the name of the Umayyad caliph himself, as with Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. The naming of governors and other powerful local figures on coins, rather than the overall ruler, was a distinct break from Sasanian tradition where the bust and name on coins was that of the monarch.[1]

We do not always know whether the person named on some coins had been appointed by the Umayyads or was an opponent of Umayyad rule, such as with al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd in Kirmān from 52 to 58H. There is probably no satisfactory way of ordering the coinage given the disparity of the persons named on coins, their positions, allegiances and dating eras involved.[2]

This chapter deals with the persons named on the coins both from a historical perspective and from the mint signatures and dates known.

Names: these follow the order in Part IV, Table 3 which provides a transliteration and inscription of each name found on the coins.

Dates: where a year is followed by U this denotes the issue is unconfirmed, i.e. neither a specimen nor an illustration has been personally observed by the author.

Where a year is followed by a question mark this denotes that the date or mint signature is ambiguous.

9.1 ʿAbd Allāh

9.2 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [b. Kurayz]

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, born in 4H, was from the Prophet's tribe of Quraysh and became a leading supporter of the Umayyads. In 29H he was appointed by his cousin Caliph ʿUthmān (23–35H) as his first governor of Basra. From there ʿAbd Allāh sent forces after the Sasanian king Yazdgard III.[3] In 31H he and his forces

[1] Phillips 2015, pp. 56–8.

[2] c.f. Bates 1986, p. 233 who complains of the confusing order and presentation in Walker 1941.

[3] Al-Balādhurī, p. 315, al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), p. 490.

reached Nīshāpūr in Khurāsān, then returned to Basra after spending the winter there.[4] He became known for his important part in the conquests of Fārs (including the ruthless conquest of Istakhr in about 29H where many of the inhabitants were massacred), Kirmān and Khurāsān.[5] In 35H ʿUthmān was murdered and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir was removed as governor of Basra by ʿUthmān's successor ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib.[6] It was not until the appointment of the first Umayyad caliph in 41H, Abū al-Rahmān Muʿāwiya (41–60H), who was his father in law, that ʿAbd Allāh was restored to the governorship of Basra.[7] In the same year he briefly held the position of governor of Kūfa as well.[8] Al-Tabarī records that in 41H ʿAbd Allāh was put in charge of Basra and also military matters in Sijistān (Sīstān) and Khurāsān.[9] In 43H he is noted as being in charge of Basra, Fārs, Sijistān (Sīstān) and Khurāsān.[10] In 44H he was dismissed as governor of Basra on the basis that he was too lenient and easy going.[11] There is a seal type which refers to ʿAbd Allāh's dismissal in a six-line legend: *mimma amara bi-hi* / *amīr al-muʾminīn* / *muʿāwiya bi-azl a-* / *l-amīr ʿabd allāh bin ʿā-* / *mir min wilāya fī-* / *al-basra* ('Among those things ordered by / the Commander of the Faithful / Muʿāwiya to dismiss the / *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh bin ʿĀmir from the rule of / al-Basra').[12] He was replaced first, by al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.27) and then Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (see 9.59).[13] Under ʿAbd Allāh security was so poor in Basra that people hired private watchmen, murder and robbery were common and the tribes, not the authorities, held power. ʿAbd Allāh was not willing to take vigorous measures.[14] When Ziyād arrived he imposed a night curfew and ruthlessly dealt with anyone who broke it.[15] Thereafter there is no other official appointment known for ʿAbd Allāh, and finally he died in retirement in Mecca in 57H or possibly 59H.[16]

The earlier issues of this governor are simply in the name of ʿAbd Allāh, which follows the Sasanian practice of only having the given name of the ruler (without the patronymic).

7.14 **ART**: year 42(H)
7.17 **AWNW**(?): year 42(H)
7.30 **BN**: year 20U (uncertain era – frozen date), 30U (YE = 41H), 33 (YE = 44H), 42(H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: years 42(H), 44(H)
7.36 **DA**: year 30 (YE = 41H), 43(H)
7.38 **DAP**: year 43(H)
7.38.3 **DP**: year 43(H)
7.70 **MY**: year 23 (uncertain era)
7.72 **NAL**: years 20 (uncertain era), 35 (uncertain era), 42(H), 48(H?)
7.86B **SAWT'**: year 42(H)
7.89 **ST**: year 42(H)
7.101 **ŠY**: years 25 (uncertain era), 35 (uncertain era), 42(H)

[4] Kennedy, 2004, p. 71

[5] *EI*[2], qv ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmir; Kennedy 2007, pp. 183–7; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:191–4, (trans.), Vol. 3, pp. 803-6. He reconquered Fārs, starting in 42H.

[6] Al-Tabarī, i, 3082–4; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 16, pp. 20–2.

[7] Khalifa (trans.), p. 55.

[8] Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:261, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 890 places this in 42H when Muʿāwiya replaced al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba with ʿAbd Allāh as govenor for a short while before reappointing him.

[9] Al-Tabarī, ii, 15; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 18; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:258 (trans.), Vol. 3, p. 886.

[10] Al-Tabarī, ii, 67; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 70.

[11] Al-Tabarī, ii, 67; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 71; Kennedy 2004, pp. 84–5.

[12] Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 19 (25 April 2012), lot 5.

[13] Khalifa (trans.), p. 59, places this in 45H.

[14] Wellhausen 1927, p. 119.

[15] Morony 1984, p. 94.

[16] Khalifa (trans.), p. 86 (59H).

7.107 **WH**: years 34 (uncertain era), 41(H), 42(H)
7.114 **YZ**: year 43(H)

Copper. ʿAbd Allāh is one of the few officials named both on regular drachms and on copper issues.

7.14 **ART**: Undated
7.88.2 **SLCA** (?): year 44(H)
7.100 **ŠWŠ**: year 44(H)

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir introduced the concept of a two line legend with the patronymic, which became the standard formula for all Arab-Sasanian coinage and all his later drachms carry the full name ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir.

7.2 **AHM**: year 35 (YE = 46H)
7.14 **ART**: years 36 (YE = 47H), 47(H)
7.26 **BBA**: year 44(H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: year 30 (YE? = 41H), 34U (YE = 45H), 43(H), 44(H), 47(H)
7.36 **DA**: year 43 (frozen year, *c*.44–7H)
7.38 **DAP**: year 43 (frozen year, *c*.44–7H)
7.38.3 **DP**: year 43 (frozen year, *c*.44–7H)
7.47 **GW**: years 30 (YE = 41H), 47(H)
7.68.1 **MLW**: year 41U(H)
7.72 **NAL**: year 20 (uncertain era)
7.87 **SK**: year 44U(H)
7.89 **ST**: year 44(H)
7.101 **ŠY**: year 27 (uncertain era)
7.114 **YZ**: years 37 (uncertain era), 44(H), 47U(H)

Various eras are used on the coinage in both names, ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, which makes fitting them into the years known for his governorships (29–35, 41–4H) a difficult task. The issues dated 41 to 44 are clearly Hijrī and equate with the second period of his governorship. The year 20 (**BN** and **NAL**) may be a frozen date, given that the earliest Arab-Sasanian issues in the names of Yazdgard and Khusrau bear the same date. It is conceivable that these have a YE date equivalent to 31H, which would fall within his first governorship. This seems unlikely because it is not until later that the names of officials replace the names of Yazdgard and Khusrau on the coins. The year 23 (**MY**) issue should also be regarded as using an unknown era rather than being a YE date equivalent to 34H. The drachms dated 27 (**ŠY**) also use an uncertain era as it is not possible to reconcile the date with any known era. As regards the drachms dated in the 30s (30, 33, 34, 35, 36 and 37) the position is just as complicated. The issues dated 30 to 33 could be either from the period of his first governorship with Hijrī dates, or instead bear YE dates and thus coincide within the known period for his second governorship, which is the view preferred here. This leaves the coins dated 34 to 37 (45–8H) which would have been struck after his dismissal in 44H. The same problem arises with the drachms dated 47H for mint signatures **BYŠ** (Bīshāpūr) and **YZ** (Yazd) and 48H for **NAL** (within Kirmān region). It may be that after his dismissal in 44H, ʿAbd Allāh continued to have an official position not recorded in the historical texts[17] or that Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān was simply content for ʿAbd Allāh's name to remain on coinage.[18]

[17] Bates has suggested (personal communication) it is possible he remained in power in some areas, or at least some people still supported him, after his formal dismissal, or indeed that the historical sources are simply wrong on the date when ʿAbd Allāh was removed and Ziyād appointed. He is of the view that 47H is the year in which Ziyād took over governorship in succession to ʿAbd Allāh.

[18] *SICA* 1, pp. 11–12.

Mochiri has taken a completely different approach to the coins in the name of ʿAbd Allāh. He does not consider that they represent ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, but instead a Khārijite opponent of the Umayyads.[19] It is perplexing that some mints, e.g. Bīshapūr (**BYŠ**) in year 44(H), use both names. As it is unlikely that two separate people with the name ʿAbd Allāh struck coins at the same place and time one should assume the two names refer to one person.

Fig. 9.1. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **BYŠ**, 44(H), 3.92g
(British Museum, Walker 73)

Fig. 9.2. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, mint **BYŠ**, 44(H), 3.74g
(British Museum, Walker 69)

9.3 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (al-Mujāshiʿī)

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Mujāshiʿī (ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Naʿʿār al-Tamīnī al-Dārimī) was caught up in the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Ashʿath (see 9.17) against al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (see 9.25). The chronology in the sources is confusing. Al-Tabarī records that in 81H ʿAbd al-Rahmān rebelled against al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf and placed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir in charge of Zaranj in Sīstān.[20] When Ibn al-Ashʿath reached Sīstān again in 83H (or 84H) his fortune had turned. His former ally, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, refused to open the gates of Zaranj to him. However in time Ibn al-Ashʿath and his supporters besieged and attacked ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, and took him prisoner.[21] Ultimately al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf ordered ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir's execution in about 83/4H.[22]

The coinage of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Mujāshiʿī should not be confused with the much earlier issues of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz (see 9.2), whose coinage did not extend to Sīstān.[23]

7.87 **SK**: year 80(H)

The legends on this drachm are noteworthy. In the obverse right field the name of the official is found in the usual place, in Pahlavi **ʾpdwlʾ** / **y ʾmylʾn**. His name is repeated in Arabic on the obverse margin which reads *bism allāh* / *allāh walī ʿabd allāh* / *bin ʿāmir* ('In the name of God / God is the guardian of ʿAbd Allāh / b. ʿĀmir'). On the reverse *salīm* ('free of defect') is added in the margin.[24] The date is blundered and resembles **hʾšt**ʾ which could be 80. The coin was probably struck no later than 84H.

[19] Mochiri 1987, p. 37.

[20] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1055; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 6; Bosworth 1968, pp. 60–2.

[21] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1104; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, pp. 50–2; c.f. Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:332-3, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 982-3.

[22] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1122, al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 66. Al-Tabarī places ʿAbd Allāh's execution in 83H.

[23] Sears and Malek 2006 for a full discussion; *SICA* 1, p. 31.

[24] C.f. Album 2011, p. 27, type 37A, regards this as the name of an unidentified individual, which is also possible.

Fig. 9.3. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, mint **SK**, 80(H), 1.89g (**Pl. 88, 1031**)

9.4 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (?) (see also under 9.6. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārith)

There are two main views on the attribution of these rare issues from Sīstān (**SK**) dated 65 and 66(H). The name legend in the obverse field is in Pahlavi **ʾpdwlʾ y** / **ʾlykʾn** and in the second quarter of the margin we find the Arabic *bin ʿalī*. This has led some recent commentators to equate the *bin ʿalī* in the margin with **ʾlykʾn** in the second line of the obverse field legend, thus giving a reading of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī. The first person to make this link was probably Eshragh in 2010[25] and has been followed by Weber in 2013.[26] This reading is plausible but contrasts with the ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārith (Hārīq / ʿArīq) read by a number of numismatists since the 1940s. These coins are considered below under 9.6. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārith or ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī.

9.5 ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām

It is possible, judging from his only known issue, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām was a sub-governor of at least of part of Kirmān during the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (known as Ibn al-Ashʿath) against al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. His rule appears to have been short lived as drachms are known for ʿAmr b. Laqīt with the same mint and date (see 9.20). The latter appears to have succeeded him in the same year. There is a much later reference in the histories to an ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām [b. Masʾūd] who was a military governor of the Azd tribe during the conquest of Transoxania from 110 to 112H. This is unlikely to be the same person given the 30 year gap.

7.58.18 **KLMAN-GLM**: year 82(H)

The obverse marginal legend has the usual *bism allāh* in the second quarter. In the third quarter *baraka* (‘Benediction’) is added.

Fig. 9.5. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām, mint **KLMAN-GLM**, 82(H), 4.14g (**Pl. 59, 694**)

9.6 ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārith (Hārīq / ʿArīq) or ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī

One cannot be certain who is referred to on these coins. They are rare and the father’s name has been variously read because of the ambiguity of the script. There are two views about how the name should be read.

The prevailing view favours ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārith. There is a reference in al-Balādhurī’s *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, to the house of Babbah in Mecca, so-called by its occupants, as the house was that of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Hārith b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib b. ʿAbd Manāf, who ruled Basra at the time of the insurrection of

[25] Eshragh 2010, p. 294, no. 1752.

[26] Weber 2013, pp. 83–8, no. 195.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.[27] While governor of Basra in 65H, ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārith was confronted with a revolt by the Khārijites,[28] who at one point apparently had the upper and began marching towards Basra. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārith was dismissed and an army led by al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (see 9.36) repelled the Khārijite forces and saved Basra. The difficulty with equating this governor with the official named on the coins is that there is no reference in the *Tārīkh-ī Sīstān* to him being a governor of Sīstān where his only known coins were struck.

A different reading was proposed by Mochiri who suggested ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿArīq, with ʿarīq meaning 'of sound roots' or 'noble ancestry'.[29]

More recently Eshragh and Weber, working from a better unclipped specimen, have read the marginal Arabic legend as *bin ʿalī* and proposed reading the name as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī.[30] Weber equated *bin ʿalī* in the margin with the name **ʾlykʾn** in the second line of the legend in the obverse field. The difficulty with this is the presence of the letter **k**, which he has explained on the grounds it was inserted to avoid two consecutive vowels. This is unsatisfactory, not least because on other coins one can find a vowel before the final **ʾn**.[31]

There are references in the literature to the name ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī but there are no references to a person of that name in Sīstān at the relevant time. Weber considers it possible that these coins were issued by the ʿAlids.[32]

7.87 **SK**: years 65(H), 66(H)

Fig. 9.6. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, mint **SK**, 66(H), 2.77g
(Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 27 (10 December 2014), lot 4)

9.7 ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim

ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī is associated with Khurāsān both as an Umayyad supporter and governor and later as an opponent who went over to the Zubayrids. In 30H he took part in the conquest of Nīshāpūr.[33] In 32H he led ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir's forces in the capture of Herāt. In 33H he was appointed governor of the province and remained there until replaced under the new Caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib, who succeeded the murdered Caliph ʿUthmān in 35H. The first Umayyad Caliph, Abū al-Rahmān Muʿāwiya (41–60H) restored ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir to Basra and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim to Khurāsān.[34] In 64H ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim switched his allegiance away from the Umayyads and instead sided with the rival caliph, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

[27] Al-Balādhurī, p. 52; al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), p. 82. Morony 1984, p. 142 – al-Mukhtār appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārith as governor of Māh (Mahayn) comprising Dinavar and Nihavand, and Hamadān.

[28] Al-Tabarī, ii, 581–3; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, pp. 165–7. There are references to ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārith being governor of Basra for part of 64H: al-Tabarī, ii, 444–7; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, pp. 20–4; Khalifa (trans.), p. 116.

[29] Mochiri 1987, pp. 56–7, Walker 1941, p. 121, no. 241 and Gaube 1973, pl. 2, no 20 were all working from an example which had been clipped.

[30] Weber 2013, pp. 83–8 (65H); Eshragh 2010, no. 1752 (66H).

[31] See discussion under 9.4 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (?) above.

[32] Weber 2013, pp. 83–8.

[33] Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:193, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 804.

[34] Al-Tabarī, ii, 65; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 68 places this in 43H for ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim. As governor of Khurāsān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim went on to capture Balkh and then beseige Kābul: al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:258, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 886.

Judging by the numismatic evidence ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim and Salm b. Ziyād (see 9.46) or his fellow Umayyad supporters fought for control of the province throughout the 60sH. The literary sources tell us that ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim went from Marw (Merv) to Marw al-Rūd (Merv-Rūd) and defeated Sulaymān b. Marthad. He then subdued Herāt and put his son Muhammad in charge of the city.[35] In 65H warfare again broke out in Khurāsān. The Banū Tamīm in Khurāsān opposed ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim. They entered Herāt, killed Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, returned to Marw, then appointed al-Harīsh b. Hilāl to lead them against ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim. Al-Harīsh b. Hilāl ultimately made peace with ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim.[36] In 66H ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim besieged the Banū Tamīn at the fortress of Fartāna, located at Marw al-Rūd (Merv-Rūd) and defeated their forces in revenge for their killing of his son.[37] ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim refused to accept ʿAbd al-Malik as caliph even though in 72H ʿAbd al-Malik had offered him the governorship of Khurāsān for seven years.[38] In 72H ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim was killed at the battle of Marw.[39] The coin from Marw (**MLW**) in ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim's name dated 73H raises the possibility that he was in fact killed in 73H, but it is equally possible that this was a posthumous issue, or was struck from a die prepared in 72H for the following year and never discarded.

The coinage of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim is principally known for mints within Khurāsān. The only exceptions are drachms with **GD** and **AHM** mint signatures in crude style, which are likely to be contemporary imitations, and an unconfirmed and doubtful report of a drachm of **YZ** (Yazd in Fārs). His coinage overlaps to a certain extent with coins in the names of Salm b. Ziyād and the local dynastic ruler in north east Khurāsān, Zhulād Gōzgān (see 9.61), particularly for the mints of Anbīr (**ANBYR**) and Marw (**MLW**).[40]

7.2 **AHM**: uncertain date
7.6 **ANBYR**: year 63(H)
7.10 **APLŠT**: years 65(H), 67(H), 68(H), 69(H), 73(H – date uncertain)
7.26 **BBA**: years 67(H) and 68(H)
7.44 **GD**: uncertain date
7.68.1–2 **MLW** / **MLW'**: years 63–7(H), 68U(H), 69(H), 70(H), 71U(H), 72(H), 73(H)
7.69.1–2 **MLWLWT** / **MLWLWT'**: years 69(H), 70U(H)
7.69.3 **MLWLW**: year 69(H)
7.114 **YZ**: year 64U (H – doubtful)

Fig. 9.7.1. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, mint **MLWLW**, 69(H), 4.06g (British Museum; Walker 189)[41]

[35] Al-Tabarī, ii, 488–96; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, pp. 70–9.

[36] Al-Tabarī, ii. 593–8; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, pp. 177–81.

[37] Al-Tabarī, ii, 695–700; al-Tabarī (trans.) vol. 21, pp. 62–6, which records that in 66H ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim was in charge of Khurāsān. He held the same position in 67H, 68H and 69H: al-Tabarī, ii, 753, 783, 796, al-Tabarī (trans.) vol. 21, pp. 121, 153, 168.

[38] Wellhausen 1927, pp. 416–20; al-Tabarī, ii, 812–3; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 209–30; c.f. al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:323-4, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 272.

[39] Al-Tabarī, ii, 832–3; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 210–11. Walker 1941, pp. lii–lii.

[40] See Chapter 14, pp. 399-401 below.

[41] This coin bears an abbreviated version of the mint signature **MLWLWT** (omitting final **T**) but it was no doubt struck in Marw al-Rūd, with the full name appearing as a countermark on the obverse margin.

Fig. 9.7.2. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, mint **APLŠT''**, 69(H), 3.75g (**Pl. 4, 38**)

9.8 ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya

In 74H Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.56) was appointed Umayyad governor of both Khurāsān and Sīstān. In turn he appointed his son ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya as governor of Sīstān. ʿAbd Allāh sought to agree terms with the Zunbīl (Rutbīl) in Bust, but was betrayed and attacked. In the end he reportedly had to pay 300,000 dirhams to extricate himself. The Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ordered the dismissal of ʿAbd Allāh from Sīstān. ʿAbd Allāh subsequently joined in the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (Ibn al-Ashʿath) (see 9.17) against al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (see 9.25).[42] According to al-Yaʿqūbī, the Zunbīl met ʿAbd Allāh in battle and killed him.[43] ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya's coinage is confined to Khurāsān and Sīstān. This is consistent with the historical sources.

The coinage of ʿAbd Allāh is rare and only struck for the period 75–7H. His name only, not his father's, is found on coins with the **SK** mint signature for Sīstān. He may have had more control over the area, or at least part of Sīstān, than indicated by the written sources.

His issues from Sīstān bear an Arabic legend in the second and third quarter obverse margin: *bism allāh / al-ʿizza lillāh* ('In the name of God, glory belongs to God'), usually with **my** in Pahlavi in the first quarter (of uncertain meaning).[44]

The issue from Marw is unusual. His name is written in Arabic in the obverse right field. The obverse margin has the standard *bism allāh* in the second quarter. On the reverse the date is 65, which must be a YE date equivalent to 77H to reflect when he was in office. The histories refer to him being the only governor of Sīstān, but his father may have given him authority over Khurāsān as well or at least part of the north east of that region. In the first quarter is a Bactrian legend, which could be *ambēro*, for Anbīr.[45]

7.68 **MLW'**: year 65 (YE = 77H)
7.87 **SK**: years 75–7(H)

Fig. 9.8.1. ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya, mint **SK**, 75(H), 4.06g (**Pl. 86, 1010**)

ʿAbd Allāh's position as a governor is reflected in the inscription on a dagger. The legend is *b-'l amīr ʿabd allāh b. umayya* (referring to the dagger as belonging to the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya). This is probably a reference to his position as governor of Sīstān, but it is quite possible that the dagger itself was manufactured in Khurāsān as his coinage covers both regions.

[42] Bosworth 1968, pp. 51, 59; al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti), p. 399.

[43] Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:324, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 973, 995.

[44] ʿ*izzat* can also be transliterated as ʿ*azat*.

[45] Shah Farzan collection; see Chapter 14, p. 401, fig. 14.1.4.

Fig. 9.8.2. Dagger in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya
(Oliver Hoare collection, photos Lauriane Magnin)

9.9 ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr[46]

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who became a rival caliph to the Umayyads, is said to have been the first Muslim to be born in Medina in 2H after the flight of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca. His father Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām was a companion of the Prophet and he was a nephew of the Prophet's third wife, ʿAʾisha. His mother Asmaʾ was a daughter of Abū Bakr. He was a brave soldier and took part in some of the most notable battles alongside his father: the battle of Yarmūk in 15H and the battle of Sufetula at which the Byzantine Exarch of North Africa Gregory the Patrician (of Cathage) was defeated and killed in 27H (647/8). Following his military experience in the conquests of Egypt and North Africa[47] in 30H he took part in the expedition into Khurāsān. Following the assassination of the Caliph ʿUthmān in 35H, he joined his father in the rebellion against the Caliph ʿAlī. At the battle of the Camel in 36H he led ʿAʾisha's infantry at this disastrous battle, which ended her revolt. His father was killed, and he himself was wounded.[48]

Initially ʿAbd Allāh supported the first Umayyad Caliph Muʿāwiya who became caliph in 41H but when Muʿāwiya announced his son Yazīd as his successor in 56H, ʿAbd Allāh refused to swear an oath of allegiance to him.[49] In 60H, when Yazīd succeeded his father as caliph, he called upon ʿAbd Allāh to recognise his succession, which ʿAbd Allāh refused to do and instead sought refuge in Mecca.[50] He revolted against the Umayyads. In 61H ʿAbd Allāh made public his opposition to the Caliph Yazīd.[51] In Karbalāʾ in 61H he spoke out against the massacre of ʿAlī's son Husayn, who like him had refused to acknowledge Yazīd as caliph. In 63H ʿAbd Allāh led the pilgrimage. [52] There was a continual struggle for control between the Zubayrids and the Umayyads, with the Khārijites fighting against both, until ʿAbd Allāh's death in 73H. In 63H the Caliph Yazīd sent a force to Medina to suppress ʿAbd Allāh. Medina was sacked and in 64H Mecca, which was ʿAbd Allāh's headquarters, was besieged and the Kaʿba damaged by fire. The siege ended with the death of Yazīd in 64H.[53]

[46] Foss 2013; Lynch 2015; Shaddel 2017.

[47] Al-Balādhurī (trans, Hitti), paras. 213, 226, pp. 336, 356.

[48] Al-Tabarī, i, 3185–7, 3207, 3213; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 16, pp. 125–8, 147–8, 153.

[49] Al-Tabarī, ii, 176; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 186.

[50] Al-Tabarī, ii, 223; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 19, p. 10.

[51] Al-Tabarī, ii, 395; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 19, p. 189.

[52] Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:320, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 969, which records he led the pilgrimage 63–71H (albeit 4 banners were raised in 68H, including one with ʿAbd Allāh).

[53] Al-Tabarī, ii, 494–7; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 19, pp. 221–5.

Yazīd's son Muʿāwiya II, who succeeded him as Umayyad caliph, was weak. ʿAbd Allāh was soon proclaimed caliph in both Mecca and Medina. The power of the Umayyad caliph did not extend much further than Syria, where Muʿāwiya was installed in Damascus. Kūfa and Basra went over to ʿAbd Allāh in 64H, while many Iranian provinces were pro-Khārijite, and so also opposed the Umayyads.

Muʿāwiya II's reign was short lived. After three months he died and the Umayyads elected Marwān, a much stronger figure, as caliph. His rule ended in 65H when he was murdered by his wife. His son, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, proved much more capable in restoring the fortunes of the Umayyads. In 66H ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr rebuilt the Kaʿba in Mecca[54] and in the same year he led the pilgrimage. His brother, Musʿab, was in charge at Medina.[55] ʿAbd Allāh also led the pilgrimage in 69H,[56] and 70H.[57] ʿAbd al-Malik confronted this rebellion with the help of two capable, experienced and ruthless generals, al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (see 9.25) and al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (see 9.36).

In 72H Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (see 9.41) was killed in battle at Dayr al-Jāthalīq in Iraq by ʿAbd al-Malik's forces.[58] In the same year al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf was sent by ʿAbd al-Malik to confront ʿAbd Allāh in Mecca. As ʿAbd Allāh was besieged al-Hajjāj led the pilgrimage that year.[59] In 73H al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf captured ʿAbd Allāh and put him to death,[60] effectively ending what historians have come to call the Second Civil War. This put the Umayyad caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik, in control of an empire to similar in extent to that of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān.

7.14 **ART**: years 65–67(H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: year 53U (YE = 65H)
7.36 **DA**: years 51U (YE = 63H), 52U (YE = 64H), 53 (YE = 65H), 54 (YE = 66H), 56 (YE = 68H), 57 (YE = 69H), 58? (YE = 70H); 59 (YE = 71H), 60 (YE = 72H)
7.37.1 **DA-G**: years 53 (YE = 65H), 54 (YE = 66H), 56 (YE = 68H), 57 (YE = 69H)
7.37.3 **DA-GH**: year 60 (YE = 72H)
7.38 **DAP**: years 53 (YE = 65H), 54 (YE = 66H), 56 (YE = 68H), 59 (YE = 71H), 60 (YE = 72H)
7.44 **GD**: year 63(H)
7.46 **GLM-KLMAN**: years 65(H), 67(H), 69(H), 70(H)
7.58.1–2 **KLMAN** / **KLMAN'**: years 64–7(H), 69(H)
7.58.3 **KLMAN-AN**: years 61 (or 69) (H), 67(H)
7.58.7 **KLMAN-ANAT'**: years 63(H), 67(H)
7.58.8 **KLMAN-ANWAT** / **KLMAN-ANWAT'**: year 63(H)
7.58.13 **KLMAN-AT**: year 67(H)
7.58.15 **KLMAN-BN**: years 67(H), 71(H)
7.58.16 **KLMAN-BNA**: year 67(H)
7.58.17 **KLMAN-BNBN**: years 61(H), 63(H)
7.58.19 **KLMAN-GY**: years 63(H), 66(H), 67(H), 69(H)
7.58.21 **KLMAN-HPYC**: years 63(H), 66(H), 67(H)
7.58.23 **KLMAN-NAL**: years 63?(H), 64U(H), 67(H), 68(H)
7.58.27 **KLMAN-NAWGY**: 63(H), 66(H), 67(H)
7.58.31 **KLMAN-SLC**: years 63(H), 65(H), 67(H), 70(H)

[54] Al-Tabarī, ii, 592; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, p. 176.

[55] Al-Tabarī, ii, 700; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 66–7.

[56] Al-Tabarī, ii, 796; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, p. 168.

[57] Al-Tabarī, ii, 797; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 170. Khalifa (trans.), p. 110 records that ʿAbd Allāh led the pilgrimage eight years in a row from 64 to 71H.

[58] Al-Tabarī, ii, 806–9; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 181–4. Some sources put this event in 71H.

[59] Al-Tabarī, ii, 830–1; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 207–8.

[60] Wellhausen 1927, pp. 198–200.

7.58.32 **KLMAN-SLC'**: year 67(H)
7.58.33 **KLMAN-TLA**: year 62(H)
7.58.34 **KLMAN-WLY**: year 66(H)
7.89 **ST**: years 61U(H), 62, 63 (or 66H), 67
7.103 **TART**: year 67(H)
7.114 **YZ**: years 63?(H), 66?(H); 67(H), 69(H)
7.115 **YZD**: year 66(H)

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr is one of the few officials named on silver drachms, who also struck copper issues. Copper fals (*pashīz*) in his name are known for 60–2(H) and 67(H) with the mint signature **ST**.

The coinage in the name of ʿAbd Allāh is confined to Fārs and Kirmān. A few mints issued coins dated 61H and there were two issues for 62H (**ST** and **KLMAN-TLA**). Coins were struck across a wide number of mints until 63H. The dates 61 and 63 are often difficult to distinguish from each other and it is conceivable that issues read as 61 were struck in 63H.[61] Coins dated 63, using letters which can be read as **sšst**, have an abbreviated form of the digit as 63 is usually written **syšst**. An alternative reading of this date is to treat the first letter as **h** which supports of an interpretation of **hšst** for 68.[62] This is possible but the fact that the full date for 68 **hštšst** is known for coins of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ziyād within the Kirmān region, counts against this view. Similarly some issues can be read as 63 or 66 for coins with **YZ** mint signature.

There are three main variants of the Pahlavi name legend in the obverse right field.

1 ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr: **ʾpdwlʾ / y zwbylʾn**; **ʾpdwlʾ / y zwpylʾn**; **ʾpdwlʾ / y bnnwzwbyl**
2 Caliphal title (‘Commander of the Believers’): **ʾmwl y / wylwyšnkʾn**
3 ʿAbd Allāh with caliphal title: **ʾpdwlʾ ʾmyl / wylwyšnykʾn**; **ʾpdwlʾ ʾmyl / wlwyšnyk**

ʿAbd Allāh was proclaimed Commander of the Believers in 64H. It was largely a question of local preferences whether drachms were purely patronymic or adopted the caliphal title.

Fig. 9.9.1. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (without caliphal title), mint **ART**, 67(H), 3.99g (**Pl. 6, 67**)

Fig. 9.9.2. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (ʿAbd Allāh and caliphal title), mint **DA**, 53 (YE = 65H), 3.98g (**Pl. 38, 437**)

There is an anomalous issue where the name legend is **ʾpdwlʾ / y bnwyzwbyl**, which is a direct transcription from the Arabic. It is only known with the mint signatures **ART** and **TART**.[63]

[61] *SICA* 1, p. 20 suggests that the issues dated 61H resulted from the reuse of old reverse dies.

[62] Favoured by Bates (personal communication), but not Mochiri who reads these coins as **sšst** for 63H.

[63] For example in the Catalogue: **ART**, 65H (**Pl. 6, 59**), 66H (**Pl. 6, 65**).

ʿAbd Allāh's obverse margin generally incorporates the usual religious invocation of *bism allāh*, but there are often additional words added in Pahlavi. The legend **dwwyst**, presumably representing the number 22, is found in the third quarter margin on drachms from Ardashīr-Khurra (**ART**) and its subsidiary mint Tawwaj (**TART**) for 65–67H and 67H respectively.[64] The Dārābgerd mints use only *bism allāh* in the obverse margin. The coins of Jayy (**GD**) have the Pahlavi **gm** monogram in the first quarter margin, a feature found on the reverse margin of many issues from Dārābgerd mints.

Marginal legends at the Kirmān mints. There are numerous additional Pahlavi words or letters added in the obverse margin, either before or after *bism allāh*, at the Kirmān mints.[65]

1. **bpl**
2. **bpl / GDH**
3. **bpl / GDH slč**
4. **bplw / GDH**
5. **bplwny**
6. **bplwy**
7. **bplwy / mn**
8. **bplwyʾn**
9. **bplwyʾn gy**[66]
10. **ʾpd bplwyʾn**
11. **GDH**
12. **p**
13. **pblčnw bplwyʾn**
14. **plč**

No convincing reading has been suggested for the words beginning **bpl**.

There is a drachm of **KLMAN-ANWAT** where *bism allāh* is omitted, and in its place *lillāh* **plywč bplwyʾn** (63H).[67]

Marginal legends at other mints. The coins of Istakhr (**ST**) have the Pahlavi letter **m** in the first quarter margin. The letter **m** is also found on drachms of Yazd (**YZ**) in the third quarter and for issues dated 69H there is in addition **hš** in the first quarter.

9.10 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿĀmir)

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was governor of Sīstān from 66H until 72H. He was sent there by al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.27), who was ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr's governor in Basra.[68] He fought the Zunbīl who had been threatening Sīstān. Initially he suffered losses, but in the end ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's general Abū ʿAfrāʾ ʿUmair al-Māzinī killed the Zunbīl.[69] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz also had to deal with ʿAbd Allāh b. Nāshira who captured Zaranj and expelled ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from Sīstān. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz finally defeated and killed ʿAbd Allāh Nāshira with the assistance of Wakīʿ b. Hassān.[70]

The coins of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿĀmir) are rare and are confined to Sīstān province.

7.87 **SK**: years 66(H), 69(H), 72(H)

[64] Bates considers that 22 may be a reference to the weight of the drachms as being 22 *qīrāt* ('carat').

[65] These are set out and considered in Chapter 6, obverse type 6.C.3.17, pp. 55-7.

[66] *SICA* 1, p. 21; Mochiri 1986, pp. 66–7 suggests it means 'the first fire'.

[67] **Pl. 58, 673**.

[68] Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 282, (trans.), p. 118.

[69] The area of eastern Sīstān, Helmand and Kandahar was occupied by the followers of the Zunbīls, who were the hereditary kings of the region. Their god was Zun, thus the title pledging allegiance to their god. Kennedy 2007, pp. 194–6.

[70] Bosworth 1968, p. 51.

The drachms of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz have the obverse marginal legend *bism allāh* in the second quarter, but with his name in Arabic *al-ʿazīz* in the third quarter.

Fig. 9.10.1. ʿAbd al ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **SK**, 66(H), 4.09g (**Pl. 86, 1008**)

A unique drachm dated 72H has a Pahlavi legend in five lines on the reverse instead of usual fire altar and attendants.[71]

dwhpt't (72)
yzdtw I BRA WLH ('One God, but He')
AHRN yzdtw LWYTW ('another God does not exist')
mhmt ptgmbl y yzdt ('Muhammad is the Messenger of God')
SK (Sīstān)

Fig. 9.10.2. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿĀmir), mint **SK**, 72(H)
(Mohsen Foroughi collection)

Sears placed this coin in the period 79–81H, as he did not consider the year an authentic Hijrī date. He rejected Mochiri's analysis suggesting the coin was a forerunner of ʿAbd al-Malik's coinage reform.[72] Heidemann has described the replacing of the fire altar with the *shahāda* in this way as being the first known 'iconic' symbol of the Islamic religion and its empire.[73]

The first gold coins of the fully reformed type, with legends only, were struck in 77H and it is in the context of these coins that Sears placed this issue. His arguments are both stylistic and historical and have some force. There are various reasons, though, which point in favour of 72H as the actual date. First, the reverse legend is similar to the *shahāda*, but unlike other issues it is written in Pahlavi rather than Arabic. Second, the short *shahāda* appears on Arab-Sasanian coins well before 72H, e.g. drachms in the name of ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh for Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) dated 66 and 67H. The long *shahāda* itself appears on Khusrau type anonymous drachms of Dimashq (Damascus) dated 73H. This is a transitional issue with both the date and mint in Arabic on the reverse. Third, as ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir was governor of Sīstān until 72H, a date of 79–81H would be at least seven years after the end of his governorship.

The coins dated 66, 69 and 72H in ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's name are consistent with the written sources. Although drachms dated 66H are also known in the names of Malik b. (Aws?) (see 9.33) and ʿAbd Allāh b. (ʿAlī) (see 9.6), these are rare issues and for that year drachms in ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's name predominate. Thereafter no coins from Sīstān (**SK**) are known in any name until 75H when coins in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmayya were struck.

[71] Mochiri 1981, pp. 168–72; *SICA* 1, p. 27; c.f. Sears 1989, pp. 147–9, 155–6.

[72] Sears 1989, p. 138.

[73] Heidemann 2010, p. 169.

9.11 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. Khālid)

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh was a supporter of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. He is mainly known for his struggles with the Khārijites in Fārs. In 72H he was nearly killed and had to flee when attacked by a force sent by Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa (see 9.45).[74] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid was a sub-governor in Fārs province in about 74H, until he was defeated by the Khārijite Qatarī at al-Jazūr.[75] The coins of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. Khālid) are rare.

7.14 **ART**: year 74(H)
7.89 **ST**: year 74(H)
7.103 **TART**: year 74(H)

The defeat of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is reflected in the coinage. Drachms in the name of Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa dated 75H are known for all three of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's mints. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh is noted as still being an important personage as late as 98H, when he is recorded as having led the pilgrimage that year.[76]

Unusually the coins with mint signature **TART** use the Pahlavi numeral form for the 4 in 74.[77] Most drachms have *bism allāh* as the obverse margin legend. Those of Istakhr (**ST**) dated 74H have an additional legend in the third quarter *al-ʿizza lillāh* ('Glory belongs to God').

Fig. 9.11. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **TART**, 74(H), 3.79g (**Pl. 107, 1250**)

His coinage should not be confused with that of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir whose coinage is confined to Sīstān (see 9.10 above).[78] The name legend on the obverse of drachms is different for each ruler:

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir: **ʾpdwlʾčyč' y / ʾpdwlʾ y ʾmwlʾn**
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid: **ʾpdwlʾčyč' y / ʾpdwlʾʾn**

A further distinction is that the marginal legend for coins of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir have the additional name *al-ʿazīz* in the third quarter.

The so far unique drachm of **ST** dated 74H poses a difficulty. The last word of the name legend, on the second line of the obverse field, is unclear.[79] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh is clear, but the following word is not. One possibility is ʿĀmir, but the legend does not read as such and the name seems out of place. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir was a governor of Sīstān and his other coins are dated 66 to 72H, whereas ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid was a sub-governor of Fārs until 74H. It is more likely that the additional wording after ʿAbd Allāh is the result of double striking from the line above.

9.12 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mādūr (or Maʿdhūr) (?)

The coins of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mādūr (?) are extremely rare and confined to Istakhr.

7.89 **ST**: year 61(H)

[74] Al-Tabarī, ii, 822–3; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 200; Mochiri 1987, pp. 38–9.

[75] Yāqūt, ii, 66.

[76] Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:360, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 1013.

[77] See chart of Pahlavi numerals, Part IV, Table 7B, p. 721.

[78] *SICA* 1, p. 25.

[79] **Pl. 103, 1206**.

The spelling of the name appears to be clear on the only published example of this issue (in the Hermitage) but it has not been possible to equate the name with any known official.[80] The name may be transliterated from the Pahlavi as **ʾpdwlʾčyč y / mdwlʾn**. The father's name has been tentatively read as Mādūr by Kolensikov but an alternative reading of Maʿdhūr is more probable, a name found in al-Tabarī's history.[81] The last confirmed issues of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād from Istakhr (**ST**) are also dated 61H, which would indicate that he was an ally of ʿUbayd Allāh. Another possibility is that the ʿAbd al ʿAzīz coins were struck later, possibly using old reverse dies.[82]

Fig. 9.12. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mādūr, mint **ST**, 61(H), 3.63g (Hermitage)

9.13 ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh

The written sources do not say anything about either ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz's control of Fārs, or his appointment over Bīshāpūr in 66H, indicated by the coins. They do refer to his brief tenure as Zubayrid governor of Basra in 64H after ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād had been driven out of that town.[83] Coins are known in the name of his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.11) for Sīstān in the same year. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh was married to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr's sister.

The coinage of ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh is only known for one mint (Bīshāpūr), struck in two consecutive years.

7.34 **BYŠ**: years 66(H) and 67(H)

Fig. 9.13. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **BYŠ**, 66(H), 3.89g (**Pl. 27, 307**)

This coinage is the first to include the short *shahāda* in the obverse margin:[84] *bism allāh muhammad rasūl allāh* ('In the name of God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God'). This appears to be the first time that a reference to the Prophet Muhammad was made on coinage.

9.14 ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān was born in about 26H in Medina.[85] When his father was murdered in 65H, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān was appointed the fifth Umayyad caliph during the second *fitna*, a position which he held until his death in 86H. Much of his reign was dominated by civil war with the rival caliph, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, conflict with the Khārijites and unrest in the various provinces, with Kirmān and Sīstān in

[80] *SICA* 1, p. 25; Kolesnikov 1998, p. 384, no. 119. There is at least one other example in a private collection.

[81] As suggested by Bates in his unpublished work.

[82] Sears 2002, pp. 73–4.

[83] Walker 1941, pp. liv–lv; al-Tabarī, ii, 463–4; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, pp. 43–4; Wellhausen 1927, p. 409.

[84] *SICA* 1, p. 25; Bacharach 2010, p. 5.

[85] For his reign generally, see above, Chapter 4, section 5, pp. 30-3.

particular falling in and out of Umayyad control. For the first nine years of his rule, his power base was in Syria where he was recognised as Commander of the Believers. In 70H he made peace with the Byzantines on the terms that he would pay a thousand dinars every Friday.[86] He gained a degree of control over Iraq and Iran after the defeat and death of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (see 9.41) in 72H in Basra and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (see 9.9) in 73H in Mecca by forces led by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (see 9.25). He is famous for having ordered the construction of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.[87] He favoured centralisation and this is reflected in his reformed Islamic coin types with standardised Arabic legends. The reforms started a few years before the issue of the first purely Islamic coinage, the gold dinar struck in 77H, which showed Arabic legends only on both sides. In 78H the first conventional Islamic dirhams were struck by five mints: Ādurbayjān and Armenia in the north, al-Kūfa in southern Iraq, and Shaqq al-Taymara and Jayy in Isfahān. In 79H around 40 different mints struck post-reform Islamic dirhams.[88] In 86H ʿAbd al-Malik died in Damascus and was succeeded by his son, al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik as caliph. There are relatively few types known in the name of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān.

7.14 **ART**: year 73(H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: year 73U(H)
7.36 **DA**: years 64 (YE = 76H), 65 (YE = 77H)
7.37.3 **DA-GH**: years 60 (YE = 72H) and 63 (YE = 75H)
7.38 **DAP**: years 60 (YE = 72H), 65 (YE = 77H)
7.68.1 **MLW**: year 75(H)

The earliest coins struck in the name of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān are dated 72H, the year the tide turned against the Zubayrids with the death in battle of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr.

Fig. 9.14.1. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, mint **MLW**, 75(H), 3.61g (**Pl. 74, 872**)

The drachms of ʿAbd al-Malik in general include his caliphal title in Pahlavi on the obverse: **ʾpdlmlyk ʾmyl / y wylwyšnykʾn** (ʿAbd al-Malik, Commander of the Believers) though the issue for 75H of **MLW** (Marw) omits his title: **ʾpdlmlyk / y mlwʾnʾn**. In addition the caliphal title is found in Arabic on a lead seal which has the legend *ʿabd al-malik al-muʿminīn.*[89] His drachms usually have *bism allāh* (‘In the name of God’) only in the obverse second quarter margin, though those of **ART** (Ardashīr-Khurra) add **dwwystwy**, probably for the number 22, in the third quarter.[90]

Fig. 9.14.2. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, mint **ART**, 73(H), 3.90g (**Pl. 8, 87**)

[86] Al-Tabarī, ii, 796; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 169.

[87] For the Qurʾānic verses there inscribed, see Bacharach 2010, p. 7.

[88] For Post-Reform Islamic coinage, see Chapter 10.

[89] Leu Numismatik auction 4, 25 May 2019, lot 903.

[90] The reason for the number 22 is unknown, but it also features on ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr’s coins dated 65 to 67H for both **ART** and **TART**. One possibility is that it refers to a weight standard.

The drachms for mints in the Dārābgerd district in Fārs all bear Yazdgard Era dates, which some regard as frozen dates[91] but are more likely to be authentic: **DA**, years 64 (YE = 76H) and 65 (YE = 76H); **DA-GH**, years 60 (YE = 72H) and 63 (YE = 75H); **DAP**, years 60 (YE = 72H) and 65 (YE = 77H). In general, these are more common than the coins of **ART** and **MLW**. The rare drachm from Marw is the only coin known in ʿAbd al-Malik's name from outside Fārs. All his coins were struck in the relatively short period from 73 to 77H. It is perhaps not surprising there are no coins in his name from any of the Kirmān mints as the region was then in Khārijite control with coins in the name of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad (see 9.22) predominating.

During ʿAbd al-Malik's reign the title 'caliph' first appears on coinage in the Standing Caliph drachm issue dated 75H, believed to have been struck in Damascus.[92] Until then the title used by both the Umayyads and their rivals was 'Commander of the Believers'.

9.15 ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī (Shaykh)

There is a drachm of **APLŠT** (Abarshahr, Khurāsān) dated 73(H) in the name of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī [ ] with the last part of the name unclear, but possibly Shaykh. The coin may be of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaykh al-Qurayshi, who is mentioned as having been active in the Kish battle in Central Asia in 80H.[93] The coin has the usual *bism allāh* in the second quarter obverse margin.

Fig. 9.15. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī (Shaykh), mint **APLŠT**, 73(H), 3.02g
(Album Auction 17 (19 September 2013), lot 104)

9.16 ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd Allāh

Little is known about ʿAbd al-Rahmān from the written sources. He was an official of the Umayyads. Al-Tabarī, recording the events of 78H, states that al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf appointed ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Hadramī deputy governor of Kūfa, but then dismissed him and replaced him with al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh.[94] All the drachms of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd Allāh are very rare, with only one mint / date known for certain. In addition the caliphal title is found in Arabic on a lead seal which has the legend *ʿabd al-malik al-muʿminīn.*[95]

7.4 **AKWLA**: 79(H)
7.14 **ART**: 73U(H)

Fig. 9.16. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **AKWLA**, 79(H), 2.16g (clipped)
(*SICA* 1, pl. 1, no. 6, Shamma Collection)

[91] *SICA* 1, p. 30.

[92] This is an anonymous issue listed under 9.62 below, p. 336, fig. 9.6.2.5.

[93] Al-Tabarī (trans.) vol. 22, p. 190.

[94] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1033; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, pp. 177–8.

[95] Leu Numismatic auction 4, 25 May 2019, lot 903.

The coin of Kūfa (**AKWLA**), year 79H, is consistent with the historical sources which refer to him as deputy governor of Kūfa in 78H but suggesting his rule may have lasted longer than indicated by the written sources. The reference to a coin reportedly of **ART** (Ardashīr-Khurra) is probably due to a misreading. The date 79H has confused numismatists in the past as it is written in Pahlavi numerals.[96]

9.17 ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad[97]

In the historical sources, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad is often referred to by his grandfather's name Ibn al-Ashʿath. Initially he was a supporter of the Umayyads and was recognised for his military abilities. He was one of the descendants of the pre-Islamic kings of Kinda. In 78H al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (see 9.25), the strong arm in the East for the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, sent Ibn al-Ashʿath to fight the Khārijite army of Shabīb, but he was defeated[98] and returned to Kūfa.[99]

Al-Hajjāj was keen to assert Umayyad control over Sīstān and Zābulistān. In 80H he sent Ibn al-Ashʿath to restore peace in Sīstān, after the defeat of the Umayyad governor, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra (see 9.52), the previous year. Ibn al-Ashʿath went to Sīstān with a formidable force largely drawn from Basra and Kūfa, known as the *Jaysh al-Tawāwīs*, 'the Army of the Peacocks'. Ibn al-Ashʿath took much of the Zunbīl's territory, and collected tribute, without actually engaging him in battle. Al-Hajjāj is said to have hated Ibn al-Ashʿath.[100] He pressed Ibn al-Ashʿath to pursue the Zunbīl (Rutbīl) into the mountains.[101] Finally, Ibn al-Ashʿath and his troops rebelled against al-Hajjāj and the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik.[102] Al-Tabarī places this in 81H after al-Hajjāj had insulted Ibn al-Ashʿath and complained that he had not done battle with Zunbīl. Ibn al-Ashʿath left Sīstān, appointing ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (see 9.3) over Zaranj, and making peace with the Zunbīl. He then entered the region of Kirmān, then Fārs, and ultimately entered Basra at the head of his army[103] having defeated al-Hajjāj's forces near Tustar.[104]

In 82H a battle took place at Zāwiyah between al-Hajjāj, backed by Syrian troops, and Ibn al-Ashʿath who defeated the Syrians and entered Basra again.[105] Ibn al-Ashʿath entered Kūfa, and the Kūfans and Basrans joined together in their hatred of al-Hajjāj,[106] who was an overbearing and ruthless man. The caliph, concerned by the turn of events, offered terms, including the dismissal of al-Hajjāj and the appointment of Ibn al-Ashʿath to high office. While Ibn al-Ashʿath would have been prepared to accept these terms, his followers were not, so the war continued. Finally, al-Hajjāj and the Syrians were able to regain the initiative.[107]

Al-Tabarī cites differing sources for the battle at Dayr al-Jamājim (near Kūfa), dating it to 82H or 83H.[108] It seems that the battle, at which Ibn al-Ashʿath's force was beaten, was more likely to have taken place in

[96] *SICA* 1, p. 33; correctly identified by Mochiri 1987, pp. 85–6.

[97] EI², s.v. 'Ibn al-Ashʿath,' vol. 3, p. 719a; Walker 1941, pp. lxiii–lxiv; *SICA* 1, pp. 29–30.

[98] Al-Tabarī, ii, 930; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 81.

[99] Al-Tabarī, ii, 939; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 90.

[100] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1042–6; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, pp. 190–4. According to Abū Mikhnaf, al-Hajjāj used to say of Ibn al-Ashʿath, 'There is no-one in all Iraq more odious to me than him; I have never watched him, whether walking or riding, without wishing him dead': Bosworth 1968, p. 55.

[101] The interpretation of the name of the title for hereditary rulers of Zābul and its region is the subject of some debate between scholars. While most scholars in the past have read the title as the Zunbīl, there is much to be said for a reading of Rutbīl: see Bosworth 2008, p. 244, followed by Vondrovec 2014, vol. 2, pp. 551–2; cf. Bosworth 1968, p. 35 (favouring Zunbīl).

[102] This revolt had a major impact and is also reflected in various Christian sources: see Hoyland 2011, p. 193.

[103] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1052–63; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, pp. 3–12.

[104] Wellhausen 1927, p. 235.

[105] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1063; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 14.

[106] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1071-2; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, pp. 21–9.

[107] Kennedy 2004, p. 101.

[108] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1070; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 20.

83H.[109] Ibn al-Ashʿath then left Kūfa.[110] Later in 83H another battle took place at Maskin between the two, at which Ibn al-Ashʿath again proved unsuccessful.[111] At this point, he fled with the intention of reaching Sīstān. Al-Hajjāj sent ʿUmāra b. Tamīm (see 9.55) after Ibn al-Ashʿath, who defeated Ibn al-Ashʿath at Susa (al-Sūs) in Khūzistān. Ibn al-Ashʿath went on to Kirmān, where he was met by the governor ʿAmr b. Laqīt al-ʿAbdī (see 9.20), who initially welcomed him.[112] Finally, Ibn al-Ashʿath reached Sīstān, but his reception there was not as he had hoped. The governor he had appointed over Zaranj, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, refused him entry. Instead he went to Bust, where he was imprisoned, but ultimately rescued by the Zunbīl. Ibn al-Ashʿath was then able to dislodge ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir from Zaranj. At this stage Ibn al-Ashʿath's forces split, some going to Khurāsān and ending up in Herāt.[113] In 84/5H Ibn al-Ashʿath died in Sīstān. According to al-Tabarī, in 85H al-Hajjāj agreed terms with the Zunbīl, who handed over Ibn al-Ashʿath's head.[114] The sources are not consistent in their dates of the various campaigns and battles, particularly those in Sīstān and Khurāsān.[115]

7.34 **BYŠ**: years 81–3(H)
7.36 **DA**: year 70 (YE = 82H)
7.37.3 **DA-GH**: year 70 (YE = 82H)
7.58.21 **KLMAN-HPYC**: year 83(H)
7.87 **SK**: years 80–4(H)
7.89 **ST**: years 82(H), 83(H)

The drachms of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad are noteworthy for their varied legends. Like the coins of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf his name is found in both Arabic and Pahlavi.

The most common coins of Ibn al-Ashʿath are those of **SK** (Sīstān), which are dated between 80 and 84H and are generally crudely struck, a usual feature of Sīstān coins. They cover the period from Ibn al-Ashʿath's arrival in Sīstān in 80H at the head of an army sent by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. The issues dated 84H are consistent with him having some control over Sīstān at that date after his return to the region in 83H following his defeats by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf's forces. Even the coins of **SK** were regarded as rare until a relatively large group came onto the market in the late 1990s, mainly dated 80 and 81H. Those dated 83 and 84H are still scarce, with few examples known dated 84H. Most known examples have an obverse marginal legend of *bism allāh* or *bism allāh* / *rabbī*, and there is a rare issue dated 80H and 82H with *saʿīd billāh* in the third quarter. The legends on coins from Sīstān are all in Pahlavi, except for the Arabic obverse marginal legend.

Fig. 9.17.1. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad, mint **SK**, 84(H), 3.74g (**Pl. 91, 1062**)

[109] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1086; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 35.

[110] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1096; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 44.

[111] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1098; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 46.

[112] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1101; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, pp. 48–9.

[113] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1102–6; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, pp. 48–9.

[114] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1134–5; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, pp. 77–9. See also al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 283, (trans.), vol. 1, p. 118, al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:334, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 984-5 which refers to the capture of ʿAbd al-Rahmān by Rutbīl (king of Sīstān) at the request of al-Hajjāj. A peace was concluded between al-Hajjāj and Rutbīl.

[115] Wellhausen 1927, pp. 232–48 and Bosworth 1968, pp. 52–63 contain useful analyses of the various campaigns.

The coins of Ibn al-Ashʿath of **DA** and **DA-GH** bear a Yazdgard era date (70 = 82H), as is the case with most coins from Dārābgerd and its districts, and his name is in Pahlavi. They reflect his presence or control within Fārs (or at least parts thereof) in that year. The obverse marginal legend is *bism allāh* / *rabb harasahu* ('In the name of God, may his Lord protect him').[116]

Apart from the drachms from Dārābgerd, a few drachms are known for two other mints within Fārs: **BYŠ** (Bīshāpūr) and **ST** (Istakhr). The drachms of Bīshāpūr have his name in Arabic for 81H and 83H and the obverse marginal legend is *al-hamd lillāh* ('Praise be to God'). One variety for 83H has the obverse marginal legend *bism allāh*, with Mansūr (**mnswl**) in Pahlavi added in the third quarter. Those of 82H have his name in Pahlavi and the obverse marginal legend is *hadāhu allāh wa nasara* ('God guided him and gained victory').

An unusual drachm of Istakhr (**ST**) dated 83H has Arabic legends in the obverse field: *darb al-amīr ʿabd* / *al rahmān bn muhammad*, and *bism allāh* in the second quarter obverse margin. The name Mansūr is in Pahlavi in the obverse third quarter margin and in Arabic in the reverse first quarter margin. His only issue for Istakhr dated 82H also has his name in Arabic in the obverse field, Mansūr in Pahlavi in the obverse margin but not in the reverse margin.

Fig. 9.17.2. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad, mint **ST**, 83(H), 4.08g (**Pl. 104, 1215**)

The drachm of **KLMAN-HPYC** dated 83H has ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad in Pahlavi in the obverse field. In addition to *bism allāh* as usual in the second quarter obverse margin there is the Pahlavi word **lwb'k** in the third quarter, meaning 'current', followed by a word (**lywl** or **lywb**) of uncertain reading.

Fig. 9.17.3. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad, mint **KLMAN-HPYC**, 83(H), 4.11g (**Pl. 62, 726**)

9.18 ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd

It is unclear whether the ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd on the coinage of Kirmān can be matched with any historical figure known from the literature. There was an ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd who was part of the army sent by the Caliph ʿUthmān to attack Ifrīqiya (North Africa) in 27H.[117] Another ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd al-Khattab is noted as having led prayers during the pilgrimage to Mecca in 63H.[118]

It seems likely the Sufyānids did not have full control over Kirmān for much of the period from 51 to 58H, and probably no control for 56 and 57H. Mochiri takes the view that ʿAbd al-Rahmān, whose coinage spanned 51 to 54H, and al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs (53, 54, 56–8H) (see 9.26) were both Khārijite opponents of the Umayyads operating in Kirmān.[119] Album concludes that it is probably better to simply regard them as 'unidentified governors of Kirmān'.[120] They were probably both opponents of the Umayyads.

[116] For an alternative reading, see 6.C.4.4, p. 65 above. There may be a deliberate pun for the final word, *harasashu* ('protect him') or *Kharasha* (a reference to Kharasha b. Masʿūd).

[117] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti), para. 226, p. 356.

[118] Khalifa (trans.), p. 105.

[119] Mochiri 1987, pp. 39–41.

[120] *SICA* 1, p. 17.

The coinage of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd is rare and confined to Kirmān (apart from an unverified and unlikely reference to a drachm with **DA** mint signature).

7.7 **ANWAT**: year 54(H)
7.30 **BN**: years 52–4(H)
7.36 **DA**: year 54U(H)
7.45 **GLM**: year 54(H)
7.50 **GY**: year 54(H)
7.72 **NAL**: year 54(H)
7.88 **SLCN**: year 54(H)

Fig. 9.18. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd, mint **BN**, 52(H), 2.99g (**Pl. 20, 223**)

The drachms of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd all follow the same style. The name of the official, in Pahlavi, is in the obverse right field with the conventional *bism allāh* in the second quarter obverse margin.

9.19 Abū Saʾīd b. Numayla (?)

There are very rare issues in the name of an official whose name on coins is difficult to read. Eshragh's suggestion of Abū Hādhir b. Hajan is implausible.[120] A reading of Abū Saʾīd b. Numayla is possible, but uncertain.

7.110 **WYHC**: year 76(H), 77(H)

Fig. 9.19. Abū Saʾīd b. Numayla, mint **WYHC**, 77(H), 2.63g
(Morton and Eden auction 42 (4 April 2011), lot 9)

In place of the usual legend in the second quarter obverse margin we find an Arabic legend, possibly *abū hādhir billāh*, though again it is not certain.

9.20 ʿAmr b. Laqīt [al-ʿAbdī]

ʿAmr b. Laqīt al-ʿAbdī sided with ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (see 9.17) in his rebellion against al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. In 83H he is recorded as being ʿAbd al-Rahmān's deputy in Kirmān, when he met and gave hospitality to ʿAbd al-Rahmān on the latter's entry into Kirmān.[121] Judging from his coinage, it would appear that he was a sub-governor within Kirmān from 82 to 83H. Drachms were struck in the names of both ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām at **KLMAN-GLM** (see 9.5) and ʿAmr b. Laqīt dated 82H at **GLM-KLMAN** which indicates that ʿAmr b. Laqīt took over from ʿAbd Allāh that year. The fact that he was likely to have been in battle is reflected in the obverse legend which has the word **pylwč** (*pērōz*, 'victorious') preceding his name.

[120] Eshragh 2010, no. 1758.

[121] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1101; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 49.

The obverse margin has the usual *bism allāh* in the second quarter, followed in the third quarter by ʿ*amr lillāh* ('Unto God').[122] The coinage of ʿAmr b. Laqīt is rare and is only known for mints within Kirmān.[123]

7.46 **GLM-KLMAN**: years 82(H) and 83(H)
7.58.15 **KLMAN-BN**: year 83(H)
7.58.19 **KLMAN-GY**: year 83(H)
7.58.23 **KLMAN-NAL**: year 83(H)
7.58.27 **KLMAN-NAWGY**: year 83(H) – mint unclear

There is a variety of the **GLM-KLMAN** issue dated 83H with the Pahlavi word **šylwy** after *bism allāh* in the obverse margin.[124]

Fig. 9.20. ʿAmr b. Laqīt, mint **GLM-KLMAN**, 83(H), 4.11g (**Pl. 51, 599**)

9.21 Asram (Aslam) b. swphan (ʿAnfawā) (?)

The name of the official on this unique drachm has been variously read and it is uncertain to whom it refers. Miles read the name as Eslem b. Sufah and suggested it could possibly be a reference to Aslam b. Zurʿah al-Kilābī, but this seems implausible as the second name on the coin does not appear to be Zurʿah.[125] Shaddel, following ibn Mākūlā who says that Asram b. ʿAnfawa took over Isfahān during the days of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, attributes this issue to b. ʿAnfawa.[126] This is a plausible interpretation. The father's name can be variously read and **ʾnphʾn** (ānphān) could be a Pahlavi rendering intended to refer to ʿAnfawa. Other readings are **swpyyʾn** and **swphʾn**.

7.44 **GD**: year 67(H)

The date is clearly 67[127] but this unique coin has been clipped, so the obverse marginal inscription is missing.

Fig. 9.21. Aslam b. ʿAnfawā, mint **GD**, 67(H), 2.11g, 3h
(Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.IS.31-R)

9.22 ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad al-Hanafī was the founder of a sub-sect of the Khārijites known as the ʿAtawīya based in Kirmān, where all his mints were based. The ʿAtawīya were also active in Sīstān and at one stage may have become the dominant Khārijite sect there.[128] He even named his drachms struck in Kirmān as ʿAtawīya.[129]

[122] *SICA* 1, p. 34 has an alternative reading of ʿ*ammara allāh*) (may God make prosperous).

[123] *SICA* 1, p. 34 only noted **GLM-KLMAN** and **KLMAN-BN**.

[124] Eshragh 2010, no. 188.

[125] Miles 1938, no. 11. Walker 1941, p. 200 dismissed this reading but could come up with no solution of his own.

[126] Personal communication.

[127] *SICA* 1, p. 26 inaccurately records the date as 70H.

[128] Bosworth 1968, p. 88 citing Baghdādī.

[129] Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 167; Walker 1941, p. lx, fn[3]. For a discussion of the history and coinage of ʿAtiyya, see Gaiser 2010, pp. 178–80.

In 69H he was sent to ʿUmān by Najda b. ʿĀmir, the leader of the Khārijite rebels in Yemen. He deposed the local ruler but then refused to accept Najda's successor, Abū Fudayk ʿAbd Allāh b. Thawr, and left for Kirmān with his partisans.[130] His arrival in Kirmān province is reflected by rare drachms dated 70H from two mints: **GLM-KLMAN** and **KLMAN-SL**. Thereafter a large number of mints in Kirmān strike coins in his name until 77H though drachms dated 76 and 77H are rarely encountered.

Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (see 9.36) sent a force to Kirmān, which compelled ʿAtiyya to flee to Sīstān and then to Sind, where he was defeated by al-Muhallab's cavalry at Kandābil and either killed by al-Muhallab or the Khārijites themselves.[131]

The coinage of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad was regarded as relatively rare by Walker,[132] though many new varieties have since come to light.

7.46 **GLM-KLMAN**: years 70(H), 72(H), 63 (YE = 75H)
7.58.1–2 **KLMAN** / **KLMAN'**: years 71–5(H)
7.58.3 **KLMAN-AN**: years 74(H), 75(H)
7.58.4 **KLMAN-AN'**: years 72(H), 74(H), 75(H)
7.58.5 **KLMAN-ANAN**: year 72(H)
7.58.6 **KLMAN-ANAT'**: year 72(H)
7.58.8 **KLMAN-ANWAT'**: year 72(H)
7.58.13 **KLMAN-AT**: years 72(H), 73(H)
7.58.14 **KLMAN-AY**: year 72(H)
7.58.15 **KLMAN-BN**: years 71–6(H), 77U(H)
7.58.19 **KLMAN-GY**: years 72–5(H), 76U(H)
7.58.21 **KLMAN-HPYC**: years 72–6(H)
7.58.22 **KLMAN-KLMAN**: year 74U(H)
7.58.23 **KLMAN-NAL**: years 72–5(H), 76U(H), 77(H)
7.58.24 **KLMAN-NAT**: years 72(H), 73(H), 75(H)
7.58.25 **KLMAN-NAT'**: year 73(H)
7.58.26 **KLMAN-NAW**: years 72(H), 74(H), 75(H)
7.58.27 **KLMAN-NAWGY**: years 72–5(H), 77(H)
7.58.28 **KLMAN-NAWK**: year 75U(H)
7.58.29 **KLMAN-NHAT**: year 75U(H)
7.58.30 **KLMAN-SL**: year 70(H)
7.58.31 **KLMAN-SLC**: year 72(H)
7.58.32 **KLMAN-SLC'**: years 72(H), 73U(H), 74(H), 75(H), 77(H)

Fig. 9.22.1. ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad, mint **KLMAN-SLC'**, 75(H), 3.86g (**Pl. 69, 813**)

ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad's coinage has an additional obverse marginal legend in the second quarter and reads *bism allāh walī al-amr* ('In the name of God, possessor of the command').[133] This is consistent with the

[130] Bosworth 1968, p. 88.

[131] Walker 1934, p. 299; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:329, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 978 (killed by al-Muhallab).

[132] Walker 1941, pp. 111–12 (listed only five examples).

[133] Gaiser 2010, p. 179, translates the legend as 'In the name of God, master of the Affair' and in his view carried no Khārijite sectarian significance.

common refrain of the Khārijites that all authority belonged to God.[134] There are variants with additional Pahlavi words or letters added in the obverse margin usually after *bism allāh walī al-amr*.[135] Occasionally there is a reverse marginal legend, often indicating the mint place.

ʾn'	the second part of the mint signature, also found on reverse margin.
ʾnw	possibly an indication of the mint, but does not mirror the second part of the mint signature.
ʾt	the second part of the mint signature.
ʾw	possibly an indication of the mint, but does not mirror the second part of the mint signature.
gw gw (?)	uncertain meaning.
hp (or **ʾp**)	the start of the second part of the mint signature **HPYC**.
nʾt	the second part of the mint signature, also found on reverse margin.
nʾw	probably meaning new, and an indication of mint place.
nʾwgy	the second part of the mint signature.
p	uncertain meaning.

On some issues there is an additional Arabic word in the third quarter obverse margin, either *jayyid* ('good') or *lillāh* ('for God'). The coins of ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad bear Hijrī dates, apart from one issue for **GLM-KLMAN**, which is dated 63 and is probably a YE date (= 75H).

Fig. 9.22.2. ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad, mint **GLM-KLMAN**, 63 (YE = 75H), 3.77g (Paris, BN 1971.133)

9.23 ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ

ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ was a military commander. Al-Tabarī says that ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ was in Jayy in 68H when the Azāriqah (a Khārijite sect) camped nearby. They besieged Jayy but ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ managed to hold out and ultimately repel them.[136] He was present at the defeat of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (see 9.41) at the monastery of the Catholicus (Dayr al-Jāthalīq), between Maskin and Bājumayrā in 72H.[137] He may already have switched his allegiance away from Musʿab as he fled during the battle[138] and thereafter threw in his lot with the Umayyads. In 75H he and al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (see 9.36) were sent by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf to fight the Khārijites.[139] In 77H he was killed in battle with the Khārijite Shabīb.[140]

7.44 **GD**: year 68(H)

Fig. 9.23. ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ, mint **GD**, 68(H),(Warden-Album Collection)

[134] Walker 1934, p. 299.

[135] The obverse marginal legends are considered in Chapter 6, type 6.C.3.33, pp. 59-60.

[136] Al-Tabarī, ii, 761–4; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 130–3.

[137] Wellhausen 1927, p. 197.

[138] Al-Tabarī, ii, 806; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 181.

[139] Al-Tabarī, ii, 877; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 27.

[140] Al-Tabarī, ii, 941, 944, 953; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, pp. 92, 96, 104; Khalifa (trans.), p. 137.

This unique drachm from Jayy (**GD**) presumably with a Hijrī date of 68H reflects the historical sources.[141] It has the usual legend of *bism allāh* in the second quarter obverse margin. Like coins of this mint and date struck by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād it also has the monogram **gm** in the first quarter.[142] Zābulistān issues in the name of Fromo Kēsaro have been misattributed by some to ʿAttab b. Warqāʾ through a misreading of the obverse legend to the right of the bust as ʿAttab. The legend in fact reads **bg** / **hwtyp'** (*bay xvadēv*, 'His Majesty, Lord').[143]

9.24 Bishr b. Marwān

Bishr b. Marwān was appointed by his elder brother, the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, as governor of Kūfa in 72H after the defeat and death of the rebel Zubayid, Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (see 9.41).[144] In 73H or 74H he left for Basra to become governor there as well,[145] replacing Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh. The caliph ordered him to send troops from Basra and Kūfa to assist al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (see 9.36) in suppressing Khārijite insurgents who were in rebellion. In 74H or perhaps 75H he died in Basra.[146] The issue in his name from Basra dated 75H makes it more probable that he died in 75H.[147] It was said that Bishr b. Marwān was fond of pleasure and left administration to others. In one account he died after drinking a remedy called *idhrītūs* or *adhrītūs*.[148]

The coinage of Bishr b. Marwān is falls into two broad types: the traditional reverse of fire altar and attendants and another reverse showing a person often referred to as the 'Caliph Orans' (see below).

7.4 **AKWLA**: years 73(H), 74(H), 75(H) and with an uncertain date, all Caliph Orans type
7.27 **BCLA**: year 75(H), Caliph Orans type
7.44 **GD**: year 74(H)

The coinage of Bishr b. Marwān is one of the earliest to move away from the traditional late Sasanian style drachms.[149] On most of his coins, instead of the fire altar with attendants on the reverse, there is a standing figure traditionally identified as the caliph with outstretched arms. The standing figure may be the *khatīb*, the leader of Friday prayers, who might have been Bishr himself.[150] In place of the fire altar attendants are two figures who are probably congregants. Their dress is very different from that of fire altar attendants. These coins may have been struck to emphasise the legitimacy of Bishr or his brother the caliph in order to counter the Khārijite Qatarī's claim to be the leader of the Muslim community.[151] The earliest issue is from Kūfa (**AKWLA**) dated 73H, struck after his reported appointment as governor there. The issues dated 75H (**BCLA** Basra and **AKWLA** Kūfa) support the date of 75H for his death. On most of the coins from Kūfa and Basra there is an additional (fourth) outer circle on the reverse.

[141] Warden 1984a, pp. 97–8.

[142] *SICA* 1, p. 25, fn 133, which surmises that the issue of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād may be a muling of an old obverse of that governor with a reverse intended for ʿAttāb. Given that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād died in 67H, it must have been a posthumous issue in any event.

[143] See Chapter 7, 7.119.

[144] Walker 1935, places this in 71H, but the sources are not consistent on when Musʿab was defeated. The predominant view is that this occurred in 72H. Al-Tabarī, ii, 816; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 191, places Bishr's appointment as governor of Kūfa in 71H. In recording the events of 72H he states that Bishr was governor Kūfa in that year: al-Tabarī, ii, 822, 834; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 199, 212.

[145] Al-Tabarī, ii, 853, 855; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 233, vol. 22, p. 3; Khalifa (trans.), p. 131 (74H).

[146] Al-Tabarī, ii, 857, 862; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, pp. 5, 11; Khalifa (trans.), p. 134 (beginning of 75H).

[147] Miles 1962, pp. 117–18.

[148] Needham 1959, p. 475.

[149] An important discussion of his coinage is in Treadwell 1999; see also Walker 1952. For a discussion of orans figures on Syrian copper coins as well as Arab-Sasanian copper coins (probably inspired by the drachms of Bishr b. Marwān), see Schulze 2012.

[150] Treadwell 1999; Treadwell 2015, p. 82.

[151] Bacharach 2010, p. 12.

The drachms from Kūfa (**AKWLA**) have in their obverse margin the Arabic legend *bism allāh muhammad rasūl allāh* ('In the name of God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God') usually preceded by letters which may be read as **dyn** or **'n** (**AN**) in Pahlavi.[152] For issues dated 73H the date is written either in Pahlavi words or numerals and there are issues with and without the additional **dyn** in the obverse margin. On one issue has the *shahāda* in full: *bism allāh lā ilāh illā allāh wahdahu muhammad rasūl allāh* ('In the name of God, there is no God but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God'). Pahlavi numerals are used for the date on coins of 74 and 75H.[153] There is a rare drachm of 74H with an additional Pahlavi legend of **dyn y'm'n** (?) in the third quarter reverse margin. The first word may be the same as that found on the obverse first quarter margin: **dyn** (?).[154]

Fig. 9.24.1. Bishr b. Marwān, mint **BCLA**, 75H, 4.09g (**Pl. 18, 206**)

Fig. 9.24.2. Bishr b. Marwān, copper, mint **BCLA**, 75H, 14.63g (Shah Firzan collection)

The drachms of Basra (**BCLA**) are only known for 75H. These have the same obverse marginal legend as issues for Kūfa (usually including the Pahlavi **dyn**). The date is written in Pahlavi words. There is a copper issue illustrated above of the same mint and date, which may have been struck from the same die as a silver drachm. It is on a thick flan and may have been a pattern in copper of the silver drachm, or less likely a trial strike of a copper coinage in companion to the silver.

Most coins of Bishr b. Marwān have the standing figure reverse but the drachm type from Jayy (**GD**) dated 74H has the usual reverse of fire altar with attendants. On the obverse the marginal legend is the Arabic *bism allāh* followed by the name of Zayd b. Abī Ziyād in Pahlavi, who may have been a sub-governor. The reverse has an additional outer circle, making a total of four circles.[155]

An unusual drachm with no official's name has the date 73H in Arabic (*thalāth* / *wa sabaʿīn*) in place of the name usually found to the right of the bust on the obverse. In the obverse margin is the *shahāda* in full. The reverse has the usual fire altar with attendants. To the right is the mint signature **AKWLA** for Kūfa, whereas to the left is what may be read as a monogram **B**. It has been suggested, somewhat speculatively, that this is a reference to Bishr b. Marwān. Even if incorrect, the coin would have been struck after he was appointed governor of Kūfa.

Fig. 9.24.3. Anonymous type, mint **AKWLA**, 73H, 3.34g
(Baldwin's of St James's auction 4 (9 May 2017), lot 1)

[152] A reading of **dyn** is preferred, a reference to God.

[153] Mochiri 1987, p. 85 correctly pointed out the date was in Pahlavi numerals.

[154] Morton and Eden (4 April 2011), lot 3 suggests the legend may be **y ywsfan** (Ibn Yūsuf), but this is unlikely.

[155] Walker 1934, pp. 284–8. The word *amīr* means 'commander', with a military connotation.

In addition to the coins, there is a bronze weight in his name with an Arabic inscription:[156] 'In the name of God; Bishr b. Marwān, the *amīr*; this is a weight of twelve'.

9.25 Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf

Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf was a ruthless military commander and administrator for the Umayyads in Iraq and the Iranian lands to the east from about 73H.[157] He was born in Tā'īf in 41H[158] and became a member of the *shurta* (police) in Damascus. He described the ideal commander of the *shurta* as one who was constantly frowning, able to sit for a long time, reliable, untreacherous, unwavering in truth, and able to resist the attempts of the *ashrāf* (descendents of the Prophet Muhammad by his daughter Fātima and hence influential persons) at intercession.[159] No doubt he regarded himself as having these characteristics. Dionysius described al-Hajjāj as being capable of shedding blood without pity and, once given authority over Persia, he began to wreak destruction and slaughtered leaders.[160]

Having worked his way up the *shurta* he was noticed by the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik during the preparations for the Iraq campaign of 71–2H designed to dislodge the Zubayrids.[161] In 72H Musʿab b. al-Zubayr was defeated in Iraq. In the following year, the caliph sent al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf with a force to deal with the rival Caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca,[162] during which campaign the Kaʿba was damaged by fire. The head of the defeated ʿAbd Allāh was sent to the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik.[163] Al-Hajjāj ordered the Kaʿba to be rebuilt.[164]

Al-Hajjāj was rewarded for his success by being appointed governor of Mecca and Medina in 74H. In the same year he was the leader of the annual pilgrimage.[165]

In 75H the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik put al-Hajjāj in charge of Iraq, by making him governor of Kūfa and Basra, including the lands in Iran administered from those cities, but excluding Khurāsān and Sīstān (Sijistān).[166] This followed the death of Bishr b. Marwān (see 9.24) the younger brother of the caliph. In turn al-Hajjāj himself appointed governors or sub-governors, military commanders and administrators.[167]

Much of al-Hajjāj's tenure, particularly the early years, was spent putting down insurrection and trying to establish Umayyad control in Iraq and the Iranian lands.

In 77H he defeated the Khārijite rebel Shabīb al-Sabakhah.[168] In 78H the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik dismissed Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.56) from Khurāsān and extended al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf's jurisdiction to include Khurāsān and Sīstān. Thus from 78H al-Hajjāj was governor of Kūfa, Basra, Khurāsān, Sīstān and Kirmān, giving him control over the Eastern Caliphate and enormous power.[169] He brought the armies of Kūfa and Basra together to fight the Khārjites.[170]

[156] Miles 1962.

[157] *EI*[2], qv 'al-Hadjdjādj b. Yūsuf'; J. Périer, *La vie d'al-Hadjdjādj ibn Yousef* (Paris, 1904).

[158] Al-Tabarī, ii, 16; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 20.

[159] Morony 1984, p. 95 citing ash-Shaʿbī.

[160] Dionysius, paras. 130–1, translated Palmer, Brock and Hoyland 1993, pp. 200–2.

[161] Kennedy 2004, p. 100.

[162] Al-Tabarī, ii, 829; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 206, places this in 72H.; c.f. Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:320, (trans.), vol. 3, p 966-8 (places this in 73H).

[163] Wellhausen 1927, pp. 198–200.

[164] Al-Balādhurī, p. 47; al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), p. 75.

[165] Al-Tabarī, ii, 854, 862; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, pp. 1 and 11: c.f. Khalifa (trans.), pp. 130–1 he led the pilgrimage in 73H as well as 74H.

[166] Al-Tabarī, ii, 863, 873, 940; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, pp. 12, 23 and 92; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:326, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 974.

[167] Morony 1984, p. 37, fn. 41.

[168] Al-Tabarī, ii, 944; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 175; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:328, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 976-8.

[169] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1032; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 176.

[170] Kennedy 2004, p. 101.

In 80H al-Hajjāj sent ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (Ibn al-Ashʿath) (see 9.17) to Sīstān with the Army of the Peacocks to restore peace and control following the defeat of the Umayyad governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra (see 9.52) the previous year. A falling out between al-Hajjāj and Ibn al-Ashʿath led to a major conflict and loss of control over much of Iran by al-Hajjāj. Ibn al-Ashʿath entered Kirmān, then Fārs, and ultimately Basra in 81H, having defeated al-Hajjāj's forces near Tustar. Ibn al-Ashʿath appears to have been welcomed in Kūfa, reflecting how unpopular al-Hajjāj had become. By 83H the tide had turned and al-Hajjāj with his Syrian army defeated Ibn al-Ashʿath's Kūfan and Basran supporters at Dayr al-Jamājim, near Kūfa. It is said that al-Hajjāj killed many and put large numbers in bonds. Ibn al-Ashʿath fled to Sīstān, where he was subsequently killed.[171]

In 83H al-Hajjāj established a permanent garrison of troops in Wāsit.[172] In 84H he organised the dismissal of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (see 9.58) as governor of Khurāsān. He remained governor of Iraq and the east until his death in 95H.[173]

Under al-Hajjāj the register of *kharāj* (tax) of al-Sawād and the rest of Iraq was changed from the Persian (Pahlavi) to the Arabic language.[174]

Al-Hajjāj's coinage spans the years 75 to 83H and is noteworthy for its numerous varieties and experimental types. Al-Balādhurī (writing in the third century Hijrī) refers to his coinage:

> ''Abd al-Malik coined some dināars in the year 74. Then he coined some in the year 75. Al-Hajjāj coined *baghliyah* [full-weight] dirhams upon which was inscribed 'In the name of Allāh, al-Hajjāj'. Then a year later he engraved upon them 'Allāh is One, Allāh is eternal'. This displeased the doctors of the law [*fuqahā*], and the coins were called 'disapproved'. Others say that the Persians disapproved of their weight, and [for that reason] they were called 'disapproved'.[175]

7.14 **ART**: years 76–81(H)
7.27 **Basra**: year 75(H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: years 76–81(H)
7.36 **DA**: year 71 (YE = 83H)
7.38 **DAP**: year 71 (YE = 83H)
7.44 **GD**: years 76(H), 79H
7.65A Madāʿin: year 76(H)
7.89 **ST**: years 80(H), 81U(H)
7.103 **TART**: years 77(H), 78(H), 80(H)
7.110 **WYHC**: year 77(H – with al-Hakam b. Nahīk in obverse margin)
7.114 **YZ**: year 81(H)

Only two coin types are known from mints in Iraq in al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf's name, despite his being governor of Basra and Kūfa from 75H until his death some 20 years later. On the first coin the marginal legend is a full *shahāda* in radial form. The reverse legends are in Arabic with the year 75(H) to the left and 'struck in al-Basra' to the right.[176] The second coin is similar except that the Arabic reverse legends state that the coin was struck in Madā'in in 76H. Apart from these coins and isolated issues from Jayy (**GD**) dated 76H and 79H, all the drachms in al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf's name are from mints in Fārs between 76H and 83H, but with no coins known for 82H, which would have been during the rebellion of Ibn al-Ashʿath.

[171] See under discussion of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (9.17) above; al-Tabarī, ii, 1086–1123; al-Tabarī (trans.), pp. 35–68; Kennedy 2007, pp. 196–8.

[172] Al-Balādhurī, 209; al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), p. 449 places the building of Wāsit in 83H or 84H.

[173] Kennedy 2004, pp. 102–4.

[174] Al-Balādhurī, 300–1; al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti, 1916), pp. 465–6.

[175] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), p. 266, using Dā'ūd the Inspector as his source.

[176] Qazzaz 1973, example in Iraq Museum (IM 14123).

The only known issues in the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf from any of the Dārābgerd mints (**DA** and **DAP**) follow the usual pattern for coins from that area. The name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf is written in Pahlavi in the obverse field and is dated according to the Yazdgard era, 71YE (= 83H), making it the latest issue in his name.[177] The obverse marginal legend contains the standard *bism allāh*, but usually with the addition of the Pahlavi letters **mn**, probably an abbreviation for Mansūr in view of the fact that the word **mnswl** occasionally appears on coins of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf from other mints (**WYHC** and **YZ**). The reference to Mansūr is probably an epithet meaning 'victorious' or perhaps a reference to a local official in Fārs.

The only other issues for al-Hajjāj with his name in Pahlavi are dated 76H and 79H with the **GD** mint signature representing the Jayy district of Isfahān in the Jibāl. On a drachm dated 76H the obverse marginal legend contains *bism allāh* and is followed by the Pahlavi words **blʾ kpyčʾn**, a reference to al-Barāʾ b. Qabīsa [al-Thaqafī], who had been appointed by his relative al-Hajjāj governor of Isfahān in 76H in place of ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ (see 9.23).[178]

Fig. 9.25.1. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **GD** (Jayy), 76H, with al-Barāʾ b. Qabīsa in Pahlavi, 3.95g (Paris, BN 1968, 849)

Al-Barāʾ b. Qabīsa's name also appears on another coin of Jayy dated 76H, but this time the mint and date are written in Arabic on the reverse (*jayy* / *sitt wa sabʿain*). The reverse margin has the Arabic legend *duriba al-barāʾ bin qabīsā*, a reference to al-Baraʾ b. Qabīsā al-Thaqafī. All the obverse legends are in Arabic including al-Hajjāj's name. The *shahāda* (long form) is arranged in radial form in the obverse margin.[179]

Fig. 9.25.2. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint Jayy, 76H, with al-Barāʾ b. Qabīsa in Arabic, 4.15g (Paris, BN 1965.571)

On another drachm with **GD** mint signature dated 79H, the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf is again in Pahlavi. The obverse marginal legend is *bism allāh* in Arabic and **plʾwzʾt** for a local official Farrukhzād (who also appears on drachms for the same date from Bīshāpūr, **BYŠ**).

Fig. 9.25.3. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **GD** (Jayy), 79H with Farrukhzād in Pahlavi (Lofti collection, photo courtesy Georges Lofti)

[177] R. Curiel, 1966, publishes and discusses this issue, but erroneously read the date as 79.

[178] *SICA* 1, p. 29.

[179] Curiel 1967; Eshragh 2010, no.159; Morton and Eden auction 48 (4 April 2011), lot 7.

The full *shahāda* in radial form is used as the obverse marginal legend on all drachms of Ardashīr-Khurra (**ART**) and Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) dated 76H: *bism allāh lā ilāh illā allāh wahdahu muhammad rasūl allāh* ('In the name of God, there is no God but Allāh, Muhammad is the Messenger of God'). The name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf is in Arabic in the obverse field and the mint signature and date are in Pahlavi on the reverse. The same pattern continues for part way into 77H when the radial type ceases. There is one issue where the mint and date on the reverse are in Arabic, with 76H (to the left) and the mint written as *duriba bi'l mad*[*ā*]*'in* (struck in al-Madā'in) (to the right).[180]

Fig. 9.25.4. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **BYŠ**, 76H, radial marginal legend, 3.84g (**Pl. 29, 336**)

Fig. 9.25.5. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint al-Madā'in, 76H, radial marginal legend, 4.30g (Malek National Library and Museum, no. 2115)

From 77H to 81H (and 71YE = 83H) the drachms from mints in Fārs have the obverse marginal legends in Arabic with or without Pahlavi additions:

(1) The long *shahāda* in normal form (i.e. non-radial): **ART**, years 77–9H; **BYŠ**, years 77–9H; **TART**, year 77–8H.

Fig. 9.25.6. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **BYŠ**, 77H, 3.57g (**Pl. 29, 338**)

(2) *bism allāh*: **ART**, years 80–1; **BYŠ**, years 79–80H; **DAP**, year 71 YE (= 83H); **YZ**, year 81.

Fig. 9.25.7. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **BYŠ**, 79H, 4.02g (**Pl. 30, 345**)

[180] Malek National Library and Museum Institution, Tehran, no. 2115, 4.30g, 32mm: Shariatzadeh 1390, no. 224.

(3) *bism allāh* followed by in Pahlavi **plʾwzʾt**, for a local official Farrokhzād: **BYŠ**, year 79H.

Fig. 9.25.8. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **BYŠ**, 79H, 3.85g (*SICA* 1, pl. 15, no. 225, Shamma collection)

(4) *bism allāh* followed by in Pahlavi **mn**, probably for Mansūr: **DA** and **DAP**, year 71 YE (= 83H).

Fig. 9.25.9. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **DAP**, 71YE, 4.05g (**Pl. 44, 510**)

(5) *bism allāh* followed by in Pahlavi **mnʾp**: **ST**, year 80H (81H unconfirmed).

Fig. 9.25.10. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **ST**, 80H, 3.96g (**Pl. 104, 1214**)

(6) *bism allāh* followed by in Pahlavi **mnswl**, for Mansūr: **YZ**, year 81H.

Fig. 9.25.11. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **YZ**, 81H, 3.87g (**Pl. 113, 1321**)

(7) *bism allāh* followed by the Arabic *duriba al-hakam b. nahīk*, for al-Hakam b. Nahīk [al-Hujaimi] who is recorded in the literature as having been appointed governor of Kirmān by al-Hajjāj and who constructed a mosque and governor's palace in Arrajān: **WYHC**, year 77.[181]

Fig. 9.25.12. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **WYHC**, 77H, 3.80g
(Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 17)

[181] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), p. 138. Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 17; Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 8 (adopts Gaube's 1973, p. 25, view that '8' refers to eighth year of al-Hajjāj's appointment).

(8) *bism allāh rabbī* followed by the Pahlavi **hšt'**, for the number 8: **BYŠ**, year 81H.[182] 81H was the eighth year from al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf's appointment as governor of Mecca and Medina in 74H.

Fig. 9.25.13. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **BYŠ**, 81H, 3.85g (**Pl. 31, 352**)

(9) *lillāh al-hamd*: **BYŠ**, year 80H.

Fig. 9.25.14. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **BYŠ**, 80H, 4.05g (**Pl. 30, 347**)

(10) *lillāh al-hamd* followed by in Pahlavi **h'g'g**, for al-Hajjāj: **BYŠ**, year 81H.

Fig. 9.25.15. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, mint **BYŠ**, 81H, 3.75g (**Pl. 30, 352**)

The coins of types (1) and (7) dated from 77 to 79H were undoubtedly struck under al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf but questions arise regarding the remaining types struck from 79 to 83H. This profusion of different types would have been struck at the same time as post-reform dirhams were being issued. Most have Pahlavi words or letters in the obverse margin and indeed some have al-Hajjāj's name in Pahlavi. This has led Bates to consider these issues as anomalous (compared with his issues dated 76 to 79H) and irregular private issues. This was a difficult period for al-Hajjāj in Iran. He had lost control in many areas and Ibn al-Ashʿath was in revolt. Indeed Ibn al-Ashʿath struck coins in a number of places in Fārs in the period 81 to 83H and in Sīstān from 80 to 84H. Whether one describes the al-Hajjāj issues as private or not, they were unlikely to have been struck by his opponents. The large number of different types issued over a short period reflects the difficulties he was facing. Areas falling under, and then out of, his control a number of times and the local population was probably restless and hostile.

In addition to silver drachms there are copper fals issues in the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf which are undated and bear no mint signature. One type has a horse on the reverse and the other a standing figure.[183]

There are undated bronze weights in the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. Walker has dated them to the period of ʿAbd al-Malik's coinage reforms in about 75H. The example published by Walker had a stated weight

[182] cf. Numismatica Genevensis auction 8 (24 November 2014), lot 223 (date read as 82, in fact 81H), reads name 'Saeed' for the Pahlavi **hšt**.

[183] Gyselen types 78–79. See Chapter 11, p. 354 for further discussion.

of six *mithqals*.[185] A similar weight is also known for a denomination of three *mithqals*.[186] A circular bronze weight has an obverse three-line legend of *allāh yawman* / *al-hajjāj* / *mukhlasan* (‘In Allāh believes / al-Hajjāj / faithfully’) and reverse two-line legend *dirhamayn* / *wazn silaʿat* (‘two dirhams / weight for goods’).[187] Ornamental vessel stamps, which are much more common and obviously do not have a stated weight, should not be confused with weights.[188] In addition there is a lead seal with a three-line legend of *al-amr a* / *l-hajjāj* / *bin yūsuf*.[189]

9.26 Al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs

There are a number of people in the literature with the name al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs. It is not possible conclusively to determine which is named on the drachms. One possibility is al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs b. Bishr, who was governor of Khurāsān in 45H.[190] Mochiri’s view that he was a Khārijite opponent of the Umayyads is plausible.[191] The obverse marginal legend on some rare types is *allāh rabb al-hukm* (‘God, Lord of the Judgment’), but the usual legend is *bism allāh rabb al-hukm* (‘in the name of God, Lord of the Judgment’).[192] This change of formula away from the standard *bism allāh*, the absence of any person with his name in Kirmān in the written sources, and the fact that Kirmān was a region difficult for the Umayyads to maintain control, all point to these coins being struck by an opponent of the Umayyads. The coinage reflects the turbulent times in Kirmān, with coins of the same dates and mint signatures for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (see 9.59), ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Zayd (see 9.18) and al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs (**BN**, 53H; **NAL**, 54H). No coins are known for any mint in Kirmān for 55H. The coinage of al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs is rare and confined to Kirmān.

7.7 **ANWAT**: years 56–8(H)
7.30 **BN**: years 53(H), 54(H), 56(H)
7.45 **GLM**: years 56–8(H)
7.53 **HPYC**: years 56(H), 57(H)
7.72 **NAL**: years 54(H), 56–8(H)
7.73 **NAWGY**: years 56(H), 57(H)
7.81 **PYL**: years 56(H), 57(H), 58(H)
7.88 **SLCN**: years 56(H), 57(H)

Fig. 9.26. Al-Hakam b. Abī al-ʿĀs, mint **PYL**, 56(H), 3.87g (**Pl. 81, 945**)

[185] Walker 1935, no. 3.

[186] Morton and Eden auction 69 (10 April 2014), lot 27 (12.20g).

[187] Morton and Eden auction 73 (23 April 2015), lot 33 (5.65g).

[188] For an example of a stamp in the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, which is erroneously published as a weight, see Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 52.

[189] Wilkes and Curtis auction 2 (15 September 2014), lot 19 (16.78g); CNG auction 90 (23 May 2012) lot 1998 (13.13g).

[190] Gaube 1973, p. 67; Walker 1941, pp. li–lii (who ascribes these coins to Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Hakam b. Abī ’l-ʿĀs b. Umayya al-Thaqafī). Sears 2003a, p. 10 considers al-Hakam to have been an Umayyad governor, al-Hakam b. al-ʿĀs b. Dahman al-Thaqafī, but the written sources make no reference to him being a governor anywhere.

[191] Mochiri 1987, pp. 40–1.

[192] *SICA* 1, p. 17 only notes the latter marginal legend. An alternative reading is *bism allāh rabb al-hakam* (‘in the name of God, the lord of Hakam’): see Foss 2010, p. 93; 6.C.2.2, p. 51 above.

9.27 Al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh

Al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿah al-Makhzūmī (al-Qubāʿ) was appointed governor of Basra from 64 to 66H by the rival Caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.[192] In 65H he was pre-occupied with the Khārijites who were threatening Basra.[193] The Basrans defeated and killed the chief of the Khārijites, Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq. In 67H he was replaced as governor of Basra by Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (see 9.41).[194]

7.27 **BCLA**: year 65(H)
7.42 **DŠT**: year 65(H)
7.94 **SYWKAN**: year 65(H)

The coinage of al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh is very rarely encountered, and in the past has been confused that of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.30).[195] Two of his mints, **BCLA** (Basra) and **DŠT** (Dasht-i Maysān), are located in southern Iraq suggesting the unlocated **SYWKAN** may also be in that region.

Fig. 9.27. Al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **BCLA**, 65(H), 3.85g (**Pl. 18, 200**)

All coins have the usual Arabic obverse marginal legend, *bism allāh*, in the second quarter and an additional word in the third quarter which can either be read as the Arabic *rabbunā* (‘Our Lord’) or, less likely, the Pahlavi **d’w**.[196] Pahlavi word **lwb’k** (*ravāg*, ‘current’) is found in the second quarter reverse margin of one issue from Basra (**BCLA**), which is illustrated above. This word is a reference to the coin being acceptable currency.

9.28 Hormizd

Arab-Sasanian drachms in the name of Hormizd, copying the coinage of the Sasanian king Hormizd IV (579–90), are rare. Judging from the large number of Hormizd IV drachms found in collections, hoards and in the trade, the output of drachms during his reign was large and his coins would have been still circulating at the time of Yazdgard III’s fall.[197]

7.101 **ŠY**: year 8 with *rasūl allāh lillāh* in obverse margin
7.119 Without mint: year 6

These coins are crudely struck and were probably minted in the north of Iran, as they are found in Armenia and Georgia. The dates are merely copied from earlier prototypes and are hence not an indication of any particular date.

The issue dated ‘6’ is rare and there are least four variants.

[192] Al-Tabarī, ii, 464, 601, 700; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, pp. 43, 185, vol. 21, p. 67; Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:304-5, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 951-3.

[193] Al-Tabarī, ii, 578–9, 581–93; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, pp. 162, 165–75.

[194] Al-Tabarī, ii, 717; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 83.

[195] Gaube 1973, p. 68.

[196] Gaube 1973, p. 33, type 2.2.3.5.22, who considered it to be an unread word in Pahlavi.

[197] Malek 2011, pp. 478–80. In the Muzeh Melli Iran collection, there are 463 drachms and 20 bronze coins of Hormizd IV, more than any other Sasanian ruler apart from Khusrau II.

Type 1: on the obverse margin is the full *shahāda* of *bism allāh* / *lā ilāh illā allāh* / *wahdahu muhammad* / *rasūl allāh* ('In the name of God; there is no God but God alone; Muhammad is the Messenger of God'). On the reverse is the fire altar with attendants (who have the headdress of a bonnet as with Hormizd IV's own coinage from the Sasanian era). The legend on the right is **ZWZWN** meaning drachm and on the left is '6' for the year. In the second quarter reverse margin is *rabbī allāh*. These coins are below the usual weight of Arab-Sasanian drachms. Two examples of the *shahāda* type which have been weighed are 2.86g and 2.97g, more akin to the weight standard of post-reform dirhams. The presence of the *shahāda* suggests the issue is unlikely to have been struck before 72H, when it starts to appear on other issues. The view has been expressed that these coins were struck in Armenia or Azerbaijān, probably Bardhaʿa (the capital of Arrān) or al-Bāb (Darband).[198]

Type 2: same reverse as type 1 but with no Arabic legend in the obverse margin. Instead there is a Pahlavi word.[199]

Type 3: with *rabbī allāh* to the right of the attendant in place of **ZWZWN**.[200]

Type 4: with *lā quwwa illā lillāh* in the obverse margin ('There is no power except from God'). The reverse legends have so far proved indecipherable.[201]

Fig. 9.28.1. Anonymous Hormizd type 1, reverse right **ZWZWN**, year 6, Q2 reverse margin *rabbī allāh*, 3.02g (Morton and Eden auction 48 (4 April 2011), lot 1)

Fig. 9.28.2. Anonymous Hormizd type 3, reverse right *rabbī allāh*, year 6, 2.78g (Morton and Eden auction 73 (23 April 2015), lot 12)

Fig. 9.28.3. Anonymous Hormizd type 4, *lā quwwa illā lillāh* obverse margin, 2.63g (Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 25)

[198] Sears 2003b, pp. 80–6. Sothebys auction (23 April 1998), lot 1, commentary referring to views of A. Nikitin 1993 (Arrān / Azerbaijān).

[199] Amini and Dashkov 2013, p. 32, no. 1.

[200] Morton and Eden auction 73 (23 April 2015), lot 12 (wt 2.78g).

[201] Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 25 (wt 2.63g), suggests date may be year 4 in Arabic and mint **š**.

A typical Hormizd IV drachm is in much finer style than the later imitations, but even his regular coinage was cruder than that of his son, Khusrau II (590–628).

Fig. 9.28.4. Hormizd IV, mint **DA**, year 1 (AD 579), 4.05g (Johnson 770228)

9.29 Humrān b. Abān

Humrān b. Abān (b. Khālid al-Tamri) was from Iraq and of Jewish descent. He had been taken captive as a child called Tuwayd and enslaved at ʿAyn Tamr during the Islamic conquest of Iraq. The Caliph ʿUthmān bought him from al-Musayyab b. Najabah al-Fazārī and released him, making him his *mawlā*.[202] Humrān later fell out with ʿUthmān after he made a false report during his investigation into the conduct of the ʿ*āmil* in Kūfa.[203] Humrān then moved to Basra and was given Ābādān (ʿAbbādān) as a land grant. It is recorded that he seized and took control of Basra in 41H.[204] In 71–2H the governorship of Basra was the subject of a dispute between Humrān b. Abān and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra (see 9.52), which was resolved by the caliph appointing Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.30) and transferring Humrān b. Abān to Mecca.[205] Khalifa b. Khayyat refers to Humrān b. Abān conquering Kūfa when Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (see 9.41) was killed (72H).[206] The coinage of Humrān b. Abān is scarce and confined to one mint in Fārs.

7.14 **ART**: year 72(H)

Fig. 9.29. Humrān b. Abān, mint **ART**, 72(H), 3.93g (**Pl. 8, 86**)

There is no record in the histories to say that Humrān b. Abān controlled Ardashīr-Khurra in 72H. His tenure, judging by the numismatic evidence, must have been short. His coinage has two varieties of marginal legend on the obverse. The first type has the usual *bism allāh* in the second quarter. The second type has the addition of his name in Arabic, *humrān bin abān*, in the third quarter.

9.30 Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh

Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd opposed the Zubayrids and in 70H was behind a rebellion to oust them from Basra. He was unsuccessful and withdrew to Syria.[207] Once the Umayyads restored control over Basra, Khālid was appointed governor in about 72H by the caliph in the wake of a dispute over that governorship between Humrān b. Abān (see 9.29) and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra (see 9.52).[208] In the

[202] *Mawlā* may be defined as a client of an Arab kin group who, though of different lineage, is considered functionally a member of the kin group: Donner 2010, p. 260; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:202, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 816.

[203] Al-Balādhurī, 247; al-Balādhurī (trans. Hitti), p. 396; Morony 1984, pp. 89, 227–8.

[204] Al-Tabarī, ii, 11; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, pp. 13–14.

[205] Walker 1941, p. lx. ʿ*āmil* was the finance director for a province, usually working in tandem with the *amīr* or military governor: Donner 2010, p. 257.

[206] Khalifa (trans.), p. 129.

[207] Al-Tabarī, ii, 798–801; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 172–5; Khalifa (trans.), p. 128.

[208] Walker 1941, p. lviii; Mochiri 1987, pp. 38–9.

same year he fought the Azraqites (a branch of Khārijites who were followers of Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq) and drove them back to Fārs. In 73H the caliph installed his brother Bishr b. Marwān (see 9.24) as governor of both Basra and Kūfa. In 74H or 75H Bishr died and again Khālid was appointed governor of Basra.[209] This governorship lasted a matter of months before the caliph appointed al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (see 9.25) over all Iraq. In 75H al-Hajjāj sent al-Hakam b. Ayyūb al-Thaqafī as *amīr* in charge of Basra and ordered him to treat Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh harshly. On hearing this, Khālid left Basra and went to al-Jalhāʾ, having distributed a million dirhams to the men of the city.[210]

7.27 **BCLA**: years 73(H), 74(H) and 75(H)
7.34. **BYŠ**: years 73(H) and 74(H)
7.110. **WYHC**: year 73(H)

Fig. 9.30. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **BCLA**, 75(H), 3.93g (**Pl. 18, 205**)

The coins of Khālid reflect his governorship over Basra where he was appointed in 72H and replaced in 73H, then reinstalled in 74H, finally leaving in 75H. The obverse marginal legend is the short *shahāda*: *bism allāh* / *muhammad rasūl allāh* (‘In the name of God, Muhammad is the messenger of God’). The same formula is found on his coins of Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**), which are dated 73 and 74H. The issue dated 75H for Basra has an additional outer circle in the reverse margin. The **WYHC** (Arrajān) coins have an undeciphered Pahlavi word, **gy**’ (?) in the third quarter margin in place of *muhammad rasūl allāh*.

9.31 Khālid b. Abī Khālid

It has not been possible to equate the Khālid b. Abī Khālid, whose name is found on one very rare drachm issue, with any person named in the literature.[211]

7.44 **GD**: year 83(H)

Fig. 9.31. Khālid b. Abī Khālid, mint **GD**, 83(H), 3.83g (**Pl. 50, 585**)

The obverse margin has the usual Arabic inscription, *bism allāh*, in the second quarter. This is the latest Arab-Sasanian issue from Jayy, which comes after a seven-year gap, the previous issue being dated 76H in the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. Umayyad post-reform dirhams were struck at the mint from 79 to 83H, with the mint reverting briefly to Arab-Sasanian drachms in 83H. The rebellion of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (Ibn al-Ashʿath) took place in 83H so this coin was probably a reflection of his temporary takeover of Jayy. Khālid b. Abī Khālid was probably an opponent of the Umayyads and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf.

[209] Al-Tabarī, ii, 857; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 5.

[210] Al-Tabarī, ii, 872; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 22.

[211] Gaube 1973, p. 79; *SICA* 1, p. 34; Mochiri *ENIS* II, chapter 17.

9.32 Khusrau

The output of drachms under the Sasanian king, Khusrau II (590–628) was vast. His coins circulated widely throughout the Sasanian empire and at the time of the Arab conquest his coins would have made up the bulk of those in circulation. It made sense for the Arabs to allow coins of his style and name to be struck as these would be readily acceptable.

Drachms in the name of Khusrau may be broken down according to their obverse marginal legend, the principal legends being *lillāh* in the second quarter, *bism allāh* in the second quarter, and *bism allāh* / *rabbī* in the second and third quarters.[212]

These three main types are listed first and then the remaining types more in or less chronological order of their appearance on the drachms.[213]

Type 1: *lillāh* in second quarter obverse margin.
Issues with *lillāh* ('for God')[214]

7.2 **AHM**: years 27 (YE = 38H), 29U (YE = 40H), 35U (YE = 46H), 37 (YE = 48H)
7.6 **ANBYR**: years 25 (PYE? = 57H)
7.14 **ART**: years 23(?) (YE = 34H), 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 27 (YE = 38H), 29 (YE = 40H), 30 (YE = 41H), 31 (YE = 42H), 33 (YE = 44H), 35 (YE = 46H), 37 (YE = 48H)
7.16 **AW**: years 21 (YE = 32H), 34 (YE = 45H) and 35 (YE = 46H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: year 37 (H or YE = 48H)
7.36 **DA**: years 23 (YE = 34H), 25 (YE = 36H), 30 (YE = 41H), 33 (YE = 44H), 35 (YE = 46H). 36 (YE = 47H), 37 (YE = 48H), 39 (YE? = 50H)
7.44 **GD**: years 30 (YE = 41H), 35 (YE = 46H), 37 (YE = 48H)
7.47 **GW**: year 23 (YE = 34H), 35 (YE = 46H), 37 (YE = 48H)
7.63 **LD**: year 25 (YE = 36H)
7.65 **LYW**: year 25 (YE = 36H) – mint signature may also be read as **ŠYYW**
7.75 **NY**: years 25 (YE = 36H), 30 (YE = 41H), 31 (YE = 42H), 33 (YE = 44H), 35 (YE = 46H), 37 (YE = 48H)
7.79 **PL**: years 25 (YE = 36H), 29 (YE = 40H)
7.87 **SK**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.107 **WH**: years 27 (YE = 38H), 35 (YE = 56H), 37 (YE = 48H)
7.109 **WYH**: year 23U (YE = 34H), 35 (YE = 46H)
7.110 **WYHC**: year 23 (YE = 34H)
7.114 **YZ**: year 35 (YE = 46H)

Fig. 9.32.1. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **ART**, 27 YE (= 38H), 4.15g (**Pl. 2, 21**)

[212] See chapter 6 for the obverse marginal legends.

[213] In addition to the types listed below there are various copies of coins of Khusrau II in the name of Khusrau, which were struck largely after his reign and usually in the period from his death until the early Islamic period. These have various features indicating that they are not official issues of his reign, such as additional pellets in the margins, incorrect weight, unusual style and occasionally additional letters in the reverse margin. See Tyler-Smith 2017a.

[214] These were relatively scarce when Walker wrote his catalogue in 1941 but since then numerous mint / date combinations have come to light.

Type 2: *bism allāh* in second quarter obverse margin
The most commonly encountered obverse marginal inscription for drachms in the name of Khusrau, and indeed the whole Arab-Sasanian series, is *bism allāh* ('in the name of God').

7.2 **AHM**: years 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 27 (YE = 38H), 29 (YE = 40H), 30 (YE = 41H), 31U (YE = 42H), 33 (YE = 44H), 35 (YE = 46H)
7.8 **APL**: years 32 (YE = 43H), 38(?) (YE = 49H)
7.14 **ART**: years 21 (YE = 32H), 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 27 (YE = 38H), 7.28 (YE = 39H), 29 (YE = 40H), 35 (YE = 46H), 36 (YE = 47H), 42(H)
7.16 **AW**: years 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 29 (YE = 40H), 30 (YE = 41H), 33 (YE = 44H), 34 (YE = 45H), 35 (YE = 46H)
7.19 **AY**: years 23 (YE = 34H), 24 (YE = 35H), 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 29 (YE = 40H)
7.21 **AYL**: years 23 (YE = 34H), 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 27 (YE = 38H), 35 (YE = 46H), 37 (YE = 48H), 52(H)
7.22 **AYLAN**: years 25 (YE = 36H), 32 (YE = 43H)
7.28 **BH**: year 25 (YE = 36H)
7.30 **BN**: year 20 (YE = 31H *bism* only), 25 (YE = 36H), 35 (YE = 46H)
7.32 **BŠ**: year 27 (YE = 38H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: years 22 (YE = 33H), 23 (YE = 34H), 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 27 (YE = 38H), 28 (YE = 39H), 29 (YE = 40H), 30 (YE = 41H), 31 (YE = 42H), 32 (YE = 43H), 33 (YE = 44H), 35U (YE = 46H), 38U(H), 47(H)
7.35 **BYW**: years 25 (YE = 36H), 30 (YE = 41H), 35 (YE = 46H), 37 (YE = 48H)
7.36 **DA**: years 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 28 (YE = 39H), 29 (YE = 40H), 30 (YE = 41H), 31 (YE = 42H), 33 (YE = 44H), 43(H), 46U(H)
7.38.3 **DP**: years 30 (YE = 41H), 43(H)
7.40 **DL**: years 24 (YE = 35H), 26 (YE = 37H), 36 (YE = 47H)
7.44 **GD**: years 25 (YE = 37H), 26U (YE = 37H), 29 (YE = 40H), 32 (YE = 43H), 35 (YE = 46H), 37 (YE = 48H)
7.45 **GLM**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.47 **GW**: years 30 (YE = 41H), 33 (YE = 44H), 35 (YE = 46H)
7.54 **HLA**: year 35 (YE = 46H)
7.62 **LAWT'**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.63 **LD**: years 23 (YE = 34H), 25 (YE = 36H), 28 (YE = 39H), 29 (YE 40H), 32 (YE =43H), 35 (YE = 46H), 37 (YE = 48H)
7.65 **LYW**: years 25 (YE = 36H), 33 (YE = 44H)
7.67 **ML**: years 22 (YE = 33H), 23 (YE = 34H), 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 32 (YE = 43H)
7.70 **MY**: year 3 (unknown era), 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 29U (YE = 40H), 35 (YE = 46H), 36 (YE = 47H), 50(H)
7.72 **NAL**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.75 **NY**: years 25 (YE = 36H), 27 (YE = 38H); 28? (YE = 39H), 29 (YE = 40H), 30 (YE = 41H), 31 (YE = 42H), 33 (YE = 44H), 35 (YE = 46H), 36 (YE = 47H), 37 (YE = 48H), 38? (YE = 49H)
7.79 **PL**: years 26 (YE = 37H), 29 (YE = 40H), 35 (YE = 46H)
7.87 **SK**: years 20 (YE = 31H), 28U (YE = 39H)
7.89 **ST**: years 26 (YE = 37H), 28 (YE = 39H), 31U (YE = 42H), 33 (YE = 44H), 35 (YE = 47H), 47(H), 37 (YE = 48H)
7.92 **SYC**: year 35 (YE = 46H)

7.101 **ŠY**: years 22 (YE = 33H), 24 (YE = 35H), 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 27 (YE = 38H), 28 (YE = 39H), 29 (YE = 40H), 30 (YE = 41H), 31 (YE = 42H), 32 (YE = 43H), 33 (YE = 44H), 35 (YE = 46H), 37 (YE = 48H)

7.102 **ŠYYW**: year 33U (YE = 44H)

7.107 **WH**: years 24 (YE = 35H), 25 (YE = 36H), 26 (YE = 37H), 27 (YE = 38H), 28 (YE = 39H), 29 (YE = 40H), 30 (YE = 41H), 31 (YE = 42H), 32 (YE = 43H), 33 (YE = 44H), 35 (YE = 46H), 36 (YE = 47H), 37 (YE = 48H)

7.108 **WSY**: year 34 (YE = 45H)

7.109 **WYH**: years 25U (YE = 36H), 27U (YE = 38H), 29 (YE = 40H), 30U (YE = 41H), 33 (YE = 44H), 34 (YE =45H), 35 (YE = 46H), 36 (YE = 47H), 37 (YE = 48H)

7.110 **WYHC**: year 5 (Khusrau II reverse die), 23 (YE = 34H), 25 (YE = 36H), 35 (YE = 46H), 36U (YE = 47H)

7.112 **YALY**(?): year 39U (H or YE = 50H)

Fig. 9.32.2. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **AHM**, 26 YE (= 37H), 4.04g (**Pl. 1, 4**)

Type 3: *bism allāh* / *rabbī* in second and third quarter obverse margin

This marginal inscription *bism allāh* / *rabbī* ('in the name of God, my lord') appears generally later than those without *rabbī*.

7.14 **ART**: year 39U (YE = 50H)

7.34 **BYŠ**: years 20 (YE? = 31H), 29 (YE = 40H), 32(?) (YE = 43H), 34 (YE = 45H), 37 (YE = 48H), 39U(H), 42(H), 44(H), 45(H), 47(H), 48(H), 49(H), 50(H), 51(H)

7.36 **DA**: years 27 (YE = 38H), 41(H)

7.40 **DL**: year 26 (YE = 37H)

7.63 **LD**: year 26U (YE = 37H)

7.70 **MY**: years 48(H), 49(H)

7.87 **SK**: years 37 (YE = 48H), 38U (YE = 49H), 45(H), 48(H), 60?(H), 63?(H), 64? (H or 104H), 65? (H = 65 or 25), 67 (YE = 79H), 81?(H), 87(H), 88(H), 89(H), 92(H), 93H, 95? (H or 25), 95H, 96(H), 97(H), 97? (H or 27), 98(H), 98? (H or 28), 99(?)(H), 101(H), 102(H), 103(H), 104(H), 106(H), 107(H), 108?(H), 109(?)(H)

7.89 **ST**: years 26 (YE? = 37H), 49(H)

7.114 **YZ**: years 47(H), 49(H)

Fig. 9.32.3. Anonymous Khusrau type, **MY**, 49(H), with *simurgh* countermark (11/C), 3.44g (**Pl. 76, 892**)

Type 4: *jayyid* in second quarter obverse margin[215]

7.70 **MY**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.101 **ŠY**: year 17(?), 20 (YE = 31H), 33 (H or YE = 44H), 35 (H or YE = 46H)

Type 5: Usual Khusrau type with **t** in obverse margin

7.44 **GD**: year 20 (YE = 31H)

Fig. 9.32.4. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **GD**, 20 YE (= 31H), 4.06g (**Pl. 47, 547**)

Type 6: Usual Khusrau type with ’**pd** in second quarter obverse margin[216]
There is no Arabic legend on these coins, only the Pahlavi ’**pd** (‘excellent’), which is often found on coins of Khusrau II.

7.34 **BYŠ**: year 52(H)
7.101 **ŠY**: uncertain date
7.120 Without mint; year 1 of Yazīd

Fig. 9.32.5. Anonymous Khusrau type, without mint, year 1 (**šnt ’ywk'**) of Yazīd (**y yzyt'**)
(Mochiri 1987; Mochiri collection)

Type 7: ’*wn* (?) in first quarter obverse margin[217]

7.72 **NAL**: year 20 (YE = 31H)

Fig. 9.32.6. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **NAL**, 20 YE (= 31H), 2.97g (**Pl. 77, 905**)

Type 8: Usual Khusrau type with **GDH** in obverse margin

7.44 **GD**: year 20 (YE = 31H)

[215] Chapter 6, type 6.C.1.1, pp. 47-8 *jayyid* means ‘good’.
[216] Chapter 6, type 6.C.1.7, p. 49.
[217] Chapter 6, type 6.C.1.3, p. 48.

Type 9: ʾ**pzwn** *bism allāh rabbī* in obverse margin[218]

7.87 **SK**: year 103? (H) – uncertain date

Fig. 9.32.7. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 103? (H), 3.79g (**Pl. 95, 1108**)

Type 10: *baraka* (probably modern addition)[219] in second quarter obverse margin

7.44 **GD**: year 25 (YE = 36H)
7.63 **LD**: year 29 (YE = 40H)

Fig. 9.32.8. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **GD**, 25 YE (= 36H) (Warden-Album)

Type 11: *rabbī allāh* in second quarter obverse margin[220]

7.34 **BYŠ**: year 26 (YE = 37H)
7.44 **GD**: years 35 (YE = 46H), 37 (YE = 48H)
7.89 **ST**: year 37 (YE = 48H)

Fig. 9.32.9. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **GD**, 37 YE (= 48H), 4.18g (**Pl. 47, 553**)

Type 12: ʾ**pd** *lillāh* in second quarter obverse margin[221]

7.36 **DA**: year 26 (YE = 37H)

Type 13: *muhammad* in second quarter obverse margin
These are crudely struck, rare and have equivocal date legends. They may have been struck in the north (Azerbaijān / Armenia) and have been attributed to Muhammad b. Marwān.[222]

[218] Chapter 6, type 6.C.4.16, pp. 67 - ʾ**pzwn** means 'growth'.

[219] These are likely to be normal Sasanian drachms of Khusrau II where the word *baraka* ('Benediction') has been added in modern times (as suggested in a personal communication by Bates).

[220] Chapter 6, type 6.C.2.3, p. 51 – *rabbī allāh* means 'my Lord, God'.

[221] Chapter 6, type 6.C.1.3, p. 48.

[222] Sears 2003b, pp. 90–100; see further under 9.35. Muhammad, below.

7.20 **AY** or **ŠY**(?): years 26, 29(?), 47(?) and unclear (uncertain era)
7.96 **SYWY**: year 2 (unknown era)
7.101 **ŠY**: years 26 (YE = 37H), 29 (YE = 40H), 38U (YE = 49H)

Fig. 9.32.10. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **AY or ŠY**, 47? (H), 3.07g (**Pl. 11, 123**)

Type 14: *jāza hadhā* in obverse margin
These are various issues related to type 13, with *jāza hadhā* in the second quarter of the obverse margin. The legend is a reference to the coin itself ('This is allowable'). The mint signatures on the coins are very crudely inscribed and can be variously read as **MY**, **GD**, **ŠW**, **SY** and **AY**. Sears has attributed them to Dabīl, the chief city in Armenia and Azerbaijān.[223]

7.70 **MY**: Undated or with pseudo-dates crudely copied from other coins (and various other crudely inscribed mint signatures)

Fig. 9.32.11. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **MY** (?), 2.70g
(British Museum, 1961, 0506.2)

Fig. 9.32.12. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **ŠW** (?), 2.92g
(British Museum, OR0236)

Type 15: *tabarak allāh* in second quarter obverse margin[224]
This coin is only known for one mint / date combination and is very rare.

7.18 **AWSYWN** (?): year 39?(H)

Fig. 9.32.13. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **AWSYWN** (?), year 39? (H), 3.82g (**Pl. 10, 113**)

[223] Sears 2003b, pp. 86–9.
[224] Chapter 6, type 6.C.2.5, p. 52 – *tabarak allāh* means 'Blessed God'.

Type 16: **DWM** *bism allāh rabbī* in first, second and third quarters obverse margin[225]

7.87 **SK**: year 43? (H, possibly a latter issue judging by style and the date may be a frozen date with coins being struck over a number of years)

Fig. 9.32.14. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 43?, 4.02g (**Pl. 82, 962**)

Type 17: *bism allāh* / *al-malik* in second and third quarters of the obverse margin[226]
The legend is translated as 'in the name of God, the possessor'.

7.34 **BYŠ**: years 41U(H), 47(H), 50U(H)
7.101 **ŠY**: year 28 (possibly error for 48H)

Fig. 9.32.15. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **ŠY**, year 28, 3.48g
(British Museum, BM 1970-3-4-2)

Type 18: Sogdian legend **rwtprn** in fourth quarter of the obverse margin

7.36 **DA**: year 32 (YE = 43H)

Fig. 9.32.16. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **DA**, 32 YE (= 43H), 4.06g (**Pl. 32, 372**)

Type 19: *bism allāh* / *al-aʿlā* in second and third quarters of the obverse margins[227]

7.14 **ART**: 47(H) – third quarter legend uncertain

Type 20: *bism allāh* / *illa ʿalī* in second and third quarters of the obverse margin[228]

7.14 **ART**: 48(H)

[225] Chapter 6, type 6.C.4.2, p. 65.
[226] Chapter 6, type 6.C.3.4, p. 52.
[227] Chapter 6, type 6.C.3.2, p. 52.
[228] Chapter 6, type 6.C.3.3, p. 52.

Type 21: with tamga and Sogdian legend **rtwy**(?) in third quarter obverse margin

7.19 **AY**: year 37 (YE? = 48H)

Fig. 9.32.17. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **AY**, 37 (YE? = 48H), 3.22g (**Pl. 11, 117**)

Type 22: *sadaq allāh bism allāh rabbī* in first, second and third quarters obverse margin[229]

7.87 **SK**: year 63, 83 or 103(H), but 103(H) most probable reading of date (**TLT**ʾ**st**ʾ)

Fig. 9.32.18. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 63 or 93? (H), 3.76g (**Pl. 85, 993**)

Type 23: Usual Khusrau obverse without Arabic marginal legend

These coins have a regular Khusrau II obverse die paired with a later reverse. Sometimes an old Khusrau II die has been used, but on others the die is later and contemporary with the reverse die. Each coin requires separate examination in order to ascertain whether the obverse die is an original reused die from Khusrau II or a later one. Style, and whether the die can be matched with Khusrau II drachms, are important factors.

7.8 **APL**: year 60(H)
7.14 **ART**: year 63U(H)
7.21 **AYL**: year 52 (H - possible *bism allāh* erased from die)
7.27 **BCLA**: year 53(H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: year 52 (H – with ʾ**pd** in second quarter obverse margin)
7.36 **DA**: year 43(H)
7.48 **GWAM**: year 49(?) (H)
7.68.1 **MLW**: year 64(H)
7.68.3 **MLWY**: year 20 (YE = 31H onwards)
7.101 **ŠY**: year unread (with ʾ**pd** in second quarter obverse margin)
7.119 Without mint: year 1 (unknown era – with ʾ**pd** in second quarter obverse margin)

Fig. 9.32.19. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **BYŠ**, 52(H), 3.07g (**Pl. 26, 299**)

[229] Chapter 6, type 6.C.4.10, p. 66 – the legend means ‘God is truthful, in the name of God, my Lord’. Judging by their crude style, these coins are unlikely to have been struck before the late 70sH.

Mochiri has identified other drachms in the name of Khusrau as post Sasanian issues and has considered their dates as PYE: **MLWY**, 25; **PL**, 25; **PYL**, 35; **SPHAN**, 35; **GWLGAN**, 35; **GW**, 35, 37.[230] He also considers that many issues in the name of Khusrau with pellets in the reverse margin are post-Sasanian: **BBA**, 19; **BYŠ**, 23; **DA**, 25, 27; **GLM**, 27; **AW**, 30, 35; **YZ**, 31; **BBA**, 32; **AYL**, 37; **ST**, 37. This approach is unproven.[231]

Fig. 9.32.20. Khusrau II, mint **DA**, 25(regnal year?), with pellets in reverse margin, 3.79g (Johnson 0791-0053)

Type 24: *bism allāh* / **p** in second and third quarters obverse margin

7.34 BYŠ: year 50(H)

Fig. 9.32.21. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **BYŠ**, 50(H), with countermarks of head (113A) and *simurgh* (3), 3.93g (**Pl. 25, 290**)

Type 25: *allāh wali ʿawn* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* in obverse margin[232]

7.87 SK: years 37 (unclear), 53(H) with *duriba al-mashriq* in the first or third quarter margin, 65(H)

Fig. 9.32.22. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 53(H), 3.89g (**Pl. 84, 983**)

Fig. 9.32.23. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 65(H), 3.85g (**Pl. 86, 1003**)

[230] Mochiri 1987, p. 63.

[231] For an example, **DA**, year 37, 3 pellets in Q1 reverse margin (Johnson 025047).

[232] Chapter 6, type 6.C.4.3, p. 65 – the first part of the legend means ‘God the helper’. The first quarter is as written, but would be spoken as *allāhu waliyu ʿawn*.

Type 26: *bism allāh muhammad* / *rasūl allāh* in second and third quarters obverse margin[233]

7.39 Dimashq: year 72(H)
7.52 Hims: year 72(H)

Fig. 9.32.24. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint *Hims*, 72(H), 3.48g
(Islamic Coin Collection of the University of Tubingen, inventory no.2008-11-1 @Museum der Universitat Tubingen (MUT)/ Forschungsstelle fur islamische Numismatik Tubingen (FINT), photo: Sebastian Hanstein)

Type 27: *bism allāh* / *muhammad rasūl* / *allāh* in second, third and fourth quarters obverse margin

7.39 Dimashq: year 72(H)

Fig. 9.32.25. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint *Dimashq*, 73(H), 3.72g (**Pl. 45, 524**)

Type 28: *bism allāh* / *lā illāh illā allāh wa-* / *hdahu muhammad r-* / *asūl allāh* in first, second, third and fourth quarters obverse margin[234]

7.39 Dimashq: years 73(H), 74(H)

This marginal legend is the full *shahāda* ('In the name of God, there is no God but Allāh, Muhammad is the messenger of God').

Fig. 9.32.26. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint *Dimashq*, 74(H), 3.62g (**Pl. 45, 526**)

Type 29: *bism allāh* / *lā illāh illā* / *wahdahu muhammad* / *rasūl allāh* in first, second, third and fourth quarters of the obverse margin

7.39 Dimashq: year 74(H)

Type 30: *bism allāh lā il-* / *llāh illā wa-* / *hdahu muhammad r-* / *asūl allāh* in first, second, third and fourth quarters obverse margin

7.120 Without mint: undated – with *mihrāb* reverse

[233] Chapter 6, type 6.C.3.39, pp. 61-2 – the legend means 'In the name of God, Muhammad Messenger of God'.

[234] Chapter 6, type 6.C.3.36, p. 61.

This is an extremely unusual and rare issue without any mint or date, but was probably struck in the mid to late 70sH. The obverse is similar to the Dimashq (Damascus) issues of 72 to 74H with the name of Khusrau to the right and **GDH ʾpzwt** to the left of the bust. The portrait is not of Khusrau, but probably the caliph himself in military garb consisting of helmet, chain mail tunic and holding a sword in the hand across his chest. The obverse margin bears the long *shahāda*. On the reverse, in place of the fire altar and attendants, there is an arch on pillars, within which is a spear. The legend to the left of the arch is the Arabic *amīr al-muʾminīn* ('Commander of the Believers') and to the right *khal*[*ī*]*fat allāh* ('Caliph of God').[235] On either side of the spear is the Arabic legend *nasr allāh* ('Victory of God') or *nasara allāh* ('May God give assistance'). The arch has been identified as a *mihrāb*, but this is not universally accepted.[236] Assuming that the *mihrāb* is depicted, the spear would be the *ʿanaza* of the Prophet Muhammad used to point to direction of Mecca for prayer.[237] Most commentators consider that this issue was probably struck in Damascus.[238]

Fig. 9.32.27. Anonymous Khusrau type, arch reverse, no mint or date, 3.22g
(Shah Firzan collection)

9.33 Mālik b. Aws(?)

Very little is known of Mālik b. Aws al-Azdī from the written sources. In 62H the governor of Khurāsān, Salm b. Ziyād sent Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh to Sīstān as governor. He in turn placed Mālik b. Aws in charge of public order (*sāhib ash-shurta*).[239] The coinage of Mālik b. Aws is extremely rare and confined to Sīstān.

7.31 SK: years 65(H), 66(H)

Fig. 9.33. Mālik b. Aws, mint **SK**, 65(H), 4.10g (**Pl. 85, 1001**)

The obverse marginal legend is unusual with *malik lillāh* ('God's Malik') in the second quarter. The most common date is 66H.[240] It has been suggested that 66H is a frozen year,[241] but in view of the appearance of an issue dated 65H, this is unlikely. Mālik b. Aws's coinage overlaps that of Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh (64–6H), and this is consistent with him being an appointee of Talha.

[235] Walker 1941, ANS.5; Miles 1952; Gaube 1973, p. 50, pl. 14.

[236] Bates 1986, p. 255; *SICA* 1, p. 28; Heidemann 2011, pp. 44–5. The '*mihrāb*' can alternatively be seen as an arch with two columns. A *mihrāb* is usually a niche in the wall of a mosque or place of worship, which indicates the direction of Mecca, where the Kaʿba is located. Grabar 1957 suggested that the covering arch could be the sacrum placed above the True Cross in Jerusalem and the spear a symbol of the triumph of the Islamic armies.

[237] Schulze and Oddy 2015, p. 200.

[238] Cf. Schindel 2009 *SNS* (Israel), pp. 26–7 which abandons any attribution to Dimashq, but says that they should be regarded as the products of an unknown mint, a not unreasonable approach given the uncertainty.

[239] Bosworth 1968, p. 45.

[240] This date has been misread as 62H by Mochiri, *ENIS* II, chapter 14, fig. 1554. Sears 2002, p. 75, n. 28 proposed an alternative reading of Mālik b. **APDYKAN**?

[241] *SICA* 1, p. 25, written at a time when only 66H was known.

9.33A Marwān b. al-Muhallab

Little is known about Marwān b. al-Muhallab before 90H when he is referred to being in Basra.[243] He was one of the sons of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (9.36) the leader of Azdīs in Basra, who had sided with Zubayrids against the Umayyads. After the defeat of Mus'ab b. al-Zubayr in 72H, al-Muhallab switched his allegiance to the Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. Al-Muhallab was rewarded with positions in Khūzistān and Fārs and coins were struck in his name in 75H for Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**), Tawwaj (7.103 **TART**) and Yazd (7.114 **YZ**).

The coinage of Marwān b. al-Muhallab is known for one unusual and very rare drachm with the mint signature **KWAT** (7.59). The signature is followed by some unclear letters, and it is conceivable that **GDH** was intended to form **kw't GDH**, Kavād-Khurra. Kavād-Khurra was not a major town in Fārs and it is possible that al-Muhallab left his son in charge of Kavād-Khurra for a short time. The date on the coin is written in Pahlavi numerals for 74H. The only other issue with the same date in Pahlavi numerals is a drachm of Bishr b. Marwān of Kūfa (7.4 **AKWLA**). The obverse has the standard *bism allāh* in the second quarter margin and the name legend to the right of the bust. Behind the bust is the hair in a ball which takes the form of an outer circle with a pellet in the middle, similar to the posthumous issue of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān from Basra (7.27 **BCLA**) dated 55H. The earing is an elaborate form not known for any other issue.

Fig. 9.33A. Marwān b. al-Muhallab, mint **KWAT**, 74(H) 2.53g (**Pl. 70, 816A**)

Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf never liked the Muhallabs, but whilst the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik was alive they remained in high standing. In 86H Walīd succeeded ʿAbd al-Malik, which gave al-Hajjāj the chance to remove al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra's sons from their various positions. Marwān was killed in 102H along with various other members of the family during a rebellion by his brother Yazīd.

9.34 Mismaʿ b. Mālik b. Mismaʿ

Mismaʿ b. Mālik b. Mismaʿ al-Shaybānī was appointed governor in Sīstān presumably in 85H after ʿUmāra b. Tamīm's dismissal (see 9.55). He is recorded as having died in 86H while governor of Sīstān. Mismaʿ may not have followed ʿUmāra immediately. Khalifa records that ʿUmāra had been appointed by al-Hajjāj (see 9.25), but was later dismissed. He then lists ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Sulaym as being appointed in 84H (a date which is not consistent with coins in the name of ʿUmāra for 84 and 85H). After that he lists Mismaʿ as being appointed by al-Hajjāj on the written orders of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. Mismaʿ served until he died.[244] Mismaʿ had previously been governor of Fasā and Dārābgerd for Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh in 72H (see 9.30).[245] He was loyal to al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf during the rebellion at Rustaqābādh.[246] His coinage was unknown until 2016. The *Tārīkh-ī Sīstān* records that in 86H a Khārijite rebellion under Abū Khalada was suppressed by Mismaʿ, not long before he died in office and his nephew, Muhammad b. Shaybān, took over.[247] Examples of his coins dated 85 and 86H appeared in the market as part of a large hoard of Sīstān

[243] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1209; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 157. During the insurrection of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab against the caliph Yazīd b. al-Malik, at one point he placed Marwān b. al-Muhallab in charge of Basra; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:372, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 1026

[244] Khalifa, p. 164.

[245] Al-Tabarī, ii, 822; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 200.

[246] Crone 1980, p. 117 (for reference to sources). See also al-Tabarī, ii, 1125; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 70 for a reference to the bringing of the head of Bistām in front of Mismaʿ in 83H.

[247] Bosworth 1968, p. 68. See also al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 283, (trans.), p. 119

drachms, primarily composed of drachms with **SK** mint signature, with a concentration of coins for the period 80 to 86H. It included significant quantities of drachms in the names of Khusrau, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad and ʿUmāra b. Tamīm, and a limited number of Mismaʿ b. Mālik.

Fig. 9.34. Mismaʿ b. Mālik, mint **SK**, 86H, 3.97g, 31mm (**Pl. 92, 1076**)

The full obverse marginal legend on coins in the name of Mismaʿ b. Mālik is *mismaʿ* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*. His drachms which are dated 85H and 86H have two varieties, those with and without his name in Arabic in the first quarter margin. In the obverse field the name Mālik is written in an unusual form as the legend appears as **msm’’** / **y mylkʾn**, albeit the second letter of the third word (**y**) is ambiguous and it is possible that **h** was intended giving the reading **mhlkʾn**. These coins are significant as they are consistent with Mismaʿ becoming governor in 85H and his death in Sīstān in 86H.

9.35 Muʿāwiya

Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān was initially an opponent of the Prophet Muhammad, but after the conquest of Mecca, converted to Islam. The Caliph ʿUmar appointed him governor of Syria and he took part in the conflict with the Byzantines. After the murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān in 35H, Muʿāwiya opposed the Caliph ʿAlī which led to civil war. A truce was agreed after the inconclusive battle of Siffīn. Upon the assassination of ʿAlī in 40H the question arose as to who would be caliph, Muʿāwiya who commanded the largest force, or Hasan b. ʿAlī. A truce was agreed whereby Hasan was given five million dirhams from the treasury in Kūfa and retired to private life in Medina, and Muʿāwiya became the first of the Umayyad caliphs.[248]

Muʿāwiya ruled as caliph from Damascus in Syria, where he had been governor under the preceding caliphs, for 20 years. He was a person devoted to duty. He set up administrative reforms and with a large caliphate he set up administrators in the various regions. The two main administrative centres for the Eastern Caliphate were Basra and Kūfa in Iraq. He allowed provincial governors to establish their own power bases, so long as they respected his authority, kept order and remitted revenues. The degree of local autonomy was reflected in the coinage where he permitted the continued use of coins of Sasanian style in the former Sasanian lands.[249] He was the first caliph to have his name on Arab-Sasanian coins. Some consider him an enlightened ruler who had a glorious reign.[250] He was succeeded by his son Yazīd.

7.36 **DA**: years 43 (frozen year, *c.*54–5H) and 45 (YE = 57H)
7.38 **DAP**: year 43 (frozen year, *c.*54–5H)

The coinage in the name of Muʿāwiya is confined to Dārābgerd (**DA**) in Fārs and Fasā (**DAP**) within the Dārābgerd district (*kūra*) of Fārs. The frozen year 43 is also found on the coins of other officials (9.32 Khusrau; 9.1 ʿAbd Allāh; 9.2 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir; 9.59 Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān; 9.47 Samura b. Jundab; 9.53 ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād).

[248] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1–9; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, pp. 2–12. For a detailed and useful account of his rule, see Humphreys 2006. See also Chapter 4, pp. 24-7 above.

[249] Kennedy 2004, pp. 87–9.

[250] Walker 1941, p. xxxviii. This is not a universal view.

Fig. 9.35. Muʿāwiya, mint **DA**, 45 (YE = 57H), 4.12g (**Pl. 35, 408**)

The name and title in the obverse right field is **myyʾwyʾ ʾmyl wylwyšnkʾn** (‘Muʿāwiya, Commander of the Believers’), the Pahlavi equivalent of the title *amīr al-muʿminīn*. This is its earliest occurrence on coins. It is also adopted by claimants to the leadership of the Islamic community, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (9.9), ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (9.14) and the Khārijite Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa (9.45).[250]

The obverse margin contains the usual *bism allāh* in the second quarter. Often the letters **gm** (or **ʾp**) are included on the reverse margin.[251]

9.36 Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra

Towards the end of the reign of the Caliph Muʿāwiya, many Azdīs from ʿUmān had settled in Basra and allied themselves with the Zubayrids. Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra became the leader of the Azdīs in Basra and he and his men provided a substantial force in support of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (see 9.41) against his rival Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd. Musʿab had appointed al-Muhallab as his governor of Fārs and it was from there he arrived in 67H with many troops and money to fight Mukhtār.[252] Mukhtār was defeated and killed. In 68H al-Muhallab, having successfully attacked the Azāriqah (Azraqites) in Ahwāz, was sent for a short time as governor in charge of Mawsil (Mosul) and its neighbourhood.[253] He was recalled as governor of Mawsil and the Jazīra to Basra in order to deal with the Khārijites who had descended upon Ahwāz. His forces fought for some time with the Khārijites at Sūlāf, but the battle was inconclusive.[254] After the defeat of Musʿab in 72H, al-Muhallab switched his allegiance to the Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. The new governor of Basra, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.30), installed him as governor of Ahwāz and the districts of the Tigris[255] where al-Muhallab was required to pay one million dirhams from the revenue of Ahwāz to the caliph.[256] In 74H, al-Muhallab was sent to fight the Azāriqah under their leader Qatarī (see 9.45).[257] In the following year he expelled them from Rāmhurmuz (Rām-Hormizd).[258] He remained at Sābūr (Bīshāpūr) fighting the Khārijites for about a year.[259] In 77H he pursued the Khārijites in Kirmān and halted in Jīroft. Once Fārs was in al-Muhallab’s hands, al-Hajjāj’s officials took control. When the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik heard of his success, he said that al-Muhallab should have command over Fasā, Dārābgerd and Istakhr, all within Fārs.[260]

[250] *SICA* 1, p. 15.

[251] *SICA* 1, p. 21, fn[101], notes the meaning of **gm** is unknown.

[252] Al-Tabarī, ii, 719; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 86.

[253] Al-Tabarī, ii, 753; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 223. Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:316, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 964, records that at one point ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr had appointed al-Muhallab as govenor of Khurāsān. He also refers to al-Muhallab killing Nāfiʿ al-Azraq (the leader of the Azāriqah) in Kirmān: 2:324, (trans.) p. 973.

[254] Al-Tabarī, ii, 765; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 133–4.

[255] Khalifa (trans.), p. 128.

[256] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1034; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 179.

[257] Al-Tabarī, ii, 855; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 3. The Christian source of Agapius, in dealing with the events of 692 (73H), refers to al-Hajjāj sending al-Muhallab against the Azāriqah who he killed (no doubt a reference to him killing many of them as he did not eliminate the movement): translated in Hoyland 2011, p. 188.

[258] Al-Tabarī, ii, 875; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 25.

[259] Al-Tabarī, ii, 880; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 30.

[260] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1003–4; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 150; Mochiri 1987, p. 39. Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:329, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 978 states that he drove the Azāriqah into Sīstān and killed ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad.

In 78H al-Muhallab came to al-Hajjāj in Basra, having defeated the Azāriqah. Al-Hajjāj (see 9.25) assigned him both Khurāsān and Sīstān, but instead al-Muhallab persuaded al-Hajjāj to send ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra (see 9.52) to Sīstān and he himself went to Khurāsān.[261] It is recorded that he arrived in Khurāsān in 79H.[262]

In 80H al-Muhallab crossed the river of Balkh and attacked Kish. He made a truce with the people of Kish and remained there for two years.[263] While there he received a letter from Ibn al-Ashʿath (see 9.17) informing him of the latter's rebellion against al-Hajjāj. Al-Muhallab remained loyal to al-Hajjāj as he sent the letter on to him.[264]

In 81H al-Muhallab, while still governor of Khurāsān, wrote to Ibn al-Ashʿath trying to dissuade him from continuing his rebellion.[265]

In 82H he left Kish, crossed the Oxus River and stopped at Balkh. While at Zāghūl in the area of Marw al-Rūd (Merv-Rūd), he was struck down by pleurisy or the plague and died, having appointed his son Yazīd (see 9.58) as his deputy over Khurāsān.[266]

The coinage of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra was only struck for a short period but the output was large and his coins are common, at least for mints within Fārs.

7.14 **ART**: year 76(H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: years 75(H), 76(H) and 79(H)
7.36 **DA**: year 76(H)
7.58.23 **KLMAN-NAL**: years 76U(H), 77(H), 78(H)
7.58.27 **KLMAN-NAWGY**: year 78(H)
7.89 **ST**: years 76(H), 78(H)
7.103 **TART**: years 75(H), 76(H)
7.114 **YZ**: years 75(H), 76(H)

In addition to drachms, there are rare copper issues with the mint signature **ST** in the name of 'Muhallab' dated 43 (PYE = 75H) and 76(H), and undated, which were no doubt struck under al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra.

The drachms of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra have the official's name in Pahlavi in the obverse field. The obverse second quarter margin has the usual *bism allāh*. The drachms of Ardashīr-Khurra (**ART**) dated 75H and Tawwaj (**TART**) dated 75 and 76H have in addition the Pahlavi word **plʾwzʾt**, Farrukhzād (Farroxzād) in the third quarter. This is either the proper name of a person or it is an attribute ('born with glory' or 'born fortunate' or 'noble birth'). Other issues from Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**), Dārābgerd (**DA**), Istakhr (**ST**) and Yazd (**YZ**) have the Pahlavi letters **mn** in the obverse margin, probably an abbreviation for **mnswl** (*mansūr*). Again, this is probably not a proper name, but the epithet 'the victorious'. Both Farrukhzād and Mansūr are found in Pahlavi on Arab-Sasanian copper coins. The drachms of **KLMAN-NAL** dated 77H have instead a Pahlavi word or letters in the second quarter obverse margin which can be read as **sy**, but other readings are possible (e.g. **nš** / **wš**). The drachms of **KLMAN-NAL** dated 78H have the letters **šy** in the third quarter obverse margin.

[261] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1033; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 178; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:320, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 979.

[262] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1039; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 186.

[263] Tokharistān was one of the areas of Khurāsān, with its capital at Balkh. There is a conventional Islamic dirham issue dated 80H of Tokharistān, which must have been struck when Muhallab was in the region: Mosanef and Saffar 2013, p. 8.

[264] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1040–2; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, pp. 188–90; c.f. Khalifa (trans.), p. 142.

[265] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1058; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 9.

[266] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1080–2; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, pp. 28–31.

Fig. 9.36. Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra, mint **KLMAN-NAL**, 78H, 3.88g
(British Museum; Walker, p. 115, RB.10)

All the known coins for al-Muhallab are dated between 75 and 79H and are confined to Fārs and Kirmān. No coins are known in his personal name during the period he held positions under the Zubayrids from 67H until his switch in his allegiance in 72H, nor for the time he was governor of Khurāsān, from 78 to 82H.

9.37 **Muhammad** [b. Marwān?]

There are a number of issues in the name of Muhammad (in Arabic), in the obverse right field, which are crudely struck and the date legend often equivocal.

7.20 **AY** or **ŠY**(?): years 4(?) and 20 (uncertain era) and uncertain / meaningless date with *wāf* (or *wāfin*) in second quarter margin; undated with *muhammad* in second quarter margin

7.21 **AYL**(?): Uncertain date with *muhammad* in second quarter margin

Fig. 9.37. Muhammad, mint **AY** or **ŠY**, uncertain date, *wāf* in Q2 obverse 3.27g
(British Museum, BM 1997, 0509.1)

These coins have been attributed to Muhammad b. Marwān who, as the caliph's brother, controlled Armenia and the Jazīra in the period 73 to 75H.[267] Another possibility is that the name Muhammad is a reference to the prophet. Sears has considered the issues in detail and attributed the coins to Muhammad b. Marwān suggesting they were minted in Dabīl and Harrān.[268] There is a glass weight with a five-line legend *hadhā* / *maʾīzzan sabaʾīn* / *mithqal miʾa* / *dirham ʿamara bi-hi* / *muhammad bin marwān* ('this standard weight is equal to 70 mithqals 100 dirhams by order of Muhammad b. Marwān').[269] The obverse marginal legend of *wāf* (or *wāfin*) which appears on some issues, is a reference to full weight or value.

9.38 **Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh**

Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh was appointed over Herāt, after its capture in about 64H, by his father the Zubayrid governor ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (see 9.7).[270] The literature refers to former supporters of ʿAbd Allāh, the Banū Tamīm, forcing their way into Herāt and killing Muhammad. This is recorded as having taken place in 65H.[271] There is only one drachm issue known in the name of Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh.

[267] Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:324-5, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 973 refers to him massacurung the notables of Armenia by burning them inside churches.

[268] Sears 2003b, pp. 90–100, which builds on from Sears 1995. For another view see Popp 2013, pp. 68–70, who considered the reference is not to the name of the prophet or an official called Muhammad, but to an attribute.

[269] Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 19 (25 April 2012), lot 6 (wt 282.13g). Album has noted, in a discussion with the writer, that some questions have been raised about this weight; thus no view is expressed here as to its authenticity.

[270] Al-Tabarī, ii, 496; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, p. 79.

[271] Walker 1941, p. liii, al-Tabarī, ii, 594, al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, pp. 177–8.

7.54 **HLA**: year 67(H)

Fig. 9.38. Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **HLA**, 67(H), 3.86g
(Ashmolean Museum; Walker 1941, p. 95, Ox.5; *SICA* 1, pl. 21, no. 308)

This drachm has the usual formula of the official's name in Pahlavi in the obverse right field and *bism allāh* in the second quarter margin. The mint signature **HLA** (Herāt) is consistent with Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh having control of Herāt but the date 67H is two years after the histories record his death. As drachms of **HLA** for the same date are known for Salm b. Ziyād (see 9.46) and Qatān b. ʿUdayy (see 9.44) it is possible that this issue was struck posthumously. It is perplexing that there are drachms from Herāt dated 64, 66, 67 and 69H in the name of Salm b. Ziyād, after he left Khurāsān, and no coins for Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh for 64 or 65H, when he is recorded as being in Herāt. It is thus possible that the chronology in the histories is incorrect and that Muhammad was killed in 67H.

9.39 Muqātil b. Mismaʿ

In 64H Muqātil b. Mismaʿ al-Bakrī was sent to Kūfa by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (9.53), indicating that he was still loyal to the Umayyads at that date.[272] Later he went over to the Zubayrids and Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (see 9.41) had placed him in charge of the foot soldiers when Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd was defeated in 67H.[273] He belonged to the tribe of Shaybān, a branch of Bakr b. Wāʾīl.

After the defeat of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr in 72H the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik appointed Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Asīd (see 9.30) in charge of Basra and the districts governed from there. When Khālid arrived he devolved responsibility for certain districts, allocating Ardashīr-Khurra to Muqātil b. Mismaʿ (who had changed over again to the Umayyads), Sābūr (Bīshāpūr) to ʿĀmir b. Mismaʿ and Fasā and Dārābgerd to Mismaʿ b. Mālik b. Mismaʿ.[274] Khālid sent Muqātil b. Mismaʿ with an army to join ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.11) to fight the Khārijites / Azāriqah. A force led by Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa (see 9.45) set upon ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's forces in Fārs and although Muqātil fought bravely he was killed.[275]

Fig. 9.39. Muqātil b. Mismaʿ, mint **BYŠ**, 72(H), 3.96g (**Pl. 28, 320**)

The coinage of Muqātil b. Mismaʿ is known from one mint only, for two years.

7.34 **BYŠ**: years 72(H) and 73(H)

Al-Tabarī records that ʿĀmir b. Mismaʿ was put in charge of Bīshāpūr in 72H and that Muqātil b. Mismaʿ was killed in the same year. This is not reflected in the coinage, which is consistent with Muqātil b. Mismaʿ having been killed in 73H. No coins are known in the name of ʿĀmir.

[272] Al-Tabarī, ii, 459; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, p. 38.

[273] Al-Tabarī, ii, 725; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 93.

[274] Al-Tabarī, ii, 822; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 200.

[275] Al-Tabarī, ii, 822–3, 825, 838; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 200, 202, 206.

The drachms of Muqātil b. Mismaʿ have his name in the obverse field in Pahlavi **mwkʾtl** / **y msmʾʾn**. The margin has the usual *bism allāh* in the obverse second quarter, but in the third quarter the Arabic *bakriya* has been added, a reference to the tribe Bakr b. Wāʾīl. These coins dated 72 and 73H are scarce, and if al-Tabarī is correct that Muqātil was killed in battle in 72H, then the latter are posthumous.

9.40 Musʿab b. [abawra](?)

There is a unique drachm type where the official's name has been variously read. The Pahlavi legend in the obverse field can be read as **mwčʾb y** / **ʾbydwlʾ y** which appears to continue in the first quarter margin with **štlyʾlʾn**. Mochiri has read this as Musʿab b. ʿUbayd Allāh (ʿAbayd Allāh) b. Shahriyārān.[276] The date on the coin is also equivocal and can be read as 70 or 73 (**hptʾt** or **syhptʾt**).

7.44. **GD**: year 70(H)

Fig. 9.40. Musʿab b. [abawra], mint **GD**, year 70(H), 3.01g
(Paris, BN-; Guillou 1953, no. 97)

9.41 Musʿab b. al-Zubayr

Musʿab threw in his lot with his brother ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (see 9.9) and acted as both a military commander and governor under him. The two main problems facing him in Iraq were Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd in Kūfa and the Khārijites in southern Iraq and the Persian Gulf.[277]

In 66H, Musʿab b. al-Zubayr was in charge of Medina on behalf of his brother ʿAbd Allāh.[278] The numismatic evidence indicates that by 66H he was also governor of Basra. The literary sources show that he was governor from 67 to 72H.[279]

ʿAbd Allāh entrusted Musʿab with the task of dealing with Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd, who had once been a supporter of the Zubayrid cause, but had become a force in his own right in Iraq. In 67H Musʿab defeated Mukhtār's army at the battle of al-Madhār. Mukhtār retreated to Kūfa, and was after killed in combat.[280] In the same year Musʿab was replaced as governor of Basra by Hamzah b. ʿAbd Allāh, the son of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Hamzah was not a success and Musʿab was soon reinstated as governor of Basra.[281] In 67H Musʿab was also governor of Kūfa. In 68H, having returned to Basra, Musʿab appointed al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿah as commander in charge of Kūfa.[282] Musʿab continued to be governor of both Basra and Kūfa in 68H,[283] and 69H.[284] In 70H he is said to have visited Mecca bringing with him a great deal of money, which he divided among his kinsmen and others.[285]

[276] Mochiri 1987, p. 55, no. 113, pl. 14, no. 80.

[277] Kennedy 2004, pp. 96–7.

[278] Al-Tabarī, ii, 700; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 66–7.

[279] EI², sv 'Musʿab b. al-Zubayr'.

[280] Al-Tabarī, ii, 718–750; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 85–118; c.f. al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:304-5, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 983 states that it was in 68H that ʿAbd Allāh sent Musʿab to govern Iraq, who then defeated Mukhtār.

[281] Al-Tabarī, ii, 750-2; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 118–21.

[282] Al-Tabarī, ii, 753; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 122; c.f. Khalifa (trans.), p. 123.

[283] Al-Tabarī, ii, 783; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 253.

[284] Al-Tabarī, ii, 797; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 168.

[285] Al-Tabarī, ii, 796; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 169.

In 71H the tide turned against Musʿab in Iraq. The Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik sent Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.30) to Basra, who left before Musʿab arrived. In 72H Musʿab was killed at Dayr al-Jāthalīq in Iraq by ʿAbd al-Malik's forces, finally crushing the Zubayrid's control over Iraq.[286]

7.27 **BCLA**: year 66(H)
7.28 **BH**: year 68(H)
7.41 **DŠ**: year 67(H)
7.42 **DŠT**: year 67(H)
7.58.4 **KLMAN-AN'**: years 69(H), 72(H)
7.58.9 **KLMAN-APZWN**: year 69(H)
7.58.21 **KLMAN-HPYC**: year 69(H)
7.58.23 **KLMAN-NAL**: years 69–71(H), 72U(H)
7.58.30 **KLMAN-SL**: years 69(H), 70(H)
7.58.31 **KLMAN-SLC**: year 70(H)
7.76 **NYŠ**: year 67(H)
7.107 **WH**: year 69U(H)

Fig. 9.41. Musʿab b. al-Zubayr, mint **BCLA**, 66(H), 2.75g (**Pl. 18, 203**)

The coinage of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr is not common.[287] His earliest known drachm is that of Basra (**BCLA**) dated 66H, by which time he was probably already governor. The drachms for that year have his name in Pahlavi in the obverse right field **mwčʾpʾ y** / **zwbylʾn**, but in the obverse margin there is the Arabic legend *musʿab* / *hasabahu allāh* in the second and third quarters ('Musʿab, God is his sufficiency'). Apart from this type, his coins have the usual marginal legend of *bism allāh.* The mint signatures **BH**, **DŠ** and **DŠT**, though unidentified, are likely to represent places in Iraq. The drachms with these mint signatures dated 67H (**DŠ** and **DŠT**) and 68H (**BH**) have *musʿab* in Arabic added to the third quarter obverse margin in addition to the usual *bism allāh* in the second quarter. The same feature is found on the rare drachm dated 67H with mint signature **NYŠ** (probably Nīshāpūr, Khurāsān). For the period 69–72H the only confirmed issues for Musʿab are from mints in Kirmān which also struck coins for his brother ʿAbd Allāh (this duplication is not observed for mints outside of Kirmān). The name of Musʿab is not found in the obverse margin but, like many Kirmān issues, his coins have additional Pahlavi words or letters in the margin. The usual additions are **bplwy** in the second quarter after *bism allāh*, with or without **GDH** in the third quarter.

9.42 Al-Musayyab b. Shihr(?)

There is a unique drachm where the official's name has been variously read since the Pahlavi can be transliterated in different ways.[288] Album tentatively suggested al-Musayyib b. Shihr. A possible reading is **msʾyb** / **y shlʾn**, but this is far from certain. Sears has proposed al-Musayyab b. Shahr (or Shahl).[289] The

[286] Al-Tabarī, ii, 806–9; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 181–4. Some sources put this event in 71H. For a discussion of the chronology, see Wellhausen 1927, pp. 198–200.

[287] There are significantly more examples known now than in 1941 when Walker published his seminal work.

[288] *SICA* 1, pl. 23, no. 337 (Shamma). The coin is poorly preserved. It has the usual *bism allāh* in the second quarter obverse margin.

[289] Sears 1996, pp. 19–24, who read the mint signature as **KLMAN**, which led him to conclude that al-Musayyab was probably an Umayyad governor of Kirmān.

name al-Musayyab is well attested for the Umayyad period and a number of people with that name have been recorded by al-Tabarī. Al-Musayyab is probably the better reading. There is no known official with this name.

7.68.1 **MLW**: year 79(H)

Fig. 9.42. Al-Musayyab b. Shihr (?), mint **MLW**, 79(H), 2.79g
(*SICA* 1, pl. 23, no. 337, Shamma collection)

9.42A Nuʿmān b. Bashīr

The father of Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Ansārī had been one of the *ansār.* In 59H Nuʿmān was appointed by the Caliph Yazīd governor of Kūfa in place of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Umm al-Hakam.[290] He was considered by some as weak and thus lacked sufficient authority for such an important governorship. The next year he was dismissed and replaced by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.[291] He later joined the forces of the rival caliph, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. While in charge of Hims,[292] he was killed for his support of the Zubayrids in 64H. The only known coin in his name has the legend **nwmʾn y** / **bšylʾn** to the right of the bust in Pahlavi, with an unusual Arabic obverse marginal legend in the second quarter of *al-rahmān al-malik* (referring to the attributes of God, being both compassionate and the possessor). The date of 28 is evidently a PYE date equivalent to 60H, which is consistent with his position in Kūfa for 59 and 60H. The mint signature is **GD** (7.44) for Jayy, which would have fallen under the administration of the governor of Kūfa.

Fig. 9.42A. Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, mint **GD**, 28 (PYE = 60H), (Michael Bates Photo Archive)

9.43 Numayla b. Muslih

The name on this very rare type with the mint signature **WYHC** has been variously read. Walker attributed this issue to al-Mughīra b. al-Muhallab, but Mochiri has corrected the reading of the official's name in the obverse field and attributed the issue to an unknown official, Nomayra b. Musleh.[293] A transliteration of **nwmʾyl** / **y mslhʾn** has been adopted here, giving a reading of Numayla b. Muslih. The personal names Numayla and Muslih are found in al-Tabarī and the first name is evidently Numayla (rather than Numayra).

DeShazo has attributed this issue to Numayla b. Mālik who, according to al-Tabarī, was commander of one of the divisions of the army of Basra.[294] The literature makes no reference to him being a governor or

[290] Al-Tabarī, ii, 188; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 199.

[291] Al-Tabarī, ii, 216, 228; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 19, p. 118.

[292] Al-Tabarī, ii, 480; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, p. 63; Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:304-7, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 953-5.

[293] Mochiri *ENIS* II, chapter 16, pp. 435–7.

[294] DeShazo 2000b, 2003 and 2004.

holding a position with sufficient authority to strike coins in his own name. DeShazo's reading requires a stretched reading of the patronym of **m'lk'n** (i.e. reading the second letter as an **a** rather than an **s** and the fourth letter as a **k** rather than an **h**).

7.110 **WYHC**: year 73(H)

The date too has been the subject of differing views. Gaube read it as 64, but this is clearly an error.[295] Both Walker[296] and Mochiri have read it as 71 (auhftāt = '**whpt't**). It is more likely that 73 was intended – **syhpt't**.

Fig. 9.43. Numayla b. Muslih, mint **WYHC**, 73(H), 4.34g
(Fitzwilliam Museum, Walker 1941, p. 106, Cam. 11; CM.IS.28-R)

9.44 Qatān b. ʿUdayy(?)

The official's name on a very rare issue from Herāt is uncertain as the Pahlavi can read in different ways. The Pahlavi legend in the right obverse field may be transliterated as **k'ty'n** / **'wt'y** for Qatān b. ʿUdayy (?), a name which cannot be matched with any official known from the literature. Walker did not offer his own interpretation of the second line of the name legend,[297] but referred to the previous readings: Khathān Antai,[298] Katān Chutai,[299] Kahtān Kutai,[300] Katān al-Tāʿī.[301] He did not find any of these readings compelling. Mochiri's view was that the legend is not a name but the title Kūhistān Khudāy,[302] and that the coin belongs to a rebel, more likely to be a local prince than a Khārijite.[303] Eshragh's interpretation of Qahtān b. ʿUttāb is plausible as the legend can also be read as **k'ty'n** / **'wt'b**.[304]

There is only one rare drachm issue in the name of Qatān b. ʿUdayy.

7.54 **HLA**: year 67(H)

Fig. 9.44. Qatān b. ʿUdday, mint **HLA**, 67(H), 4.05g (**Pl. 53, 620**)

[295] Gaube 1973, pl. 5, no. 59.

[296] Walker 1941, p. 106, Cam. 11.

[297] Walker 1941, p. 200; Gaube 1973, pp. 68–9.

[298] Thomas 1850, p. 318, no. 59.

[299] Mordtmann 1879, p. 104, no. 14.

[300] Valentine 1921, p. 96.

[301] Dorn 1856a, p. 253.

[302] Mochiri *ENIS* II, pp. 76–7, no. 124; c.f. *SICA* 1, p. 25, fn[136] which correctly points out that this interpretation requires too much orthographic licence.

[303] Mochiri 1987, pp. 57–8.

[304] Eshragh 2010, no. 110.

The obverse margin has the usual *bism allāh* in the second quarter. The year is clearly 67H, a year for which drachms of **HLA** (Herāt) are also known for Salm b. Ziyād (see 9.46) and Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.38). Herāt was fought over and changed hands a number of times around this period. Thus Qatān could have been a sub-governor for the Umayyads or the Zubayrids under ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim[305] or a rebel opposing both of them.

9.45 Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa

Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa[306] was the leader of the Azāriqah (Azraqite) branch of the Khārijites who opposed both the Umayyads and their rivals the Zubayrids. He was renowned as a poet and orator. In 68H the Azāriqah returned from Fārs to Iraq, entered the vicinity of Kūfa and entered al-Madāʾin. Qatarī obtained their allegiance. He took his forces and withdrew to Kirmān, pillaged the land and became powerful. He then turned to the area of Isfahān, before going to Ahwāz. A long drawn out battle between al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (see 9.36), who was loyal to Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (see 9.41), and Qatarī at Sūlāf in Khūzistān, was inconclusive.[307]

In about 69H Qatarī was appointed by the Azāriqah as Commander of the Believers.[308] After the death of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr, most of Musʿab's men swore allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik. In 72H Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.30) was in charge of Basra and he sent a force to engage the Azāriqah. The force led by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.11) was put to flight by Qatarī's horsemen.[309] When the Umayyads managed to bring together a large force in Ahwāz the Azāriqah withdrew. In 74H al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra was sent to fight the Azāriqah led by Qatarī.[310] Judging by the numismatic evidence, in 75H Qatarī had some degree of control over large parts of Fārs with coins in his name struck at a number of mints. The following year the only mint in Fārs which struck drachms in his name was Dārābgerd, but coins with the same mint signature (**DA**) are also known for al-Muhallab, which reflects his taking control of that district in 76H. The struggles between the Azāriqah and the Umayyads in Fārs are reflected in the coinage of Qatarī and his opponent al-Muhallab:

7.14 **ART**: years 75 (Qatarī), 76 (al-Muhallab)
7.34 **BYŠ**: years 75 (Qatarī and al-Muhallab), 76 (al-Muhallab)
7.36 **DA**: years 75 (Qatarī), 76 (Qatarī and al-Muhallab)
7.89 **ST**: years 75 (Qatarī), 76 (al-Muhallab), 78 (al-Muhallab)
7.103 **TART**: years 75 (Qatarī and al-Muhallab), 76 (al-Muhallab)
7.114 **YZ**: years 75 (Qatarī and al-Muhallab), 76 (al-Muhallab)

Kirmān was apparently harder for the Umayyads to control, for Qatarī struck coins in Kirmān in 77H. In 77H dissension arose amongst the Azāriqah who followed Qatarī – some withdrew from him and gave allegiance to ʿAbd Rabb al-Kabīr.[311] Qatarī went to Tabaristān, where he died in the same year. Differing accounts are given of his death. In one account Sufyān b. al-Abrad was sent by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf and fought Qatarī's forces in Tabaristān.[312] The Azāriqah were destroyed on a number of fronts in 77H, not only was Qatarī killed in Tabaristān, but also al-Muhallab defeated and killed ʿAbd Rabb al-Kabīr.[313] The coinage of Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa is scarce and limited to Fārs and Kirmān.

[305] Al-Tabarī, ii, 753; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 121 records that ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim was in charge of Khurāsān in 67H.

[306] *EI*^{2}, sv 'Katarī b. al-Fudjāʾa' (G. Levi Della Vida).

[307] Al-Tabarī, ii, 753–766; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 122–34.

[308] Bosworth 1968, p. 47.

[309] Al-Tabarī, ii, 823; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 200.

[310] Al-Tabarī, ii, 855; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 3.

[311] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1003; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 149; Bosworth 1968, p. 39.

[312] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1018; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 162.

[313] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1007, 1017; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, pp. 154, 161; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:329-30, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 978-9. Some sources place the death of Qatarī in 78 or 79H: Bosworth 1968, p. 47.

7.14 **ART**: year 75(H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: years 69U(H), 75(H)
7.36 **DA**: years 75(H) and 76(H)
7.37.4 **DA-GALWM**: year 75(H)
7.58.15 **KLMAN-BN**: year 77(H)
7.89 **ST**: year 75(H)
7.99A **ŠW**: year 69(H)
7.103 **TART**: year 75(H)
7.114 **YZ**: year 75(H)[314]

Most drachms of Qatarī are dated 75H, the most common issue being that of Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**). In place of the usual *bism allāh* in the obverse second quarter margin is the Khārijite slogan *lā hukm illā lillāh* ('there is no judgment except from God'). His claim to be the leader of the faithful is found in the name and title in the obverse field: **ʾpdwlʾ ktlʿ ʾmyl y wlwyšnykʾn** ('Servant of God, Qatarī, Commander of the Believers'). On some coins the caliphal title **ʾpdwlʾ** (ʿAbd Allāh) is omitted. He was not the only one to use the title of Commander of the Believers on Arab-Sasanian coinage as it was also used by the Umayyad caliphs Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, as well as the rival caliph, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.[315]

The issue from Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) dated 69H does not fit in with the historical sources. It is said to have a coarse appearance and it may be an imitation.[316] It is possible that this coin may be the result of a misreading of the mint signature. An example of the same date has the otherwise unknown mint signature **ŠW** and this mint may have been mis-read as **BYŠ**. The letters **ŠW** are found either side of the altar on coins of Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād with the mint signature **DA** for years 48 (YE=60H) and 49 (YE=61H), suggesting this issue is from the region of Fārs and possibly the Dārābgerd district.

Fig. 9.45.1. Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa, mint **ŠW**, 69(H)
(Michael Bates Photo Archive, Warden collection)

The issues for Dārābgerd (**DA**) dated 75 and 76H have additional letters in the reverse margin: either **m** or **gm**. The drachm dated 75H with the signature in full for Jahrōm (**DA-GALWM**) is the only type known with that mint signature.

Fig. 9.45.2. Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa, mint **DA-GALWM**, 75(H), 4.06g (**Pl. 41, 472**)

[314] The mint signature **YZ** is an example of how the misinterpretation of mint signatures can mislead historians. Walker and others read this as **ZR** for Zaranj (Zarang) in Sīstān, which led Bosworth to surmise that in 75H the Khārijites were temporarily in control of Zaranj, an event unnoted by the historians, see Bosworth 1968, p. 52.

[315] Gaiser 2010, pp. 174–8 for a discussion of the history and coinage of Qatarī.

[316] *SICA* 1, p. 30 (as suggested by Album). Walker 1941, p. 112, I.46 (Istanbul Museum) noted the signature as **BŠ**, which must have simply been a variant of the signature **BYŠ** for Bīshāpūr. It is possible that the signature on this coin had been misread by Walker and the actual signature is **ŠW**. Walker did not include a photograph of the coin in his work.

Some drachms dated 75 and 76H from Ardashīr-Khurra (**ART**), seem to be related to the coinage in the name of Qatarī, but do not bear his, or anyone's, name. Instead they have the Khārijite slogan **lwyt' dʾtwbl blʾ yzzt'** ('There is no justice (judgment) except from God'), that is the same obverse marginal legend as on Qatarī's coins suggesting these issues were struck by the Azāriqah.[317]

Fig. 9.45.3. Anonymous Khārijite issue, mint **ART**, 75(H), 3.89g (**Pl. 8, 92**)

One may legitimately ask why the Khārijites would strike coins in the Arab-Sasanian style. One reason is that they would have wanted a coinage accepted by the local population, many of whom would have been neither Arab nor Muslim, let alone Khārijite. Even other Arabs would not have necessarily been able to recognise the Arabic legends and few would have been able to read the Pahlavi.

9.46 Salm b. Ziyād

Salm b. Ziyād was appointed governor of Khurāsān in 61H by the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd I. His brother, Yazīd b. Ziyād was appointed governor of Sīstān having been nominated either by Salm or ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. Yazīd was killed after a disastrous expedition into the region of Zamīndāwar and Kābul. At this point Salm appointed Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.49) over Sīstān in 62H (or 63H). Salm proved to be a popular governor in Khurāsān and is called by Balādhurī 'the most noble of the sons of Ziyād'.[318] It is recorded that in 62H Salm b. Ziyād raided Khwarizm, whose people made peace with him paying him a great amount of wealth. He then crossed over the Oxus to Samarqand, whose people also came to terms.[319] The histories record that soon after the death of Yazīd I in 64H, Salm left Khurāsān in a more or less chaotic state. It would seem that from 66 to 70H Khurāsān was fought over between those supporting Salm b. Ziyād or the Umayyads and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (see 9.7). When he left Khurāsān in 64H, Salm left behind al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (see 9.36) as governor, who had insufficient forces and backing to maintain that position. On his way back to Basra, Salm met ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim in Nīshāpūr, who forced him to give him a commission over Khurāsān along with 100,000 dirhams.[320] ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim went over to the Zubayrid cause. Once in Basra, Salm was taken by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr's forces and imprisoned in Mecca. He managed to escape to ʿAbd al-Malik's side and was given the governorship of Khurāsān again, but he died in 73H without returning to Khurāsān.[321]

The coinage of Salm b. Ziyād is confined to Khurāsān, save for a series of coins dated in an uncertain era.

7.6 **ANBYR**: year 63(H)
7.8 **APL**: year 63(H)
7.10 **APLŠT**: years 63(H) and 64(H)
7.14 **ART**: year 26 (unknown era)
7.23 **AYPTAK**: year 64(H)
7.26 **BBA**: years 64(H), 67(H), 68(H)
7.36 **DA**: year 26 (unknown era)

[317] Gaiser 2010, p. 175.

[318] Bosworth 1968, pp. 44–5.

[319] Khalifa (trans.), p. 98; c.f. Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:300-1, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 946-7.

[320] Al-Tabarī, ii, 489; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, p. 72; Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:323, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 971.

[321] Bosworth 1968, pp. 48–9.

7.44 **GD**: year 60(H)
7.54 **HLA**: years 63(H), 64U(H), 66(H), 67(H), 69(H)
7.68.1 **MLW**: years 26 (unknown era), 62–70(H)
7.69.1–2 **MLWLWT** / **MLWLWT'**: years 8 (unknown era), 56(H), 62–4(H), 67(H), 70(H), 71U(H), unclear date
7.78 **PHLHAN**: year 63(H)
7.79 **SK**: year 56 (H or YE = 68H), includes varieties with **BST** for Bust in obverse or reverse margins

The coinage of Salm b. Ziyād is difficult to interpret and to a large extent does not fit in well with the historical sources. The drachms dated 26 with mint signatures **ART** (Ardashīr-Khurra), **DA** (Dārābgerd) and **MLW** (Marw) would appear to be anomalous. There is no reference in the sources to Salm b. Ziyād acting as a governor outside Khurāsān. These may be imitations or issues struck using old reverse dies, but the latter explanation seems unlikely as the same date is found in conjunction with a number of mint signatures.[322]

Fig. 9.46.1. Salm b. Ziyād, mint **ART**, year 26, 4.08g (**Pl. 4, 42**)

Two mints struck coins, in his name, dated before Salm b. Ziyād was appointed governor of Khurāsān in 62H: Sīstān and Marw al-Rūd (Merv-Rūd) both dated year 56. Indeed drachms were struck in the names of both Salm b. Ziyād and his brother ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād with mint signature **SK** (Sīstān) dated 56. It is possible 56 was a frozen date and these coins were struck later. Another explanation is that as Sīstān was often governed together with Khurāsān, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (who was appointed governor of Khurāsān in 54H) may have deputised his brother Salm to govern Sīstān for a short period in 56H. In addition to drachms of Salm b. Ziyād with the mint signature **SK** in the usual place there are a few with the additional name **BST** either in the reverse or obverse margins, denoting the town Bust in Sīstān.[323] The drachm with mint signature **MLWLWT** (Marw Rūd) dated 56H could have been struck by the Hephthalites as it bears a tamga engraved on the die in the third quarter obverse margin.[324]

Fig. 9.46.2. Salm b. Ziyād, mint **SK** with **BST** in Q3 obverse, 56(H), 4.07g (**Pl. 85, 990**)

A crude type with mint signature **GD** (Jayy) and a possible date of 60 exists for both Salm b. Ziyād and his rival ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim. These types would appear to be imitations.

[322] *SICA* 1, p. 22 considers that these were simply unofficial issues from purloined dies of Khusrau II.

[323] *SICA* 1, pp. 22–3.

[324] An alternative is to treat the date as a YE date equivalent to 68H, which would have been after Salm b. Ziyād is said to have left Khurāsān in 64H.

The remainder of Salm b. Ziyād's coinage is from Khurāsān, but remains complex as the coins dated after 65H post-date Salm b. Ziyād's retirement to Basra. At this time ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim was governor of Khurāsān though his rule was often challenged from more than one direction: Umayyad supporters or the Hephthalites. The coinage in the name of Salm b. Ziyād from 66H may thus have been struck by opponents of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim. The coinage in the name of Salm b. Ziyād from mints in Khurāsān follows the standard type with *bism allāh* in the second quarter obverse margin though there are some issues with additional legends. The mint of Herāt (**HLA**) struck a rare issue dated 67H with **gw** added in the obverse third quarter.

Coins of Marw (**MLW**) dated 62, 64 and 67H have *al-ʿazīz* in the third quarter of the obverse margin, and a Bactrian legend in the reverse margin referring to Anbīr (*ambēro*) in Khurāsān.[325] On a drachm dated 65H *ambēro* is replaced by *akbār* ('great') and for 68H it is replaced by *allāh akbar* ('God is great'). The presence of Bactrian legends indicates that these coins may have been struck by the Hephthalites, whose provincial capital was at Anbīr (Ambēr).[326]

The drachm with mint signature **MLWLWT'** dated 8 is anomalous. The era is unknown, but it is possible it represents 68(H) and was struck by opponents of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim as, according to the historical texts, Salm b. Ziyād had long since left Khurāsān.

Fig. 9.46.3. Salm b. Ziyād, mint **MLWLWT'**, year 8, 3.96g
(Album Auction 19 (15 May 2014), lot 129)

9.47 Samura b. Jundab

Samura b. Jundab al-Fazārī was appointed by Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (see 9.59) as his (part-time) deputy in Basra in 50H acting while Ziyād away: he spent six months in Basra and six months in Kūfa each year.[327] Samura fought the Khārijites[328] and al-Tabarī depicted him as a brutal, cruel and evil man.[329] His savagery was such that he is reported to have killed 8,000 people in Basra.[330]

Ziyād is recorded as having died in Kūfa in 53H, at which point the Caliph Muʿāwiya confirmed Samura as governor over Basra for six or 18 months.[331]

In 54H Muʿāwiya dismissed Samura as governor of Basra and appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ghaylān in his place.[332] Samura is said to have died an evil death when a severe frost took him.[333]

The coinage of Samura b. Jundab is only known for two mints from the Dārābgerd district of Fārs.

[325] The place name Anbīr (*ambēro*) also appears on his drachms with mint signature **ANBYR** dated 63H. For these issues, see Chapter 14, sections 1 and 2 pp. 399-402.

[326] *SICA* 1, p. 23.

[327] Al-Tabarī, ii, 87, 91; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, pp. 97, 101.

[328] Al-Tabarī, ii, 91; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, pp. 100–1 (which refers to the Khārijites as the Harūriyya).

[329] Al-Tabarī, ii, 163; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 170.

[330] Al-Tabarī, ii, 90; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 99.

[331] Al-Tabarī, ii, 158, 162; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, pp. 167, 170. The numismatic evidence is consistent with Ziyād dying in 54H.

[332] Al-Tabarī, ii, 166; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 175; Khalifa (trans.), p. 81.

[333] Al-Tabarī, ii, 162–3; al-Tabarī (trans.) vol. 18, p. 171.

7.36 **DA**: year 43 (frozen year; *c.*53–4H)
7.38 **DAP**: year 43 (frozen year; *c.*53–4H)

Fig. 9.47. Samura b. Jundab, mint **DAP**, year 43, 4.06g (**Pl. 42, 493**)

These coins follow the same style as other coins in the name of various personages, all with the frozen date 43. In the second quarter of the obverse margin is the usual *bism allāh* with three pellets either side of the crescent and star at 6h. They may have been struck in 53–4H during the period after the death of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān in 53H (or perhaps 54H) and the dismissal of Samura as governor of Basra by the Caliph Muʿāwiya in 54H.[334]

9.48 Taʾī-i Pilgūn

There is a very rare drachm issue, for one mint and one year, in the name of an unidentified official, where the name legend has been variously read. The Pahlavi legend appears to read **tʾy y** / **pylgwnw**, which Mochiri has interpreted as the otherwise unknown Tāʾī-i Pilgūn and translated as 'Tāʾī of elephant hot headedness'.[335] On the other hand, Kolensikov has suggested **tʾy y plyzwr** for 'Tār, son of Pilzor'.[336] Neither suggestion can be followed with any degree of confidence and it has not so far been possible to come to a conclusive attribution.[337]

7.99 **ŠTWLSTAN**: year 67(H)

Fig. 9.48. Taʾī-i Pilgūn, mint **ŠTWLSTAN**, 67(H), 3.54g (**Pl. 105, 1231**)

The obverse marginal legend is unusual. The word in the first quarter appears to be *ʿad* in Arabic.[338] The second quarter has the usual *bism allāh*. In the third quarter there is the Pahlavi **GDH ʾpzwn'** ('the royal glory has been increased'), which is repeated in the reverse margin.

9.49 Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh

In 56H Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān left for Khurāsān accompanied by Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzāʿī and other notables.[339] On Salm b. Ziyād's appointment as governor of Khurāsān in 61H (see 9.46) he

[334] *SICA* 1, p. 15 for a discussion as to the dates of these issues. Bates prefers to assign Samura's issues to 54–5H.

[335] Mochiri 1987, pp. 58–9, pl. 15, no. 89.

[336] Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 183–4.

[337] *SICA* 1, p. 56. It is frustrating to be unable to come up with a certain reading or interpretation of an official's name on a coin. A conservative approach is better than presenting speculation as a proven fact.

[338] Mochiri 1987, no. 111, pl. 15, no. 89, has treated this as a countermark.

[339] Al-Tabarī, ii, 178; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 188.

brought some of the most impressive members of the ruling elite with him, including Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khuzāʿī.[340] In 62H Salm sent Talha to Sīstān as governor.[341] Talha apparently upset Salm who dismissed him from office, probably in the same year. After Salm left Khurāsān in 64H, Talha was restored to office.[342] Some sources indicate that he died in 64H, but the numismatic evidence suggests that he may have survived to 66H. The coinage of Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh was struck in Sīstān for three years.[343]

7.87 **SK**: years 64–6(H)

Fig. 9.49. Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **SK**, 65(H), 3.92g (**Pl. 85, 999**)

The motto *talha lillāh* (‘God’s Talha’) replaces the usual obverse second quarter legend, *bism allāh*.

9.50 ʿUbayd Allāh

9.53 ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

The sons of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (see 9.59) held various governorships after their father’s death. The two most prominent, Salm b. Ziyād (see 9.46) and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, resented each other. At the time of his death in 53H (or possibly 54H), Ziyād held the governorships of both Basra and Kūfa, and ʿUbayd Allāh succeeded to his father’s offices in Iraq, though not immediately. ʿUbayd Allāh’s rise to power can be seen in the governships bestowed upon him and is reflected in his coinage; first Khurāsān (which was under Basra’s jurisdiction), then Basra itself and finally Kūfa as well as Basra.

ʿUbayd Allāh was known as being hastier and more prone to violence than his father.[344] He is reviled by the Shīʿah for his part in the massacre of Husayn b. ʿAlī and his followers at Karbalāʾ in 61H.

In 54H the Caliph Muʿāwiya made ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād governor of Khurāsān.[345] He set out from Syria to Khurāsān at the end of 53H when he was only 22 years old, and stayed there for two years. During his tenure there he defeated the Turks at Bukhārā.[346] He appointed his brother ʿAbbād over Sīstān.

In 55H Muʿāwiya dismissed the governor of Basra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ghaylān, and replaced him with ʿUbayd Allāh[347] though coins struck in ʿUbayd Allāh’s name from Basra are not known before 56H.

ʿUbayd Allāh remained governor of Basra for some years. He was dismissed for a brief spell in 59H but was soon reappointed by Muʿāwiya.[348] Upon Muʿāwiya’s death in 60H his son Yazīd, as the new caliph,

[340] Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:300, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 946, is not precise about the date.

[341] c.f. Khalifa (trans.), p. 104, places Talha’s appointment in 63H.

[342] Bosworth 1968, p. 45.

[343] Until recently, the only known drachms of Talha were dated 64 and 66H, see *SICA* 1, p. 25. Finding year 65 was not unexpected, but illustrates that gaps in the series have been filled a great deal since Walker’s work in 1941 and indeed continue to be filled since Album’s Ashmolean Catalogue in 2002. Walker 1934, pp. 290–2 erroneously read drachms dated 64H as 74H, and suggested they may have related to a different person: Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwf who was appointed governor of Medina in 71H.

[344] Kennedy 2004, p. 86.

[345] Al-Tabarī, ii, 166; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 175; c.f. Khalifa (trans.), pp. 75 and 83 places this appointment in 53H and his dismissal as governor of Khurāsān in 56H. Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:280, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 917, states that Ziyād died in 54H having appointed Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh as his successor, but Muʿāwiya appointed ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād as govenor over Khurāsān and two frontiers of India.

[346] Al-Tabarī, ii, 168–9; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, pp. 177–8.

[347] Al-Tabarī, ii, 175; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 180; Khalifa (trans.), p. 83.

[348] Al-Tabarī, ii, 190; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 201.

confirmed ʿUbayd Allāh as governor of Basra and al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr as governor of Kūfa.[349] ʿUbayd Allāh was soon made governor of Kūfa as well[350] with the mandate to kill the rebel Muslim b. ʿAqīl. He was ruthless in dealing with rebels and had Muslim b. ʿAqīl executed.[351]

Husayn b. ʿAlī had supporters in Kūfa and undertook the journey from Mecca to Kūfa in 61H. He and 72 of his followers took their last stand at Karbalāʾ where they were crushed by the overwhelming numbers of ʿUbayd Allāh's men led by ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās.[352] The heads of Husayn and his butchered men were taken to ʿUbayd Allāh in Kūfa and then to the Caliph Yazīd in Syria.[353]

The Umayyads had great difficulty in maintaining control of Iraq as they were opposed by both the rival caliph, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (see 9.9), and the Khārijites (Khawārij). In 64H ʿUbayd Allāh was forced to flee from Basra to Syria soon after the death of the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd. Yazīd was succeeded by his son Muʿāwiya who reigned for only a few weeks before he died.[354] The Khārijites took advantage of this weakness in the caliphate and temporarily overran Basra.[355]

Following the departure of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, Iraq fell into the hands of the Zubayrids. In Syria ʿUbayd Allāh encouraged the Caliph Marwān to resist the Zubayrids and shortly before the caliph's death in 65H, Marwān sent ʿUbayd Allāh with a force to retake Iraq.[356]

Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd, the leader of Kūfan Shīʿah took control of Kūfa in 66H, expelling the Zubayrid governor. He vowed to avenge the death of Husayn. Under the new caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik, ʿUbayd Allāh was determined to restore Umayyad control over Iraq. It was left to one of Mukhtār's commanders, the Kūfan Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar finally to defeat and kill ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, by the river Khāzir, near Mawsil (Mosul) in 67H.[357] Justice turned full circle when the head of the murderer of Husayn was sent to al-Mukhtār in Kūfa.[358]

Some scarcer drachms were struck using the given name of ʿUbayd Allāh only.

7.4 **AKWLA**: year 56(H)
7.54 **HLA**: years 52U(H), 56(H)
7.110 **WYHC**: year 62 (H – with Farrukhzād (Farroxzād) in obverse margin)

Fig. 9.50. ʿUbayd Allāh, mint **AKWLA**, 56(H), 3.39g
(Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 23 (6 December 2012), lot 20)

Drachms in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād are known for a very large number of widespread mints, some of which added pellets to the reverse margin. In particular, the following mints are noted:

[349] Al-Tabarī, ii, 216; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 19, p. 1.

[350] Thus giving him the same authority that his father had at the time of his death.

[351] Al-Tabarī, ii, 228, 231, 285; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 19, pp. 18, 21, 79; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:289, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 932-3.

[352] Al-Tabarī, ii, 295–390; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, pp. 91–183; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:289, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 933 which states Umar b. Saʿd had 4000 men.

[353] Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:291, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 935-6.

[354] Kennedy 2004, pp. 90–1; al-Tabarī, ii, 461; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, pp. 40–1.

[355] Al-Tabarī, ii, 518; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, pp. 102–3.

[356] Al-Tabarī, ii, 578; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 20, pp. 161–2; Khalifa (trans.), p. 120 (with 60,000 troops).

[357] Kennedy 2004, p. 94; al-Tabarī, ii, 707–16; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 74–83; c.f. Khalifa (trans.), pp. 121–2 places ʿUbayd Allāh's death in 66H; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:308-9, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 956-7.

[358] Walker 1941, pp. xlvii–xlviii; *EI*^{2}, sv 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād'.

7.1 **ABZŪD-K**: years 56(H) and 57(H)
7.2 **AHM**: years 44(?) (YE = 56H), 61(H)
7.4 **AKWLA**: years 62(H) and 63(H)
7.8 **APL**: year 60(H)
7.14 **ART**: year 58(H)
7.16 **AW**: year 56(H)
7.19 **AY**: year 62(H)
7.21 **AYL**: years 29 (PYE = 61H), 59U(H)
7.22 **AYLAN**: year 2 (unknown era), 25 (PYE = 57H), 27 (PYE = 59H), 29U (PYE = 61H), 30 (PYE = 62H), 31 (PYE = 63H), 32 (PYE = 64H), 35 (PYE? = 67H), 37U (PYE? = 69H), 56(H), 60(H), 61(H)
7.26. **BBA**: year 62(H)
7.27 **BCLA**: years 26 (PYE = 58H), 52 ? (YE = 64H), 56–64(H), 67U(H), 68U(H)
7.28 **BH**: years 60–3(H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: year 47 (YE = 59H), 51 (YE = 63H), 53(YE = 65H), 55(H or YE = 67H), 67(H)
7.36 **DA**: year 26 (PYE = 58H), 43 (frozen year, *c*.55–6H), 45 (YE = 57H), 46 (YE = 58H), 47 (YE = 59H), 48 (YE = 60H), 49 (YE = 61H), 50 (YE = 62H), 51 (YE = 63H), 52 (YE = 64H)
7.41 **DŠ**: years 57–61(H)
7.42.1 **DŠT**: years 61–4(H)
7.42.2 **DŠT'**: year 56(H)
7.44 **GD**: years 27 (PYE = 59H), 29 (PYE = 61H), 35 (PYE = 67H), 38U (uncertain era), 57(H), 60–3(H), 68(H)
7.54 **HLA**: year 56(H)
7.58.1–2 **KLMAN** / **KLMAN'**: years 56U(H), 58(H)
7.58.4 **KLMAN-AN'**: year 62(H)
7.58.8 **KLMAN-ANWAT** / **KLMAN-ANWAT'**: year 63(H)
7.58.15 **KLMAN-BN**: year 60(H)
7.58.18 **KLMAN-GLM**: year 59(H)
7.58.19 **KLMAN-GY**: years 59(H), 60(H), 61(H), 63(H), 64(H)
7.58.21 **KLMAN-HPYC**: years 59(H), 60(H)
7.58.23 **KLMAN-NAL**: years 59–64(H)
7.58.26 **KLMAN-NAW**: year 60(H)
7.58.27 **KLMAN-NAWGY**: years 59(H), 60(H), 62?(H)
7.58.32 **KLMAN-SLC'**: years 60(H), 61(H), 63(H)
7.61 **LAM**: year 63(H)
7.67 **ML**: year 27 (PYE = 59H)
7.71 **MYAP**: year 59(H)
7.75 **NY**: years 54(H), 56-60(H), 62(H), 63(H)
7.87 **SK**: years 56(H), 57U(H), 58U(H), 63U(H)
7.89 **ST**: years 49 (YE = 61H), 52 (YE = 64H), 54(H), 56(H), 57(H), 59–61(H), 62U(H)
7.93.1–2 **SYW** / **SYW'**: years 59–61(H), 63(H)
7.94 **SYWKAN**: year 63(H)
7.95 **SYWK'**: years 54(H), 59(H), 60(H)
7.101 **ŠY**: year 30 (PYE = 62H)
7.106 **TSPWN**: year 63(H)
7.107 **WH**: year 26 (PYE = 58H)
7.109 **WYH**: year 27 (PYE = 59H), 63(H)
7.114 **YZ**: years 26 (PYE = 58H), 49 (YE = 61H), 50 (YE = 62H), 57(H), 60(H), 62(H)

Copper. Ubayd Allāh also struck copper issues, which are scarce and all from Fārs. Regular issues in the style of drachms with fire altar and attendants on the reverse are known with mints.

7.14 **ART**: year 65(H)

7.89 **ST**: years 57(H), 59(H), 61(H), 67(H) and 69(H). In addition there is an undated type from Istakhr (**ST**) with a bird on the obverse and a four-line Pahlavi legend on the reverse[359]

Basra. Drachms with over 40 mint signatures are known in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh but Basra (**BCLA**) struck for the most years and in the greatest numbers. Their obverse marginal legend is the standard *bism allāh* but they have a wide variety of ornaments, particularly in the obverse margin. Three eras are deployed on his coins: Post Yazdgard Era (26 = 58H), Yazdgard Era (52 = 64H) and Hijrī (56–64H). The issues cease in 64H when ʿUbayd Allāh lost control of Basra and fled to Syria.[360]

Iraq. A number of new mints started in Iraq under ʿUbayd Allāh all striking drachms.

7.4 **AKWLA** (Kūfa) dated 62–3H where he had been appointed governor in 60H.

7.28 **BH** (60–3H) not yet conclusively identified

7.41-2 **DŠ** and **DŠT** may both represent Dasht-i Maysān in Southern Iraq. This is not certain and drachms are known with the same dates for both signatures under ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, such as for 61H illustrated in Figs 9.53.1-2.

7.61 **LAM** (Rām-Hormizd) in Khūzistān struck a, so far unique, drachm dated 63H, the only known Arab-Sasanian coin with that mint signature

7.71 **MYAP** dated 59H, possibly a place within Maysān district, an otherwise unknown mint signature

7.94 **SYWKAN** (63H) not yet conclusively identified

7.93 **SYW / SYW'** (59–61, 63H) not yet conclusively identified

7.106 **TSPWN** (Ctesiphon) dated 63H, an otherwise unknown mint signature

Fig. 9.53.1. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, mint **DŠ**, 61(H), 3.92g
(British Museum, BM 1982, 0524.11)

Fig. 9.53.2. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, mint **DŠT**, 61(H), three pellets in Q1 reverse, 3.80g
(British Museum, BM 1982, 0524.12)

[359] **Pl. 121, 1438**; Gyselen 2009 – not recorded.

[360] Walker 1941, p. 60, M.38 and T.8 referred to the possibility of drachms in his name dated 67 and 68H based on unconfirmed references in other works, but it is very doubtful coins were struck there in his name at that time.

Fārs and Media. These regions are well represented under ʿUbayd Allāh. Some coins have the Pahlavi word **yzʾn** or **yzdʾn** (Gods)[361] in the first quarter margin e.g.:

7.2 **AHM** (Hamadān), years 44 (?) (PYE = 56H), 61H
7.22 **AYLAN** (Hulwān), years 27 (PYE = 61H), 30 (PYE = 62H), 31 (PYE = 63H)
7.44 **GD** (Jayy / Gay), year 35 (PYE = 67H)
7.101 **ŠY** (Shīrāz), year 30 (PYE = 62H)

Some issues have additional words in the obverse margin, e.g.:

7.14 **ART** (Ardashīr-Khurra) year 58H has the Pahlavi **nʾw** (?) in the third quarter
7.22 **AYLAN** (Hulwān) dated 2 (uncertain era) has, instead of *bism allāh* in the second quarter margin, *al-rahmān* (‘the Compassionate’), a reference to the second of 99 names of God
7.34 **BYŠ** (Bīshāpūr) year 55H apparently has *allāh al-malik* in place of *bism allāh* and an issue dated 53H has *rabbī* in the third quarter
7.41 **DŠ** dated 59 and 60H (but not 61H) have additions in the reverse margin such as the Pahlavi letter **p**
7.44 **GD** (Jayy) year 62H has **štwlʾm** in the first quarter and coins dated 27 (PYE = 59H), 60–3 and 68H have **gm** added in the first quarter
7.114 **YZ** (Yazd) year 62H has **m** added in the third quarter

Fig. 9.53.3. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, mint **AYLAN**, year 2
(Warden-Album collection)

Fārs: *Dārābgerd district*. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād is well represented by coins, including those of mint signatures **DA** with the frozen year 43H. If the latter were struck under him they must have been struck in the period 54 to 58H. These coins often have **gm** added on the reverse margin.

Kirmān. A significant number of mints within Kirmān are known in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād for the period 58 to 64H though many of these dates are unknown for particular mint signatures. This is no doubt because the region was only tenuously and intermittently under Umayyad control. Indeed many issues are known in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr from 61H. Coins of ʿUbayd Allāh rarely have an obverse marginal legend beyond *bism allāh* (unlike those of ʿAbd Allāh) but a few do, e.g.:

7.1 **ABZŪD-K** (56–7H) not yet conclusively identified, but possiblywithin Kirmān
7.58.32 **KLMAN-SLC**, 61H with **m**, 63H with **gm** / **ndʾ** (?)
7.58.21 **KLMAN-HPYC**, 60H with **gwm**
7.58.23 **KLMAN-NAL**, 61H where the Pahlavi word **pylwč** (*pērōz*, ‘victorious’) is found in front of the usual name legend. This may commemorate ʿUbayd Allāh’s massacre of Husayn and his followers at Karbalā’[362]

[361] *SICA* 1, p. 18.

[362] **Pl. 63, 737**; Baldwin’s Islamic Coin Auction 26 (6 August 2014), lot 12.

Fig. 9.53.4. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, mint **KLMAN-NAL**, 61(H), with **pylwč**, 3.90g (**Pl. 63, 737**)

Khurāsān. ʿUbayd Allāh's tenure as governor of Khurāsān is marked by his issues dated 56H for Herāt (**HLA**) with his name ʿUbayd Allāh to the right of the bust and his father's name Ziyād to the left of the bust.[363] In addition there are isolated issues of **APL** dated 60H and **BBA** dated 62H.

Walker published what he described to be a remarkable coin of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād without mint or date.[364] It would in fact appear to be a rather crude modern forgery.

Most of the historical sources clearly state that ʿUbayd Allāh was killed in 67H.[365] An issue from Jayy (**GD**) dated 68H, must have been posthumous if the written texts are accurate.

9.51 ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān

ʿUbayd Allāh was the son of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Samura b. Habīb b. ʿAbd Shams, a Qurayshi, who had been the first Arab governor of Sind (d. 50H, Basra). During ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad's rebellion against the Umayyads, ʿUbayd Allāh sided with the rebels. In 83H after the battle of Dayr al-Jamājim, ʿUbayd Allāh took control of Basra from al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf's cousin, Ayyūb b. al-Hakam b. Abī ʿAqīl.[366] ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (see 9.17) was defeated at Maskin and ʿUbayd Allāh fled with him via Kirmān to Zaranj and Bust in Sīstān. In 83H he deserted ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad with 2000 of his troops and joined ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbbās al-Hāshimī, who became leader of the rebellion and captured Herāt. By 85H the rebellion was finally suppressed. The coinage of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al Rahmān is rare.

7.27 **BCLA**: year 83(H)
7.58.1 **KLMAN**: year 84(H)

Fig. 9.51. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, mint **BCLA**, 83(H), 4.02g (**Pl. 18, 207**)

From 79 to 82H post-reform Islamic coinage had been struck in Basra. ʿUbayd Allāh therefore reverted to the older Arab-Sasanian types in 83H. The Arabic legend *amara allāh biʾl-wafā* ('God commands with justice') is found in the second quarter obverse margin of all his coins. The issue of Basra (**BCLA**) dated 83H fits in with the historical sources which state the ʿUbayd Allāh briefly took control of the city that year.

9.52 ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra

Between 51 and 53H ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra was Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān's appointed governor over Sīstān, but was recalled upon Ziyād's death.[367] He had been ordered by Ziyād (see 9.59) to kill the Zorastrian priest

[363] Mochiri 1987, p. 52 regards these as Khārijite issues.

[364] Walker 1941, p. xlviiii, no. 75.

[365] c.f. Khalifa (trans.), pp. 121–2, places his death in 66H.

[366] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1098–9; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 46.

[367] Bosworth 1968, pp. 21, 42; c.f. Khalifa (trans.), pp. 42–3, 75 places the appointment in 50H, but agrees that he was dismissed in 53H. Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:276, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 911states that he was Ziyād's agent in Basra.

Shāpūr and destroy the sacred fires but the caliphal court instructed him not to carry out these acts.[368] ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra sided with Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh (see 9.30) who had been sent by ʿAbd al-Malik to take Basra from Musʿab b. al-Zubayr. For this, Musʿab described ʿUbayd Allāh in the following terms:

> 'Son of a stray! You are nothing but the son of a bitch that the dogs mounted one after another, so that she whelped ruddy, and black, and blond – from each sire a pup resembling it. Your father was nothing but a slave who came to the Messenger of God from the stronghold of Tā'if. Then you gave testimony, claiming that Abū Sufyān whored with your mother. By God, if I live, I will indicate your correct ancestry.'[369]

After the defeat of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra sought the governorship of Basra, but it was given to Humrān b. Abān (see 9.29).[370]

In 78H the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik put al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (see 9.25) in control of Khurāsān and Sīstān. He in turn appointed ʿUbayd Allād b. Abī Bakra as his representative in Sīstān, with the instruction to destroy the Zunbīl (alternatively known as Rutbīl) and his forces. In 79H ʿUbayd Allād b. Abī Bakra moved against Zunbīl in Zābulistān, then towards Kābul, but found himself in a weak overstretched position and had to make peace terms with Zunbīl. Only 5,000 of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra's original army returned to Bust and the expedition became known as the *Jaysh al-Fanā*' ('the Army of Perdition / Destruction'). He died soon after in about 79H.[371] The coinage of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra is confined to Sīstān.

7.87 **SK**: years 79(H), 80(H), 81(H) plus various issues with blundered date legends

These drachms of 79 and 80H are consistent with ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra's governorship in Sīstān as having covered both years.[372] As the written sources indicate that he died in 79H, the issues dated 80H and 81H may have been struck under his son Abū Bardhaʿa who took over the army after his father's death. Another possibility is that some of the issues dated 79H and all of those dated 80H and 81H are later imitations.[373] Yet another possibility is that the date in the written sources is not accurate, and he in fact died in 80H or even 81H. The coins of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra were rare until a hoard of his coins appeared on the market in the 1980s. Those of 80H are relatively rare. The issue of 81H is very rare. Most drachms have the obverse marginal legend *bism allāh* / *rabbī* ('in the name of God, My Lord'). There is a rare issue dated 79H with the obverse marginal legend of **py**(?) / *bism allāh* / *ʿubayd allāh lillāh* ('Ubayd Allāh for God') and another without **py**.

Fig. 9.52. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra, mint **SK**, 79(H), with *ʿubayd allāh lillāh* in Q3 obverse, 3.91g (**Pl. 87, 1024**)

[368] Bosworth 1968, p. 24.

[369] Al-Tabarī, ii, 801; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 176.

[370] Al-Tabarī, ii, 817; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 192–3.

[371] Bosworth 1968, pp. 52–5; Bosworth 1973, pp. 268–83; al-Tabarī, ii, 1033, 1036; al-Tabarī (trans.), pp. 178, 183; Khalifa (trans.), p. 141 (79H).

[372] Walker 1934, pp. 288–90 erroneously read the issue dated 79H as 71H.

[373] *SICA* 1, pp. 33–4.

9.54 ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh

ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar al-Taymī alongside his father took part in the conquest of Fārs, having captured Istakhr in 29H after his father was killed in front of the city walls.[374] He later became a supporter of the Zubayrids and fought with Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (see 9.41) in the final defeat of Mukhtār in 67H in southern Iraq.[375] His initial appointment over Basra must have occurred in 65H judging by the numismatic evidence, but the historical sources are inconsistent and it is not clear when this occurred.

The written sources state that in 68H Musʿab appointed ʿUmar as commander of Fārs. The Azāriqah branch of the Khārijites attacked him but he defeated them at Bīshāpūr (Sābūr) and they went on to Istakhr where he beat them again. The Azāriqahs then moved to the neighbourhood of Ispahān (Isfahān) and Kirmān, to regroup and strengthen. They re-entered Fārs, by-passing Bīshāpūr and then going through Arrajān. ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh then followed the Azāriqah to Ahwāz, but was unable to defeat them. The Azāriqah caused much damage, even overrunning Madā'in.[376]

ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh also fought against ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Hurr, who had rebelled against Musʿab b. al-Zubayr. ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh was not able to defeat ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Hurr but ultimately the latter was killed in battle in 68H.[377]

ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh is referred to as being Musʿab's agent in Fārs in 71H.[378] After the fall of the Zubayrids ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh must have switched his allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik. In 73H the latter sent him, together with forces from Basra and Kūfa, to fight the Khārijite leader, Abū Fudayk, in Bahrain in 73H. Abū Fudayk was defeated.[379]

The coinage of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh is confined to Southern Iraq, Kirmān and Fārs.

7.14 **ART**: years 68–70(H)
7.27 **BCLA**: years 65–6(H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: years 67–70(H)
7.58.1 **KLMAN**: year 65(H)
7.89 **ST**: years 64, 67–70(H), 71U(H), 72(H)
7.103 **TART**: year 68(H)
7.110 **WYHC**: years 67–9, 71–2(H)

Copper. In addition there are copper issues from Fārs in the name of ʿUmar. It is likely that these refer to ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh.

7.14 **ART**: year 60(H)
7.89 **ST**: Undated

Fig. 9.54. ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh, mint **ST**, 70(H), 3.96g (**Pl. 102, 1201**)

[374] Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:192, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 803.
[375] Al-Tabarī, ii, 720, 722, 725–6; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 87, 89, 92–3.
[376] Al-Tabarī, ii, 753–6; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 123–5.
[377] Al-Tabarī, ii, 775; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 144–5.
[378] Al-Tabarī, ii, 807; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 182.
[379] Al-Tabarī, ii, 852–3; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, pp. 232–3; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:326, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 974

The drachms of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh were primarily struck in Fārs, Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) being the most common mint. These have the Arabic legend *lillāh al-hamd* (‘Praise be to God’) in the second quarter of the margin in place of the standard *bism allāh*. His issues from Istakhr (**ST**) occasionally have a Pahlavi word which may be transliterated as **dwd’n** in the first quarter of the obverse margin (e.g. in 70 and 72H). Dates are sometimes abbreviated. For example coins dated 68H for **ST** are written as **hššst** rather than **hštšst**, thus easily confused with **šstšsl** for 66H.[380] His issues dated 65 to 67H show that his appointments, or authority over specific areas, were a few years prior to his being sent to Fārs as commander in 68H. His rare coins from outside Fārs, Basra (**BCLA**) and Kirmān (**KLMAN**), are dated 65H and 66H only. They bear the usual *bism allāh* formula.

9.55 ʿUmāra b. Tamīm

ʿUmāra b. Tamīm al-Lakhmī was an army commander under al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (see 9.25). In 82H he fought under al-Hajjāj against ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (known as Ibn al-Ashʿath) (see 9.17) who had rebelled.[381] In 83H, after the battle of Maskin, ʿAbd al-Rahmān fled towards Sīstān. ʿAbd al-Rahmān was defeated at Susa (al-Sūs) in Khūzistān by ʿUmāra who had been sent after him by Al-Hajjāj. ʿAbd al-Rahmān then went on to Kirmān and finally Sīstān. ʿUmāra pursued ʿAbd al-Rahmān into Sīstān, and at about the same time ʿAbd al-Rahmān’s forces split, with some going to Khurāsān.[382] On the day of the battle of al-Zāwiyah in 83H, al-Hajjāj ordered ʿUmāra to kill all the captives taken in the battle.[383] On one version of events it was ʿUmāra who in 84H went to the Zunbīl (Rutbīl) and got him to hand over ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (Ibn al-Ashʿath), who died on the journey to al-Hajjāj.[384]

In 85H ʿUmāra remained active in Sīstān. He defeated and granted safe conduct to a group of 500 rebels led by ʿAlqamah b. ʿAmr.[385]

According to al-Yaʿqūbī, although al-Hajjāj had appointed ʿUmāra governor of Sīstān, the Zunbīl objected and made al-Hajjāj revoke the appointment.[386] If this is correct it shows how weak the position of the Arabs was in Sīstān.[387] The coins in the name of Mismaʿ b. Mālik dated 85H and 86H are consistent with ʿUmāra having been replaced in 85H.[388] The scarce coinage of ʿUmāra b. Tamīm is confined to Sīstān.[389]

7.87 **SK**: years 84(H), 85(H)

Fig. 9.55. ʿUmāra b. Tamīm, mint **SK**, 84(H), 3.75g (**Pl. 91, 1067**)

[380] **Pl. 102, 1196**.

[381] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1076; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 25.

[382] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1101; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, pp. 48–9.

[383] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1123; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 68.

[384] Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:334, (trans.), vol.3, pp. 984-5.

[385] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1133; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, pp. 77–8; Bosworth 1968, p. 62.

[386] Al-Yaʿqūbī (Geography), 283, (trans.), p. 118.

[387] Bosworth 1968, p. 68.

[388] c.f. Khalifa, p. 164 in his list of governors of Sīstān states that ʿUmāra b. Tamīm was appointed by al-Hajjāj but later dismissed. He then lists ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Sulaym as being appointed in 84H.

[389] This perception may change as there was a report from a dealer in Pakistan that in 2015 he had been offered two groups of drachms with the Sīstān mint signature mainly of the anonymous Khusrau type, but with about 15 in the name of ʿUmāra b. Tamīm. The first reportedly comprised more than 200 drachms and the second around 100. Quite a number of examples of ʿUmāra’s drachms dated 84 and 85H appeared on the market in 2016: e.g. Album Rare Coins auction 24 (14 January 2016), lot 138 (85H); Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lots 10–12 (84–5H); Album Rare Coins auction 25 (19 May 2016), lot 102 (85H). Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:334, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 984-5.

The drachm dated 84H indicates that ʿUmāra may have been appointed a year earlier than indicated by some of the sources.[390] His drachms usually bear the obverse marginal legend of *bism allāh rabbī*, but some dated 84H have in addition **nywk'** in the first quarter. The Pahlavi word **nywk'** represents **nēk** (*nēvak*), meaning good. This may be a reference to ʿUmāra himself or to the coin, i.e. a good coin. The word appears some 21 years later on the coinage of the Dābūyid Ispahbads of Tabaristān, this time as a standard feature of that coinage from 106H (PYE 73, Ispahbad Farrukhān).[391] There are two variants of date legends. The 80 in 84 and 85 is either written out in full as **hšt'**t** (80) or shortened as **hšt'** (8).

9.56 Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh

In 72H, Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd was sent by his brother Khālid b. Allāh (see 9.30) with a large army to fight the Khārijite Abū Fudayk, who had taken Bahrain (al-Bahrayn). Umayya was defeated and returned to Basra.[392]

Despite this military defeat, in 74H the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik appointed his personal friend Umayya as governor of Khurāsān.[393] On the one hand he was noted as being a generous and easy-going man, but on the other hand he is recorded as having been oppressive to the people of Khurāsān.[394] As governor he tried to restore some of the Umayyads' control and prestige, but was ultimately unsuccessful. In 77H he failed to dislodge the rebel Mūsa b. ʿAbd Allāh from the fortress and Oxus crossing point, of Tirmidh. He crossed over the Oxus River to campaign, but he and his forces were surrounded and he had to withdraw and return to Marw.[395] His position as governor became untenable and in 78H the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik recalled him from Khurāsān and placed both Khurāsān and Sīstān within the jurisdiction of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (see 9.25).[396] In 79H al-Muhallab (see 9.36) arrived in Khurāsān as governor and Umayya left the region.[397] The coinage of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh is confined to Khurāsān and Sīstān.

7.6 **ANBYR**: year 64 (YE = 76H)
7.26 **BBA**: year 77(H)
7.55 **HWLASAN**: year 74(H)
7.69.1–2 **MLWLWT** / **MLWLWT'**: year 64 (YE = 76H)
7.97 **SYZAPTAN**: year 73(H)
7.98 **SYZSTN**: year 73(H)

The coinage of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh centres on Khurāsān. Only drachms of **BBA** dated 77H are known in any quantity. They help locate the mint signature **BBA** to Khurāsān, at least for Arab-Sasanian coins. They have the usual *bism allāh* in the second quarter of the obverse margin. In addition, there is a Pahlavi word which can be transliterated as **dʾwynt'** or **yʾnbwt'** in the third quarter. If the latter reading is adopted it forms the name or epithet Gyānbūd.[398] It is unusual for drachms to bear the full name of a region or province, apart from Kirmān. The issue dated 74H with **HWLASAN** as mint signature for Khurāsān is extremely rare. It has two varieties, one with *bism allāh* as the marginal legend, the other with the short *shahāda*, in the form of *bism allāh lā ilāh illā allāh muhammad rasūl allāh*, omitting *wahdahu* before *muhammad* ('In the name of God, there is no god but Allāh, Muhammad is the Messenger of God').

[390] *SICA* 1, p. 34.

[391] Malek 2004, pp. 43–4.

[392] Al-Tabarī, ii, 829; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 21, p. 206; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:316, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 974

[393] Al-Tabarī, ii, 859; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 7; Bosworth 1968, pp. 49–50.

[394] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1029; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 172.

[395] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1031; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 175.

[396] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1032; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 176. According to Balādhurī, Ansāb, pp. xi, 266, 310f, Umayya was dismissed because of his avoidance of raiding and corresponding decrease in plunder.

[397] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1039; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 186.

[398] Gyselen 2009, pp. 75–6 for copper coins with the same word.

His other drachms of **ANBYR** (Ambēr / Anbīr), **MLWLWT** (Merv Rūd / Marw al Rūd) and **SYZAPTAN / SYZSTN** (Sīstān or other location in Khurāsān) all have *bism allāh* and no other legend in the obverse margin. His coins bear a mixture of YE and Hijrī dates, with those dated 64 being YE dates equivalent to 76H, which accord with literary accounts of his governorship of Khurāsān.

Fig. 9.56.1. Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **ANBYR**, 64 YE = (76H), 3.76g
(British Museum, Walker 209)

Fig. 9.56.2. Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **SYZSTN**, 73(H), 4.21g
(British Museum, Walker 212)

9.57 Yazdgard

For a limited time the Arabs continued to strike drachms in the name and style of the last Sasanian king, Yazdgard III who was killed in 651 (31H = YE20). This represented continuity and such coins would presumably have been readily acceptable by the local population. Where these coins have no Arabic marginal inscription on the obverse, it can be difficult to ascertain by whom and under whose authority such coins were struck. As noted below, the coins in the name of Yazdgard were struck by a relatively small number of mints.

Type 1: *bism allāh* in second quarter obverse margin.

Coins in the name of Yazdgard with *bism allāh* in the second quarter margin are generally very scarce save for the drachms of **SK** dated year 20, which are among the most common coins in the series. Year 20 is probably a frozen date used for several years.

7.14 **ART**: year 25 (YE = 36H)
7.30 **BN**: years 20 (YE = 31H – both for *bism allāh* and *bism* only), 26 (YE = 37H)
7.72 **NAL**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.87 **SK**: years 20 (YE = 31H), 25 (YE = 36H), 63(H)

Fig. 9.57.1. Anonymous Yazdgard type, mint **SK**, 20 (YE = 31H or later), 3.74g (**Pl. 81, 951**)

Type 2a: *jayyid* in second quarter obverse margin

These coins are all rare. Year 20 is probably a frozen date used from 31H.[399] It is possible that the coins were struck at a place or places other than those indicated by the mint signature. There are two versions of the epigraphy of the Arabic word. The first version is clearly *jayyid*. On the second the inscription is equivocal, but numismatists have read this as *jayyid* also.[400]

7.30 **BN**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.36 **DA**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.67 **ML**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.70 **MY**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.72 **NAL**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.75 **NYŠ**: year 20 (YE = 31H)
7.87 **SK**: year 21? (YE = 32H)
7.101 **ŠY**: year 33 (H or YE = 44H)
7.111 **WYŠ**: year 20 (YE = 31H)

Fig. 9.57.2. Anonymous Yazdgard type, mint **NAL**, 20 (YE = 31H or later), with *jayyid* in Q2 obverse, 3.90g (**Pl. 77, 904**)

Type 2b: *jayyid* in first quarter reverse margin

7.67 **ML**: year 20 (YE = 31H)

Type 3: Usual Yazdgard obverse but without marginal legend[401]

Occasionally these drachms have additional pellets in the margin.

7.26 **BBA**: year 27 YE = 38H)
7.30 **BN**: year 32 (YE = 43H), 33? (YE = 44H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: year 28 (YE = 39H)
7.36 **DA**: undated[402] years 24 (YE = 35H), 35 (YE = 46H)
7.44 **GD**: year 21U (YE = 32H), 30 (YE = 41H)
7.45 **GLM**: years 25 (YE = 36H), 29 (YE = 40H), 33 (YE = 44H)
7.63 **LD**: year 21U (YE = 32H)
7.70 **MY**: year 35 (YE = 46H)
7.72 **NAL**: year 37 (YE = 48H)
7.75 **NY**: year 27 (YE = 38H), 30 (YE 41), 33 (YE 44)
7.101 **ŠY**: year 27 (YE = 38H)

[399] Mochiri 1987, p. 79 treats these as having PYE dates and being struck by the Khārijites. This is a controversial view.

[400] For example **DA**, year 20 (British Museum; Walker 1941, p. 1, no. a), the word is usually read as *jayyid* (e.g. Nikitin and Roth 1995, no. 13), but Bates (personal communication) doubts this reading and considers it may be the Pahlavi letters **šy**.

[401] Mochiri 1987, p. 62 treats the dates on these coins as PYE.

[402] Mochiri 2006, p. 54, no. 4, pl. 3, no. 13. This coin has what appears to be *allāh* written in place of the date, Mochiri assumed it to have replaced 20.

Fig. 9.57.3. Anonymous Yazdgard type, mint **NAL**, 37 (YE? = 48H), 3.47g (**Pl. 77, 907**)

These drachms in the name of Yazdgard have years post-dating his death in year 20 but no marginal legend. Thus they are not overtly struck by the Arabs. As Tyler-Smith has pointed out these issues are difficult to explain and one cannot be certain whether the dates are intended to be Yazdgard Era or Hijrī.[403] Some of the coins dated year 20 may also have been struck by the Arabs or by a local administration unconnected with both Yazdgard and the Arabs.

Type 4: *lillāh* ʾ**pd** in second quarter obverse margin

7.87 **SK**: year 20 (YE = 31H)

Fig. 9.57.4. Anonymous Yazdgard type, mint **SK**, 20 (YE = 31H or later), 4.08g (**Pl. 81, 952**)

9.58 Yazīd b. al-Muhallab

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was a member of the powerful Azd clan from Yemen, who were prominent under the Umayyads, particularly in Khurāsān where his father was governor. He was born around 53H.

In 78H, after defeating Qatarī (see 9.45) and his Khārijite force, al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (see 9.36) was instructed by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (see 9.25) to return to Iraq for interview and to leave his sons in command in Kirmān. Al-Muhallab appointed Yazīd and gave him instructions on how to administer his new command.[404]

In 80H he was sent by his father al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra to campaign in Khuttalān, a princedom on the Upper Oxus. He was successful and made a truce with al-Sabal.[405]

In 82H Yazīd's father died of an illness after having appointed him as his deputy in Khurāsān. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf confirmed Yazīd as governor.[406] Al-Hajjāj did not like the al-Muhallabs and would not have confirmed the appointment if he had had any choice but he needed them to deal with conflicts in Khurāsān and Sīstān.

In 83H, Ibn al-ʿAshāth (ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad) (see 9.17) returned to Sīstān and joined the local ruler, Zunbīl. His forces split and some went to Herāt led by ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Samura. Yazīd moved against them, but was reluctant at first to engage. Ultimately he defeated them. Those who were from his Yemeni tribe he let go free. The rest he sent to al-Hajjāj, where most of them

[403] Tyler-Smith 2000, pp. 142–3, which lists various possibilities.

[404] Miles 1960 citing *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad, Mubarrad, p. 696.

[405] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1041; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 22, p. 188.

[406] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1083, 1085; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, pp. 32–3. Al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:330, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 980-93 states that al-Muhallab had appointed Yazīd as his successor on al-Hajjāj's instruction. Al-Hajjāj then resolved to dismiss Yazīd.

met their fate which was execution.[407] Yazīd was wise enough to remain in Khurāsān and did not obey al-Hajjāj's repeated summonses for him to go to Wāsit.[408]

In 84H Yazīd conquered the fortress of Nīzak at Bādghīs (near Herāt).[409] Despite his successes, in 85H al-Hajjāj had him dismissed as governor of Khurāsān, but the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik retained his confidence in the al-Muhallabs. Yazīd was replaced by al-Mufaddal b. al-Muhallab (a half-brother),[410] who in turn lasted about nine months as governor before being succeeded by Qutaybah b. Muslim.[411]

On the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik's death he was succeeded as caliph by Walīd (86–96H). This gave al-Hajjāj the opportunity to make his move against the al-Muhallabs. He dismissed al-Mufaddal from Khurāsān, another brother Habīb lost his governorship of Kirmān, their brother ʿAbd al-Malik was removed from the *Shurta* in Kirmān; and Yazīd and his sons were imprisoned.[412]

In 90H Yazīd and his brothers managed to escape from prison and obtained the protection of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik in Ramla, Palestine. Yazīd had paid three million drachms of the fines imposed on him (out of six million) by al-Hajjāj. He stayed with Sulaymān until al-Hajjāj died in 95H.[413] In 96H Sulaymān succeeded to the caliphate. This brought about a change in Yazīd's fortunes. Yazīd was given al-Hajjāj's positions in Iraq and governed from Wāsit. From there he returned to Khurāsān as governor. His influence declined on the death of the Caliph Sulaymān and under the Caliph ʿUmar, Yazīd was removed from his offices and imprisoned. Under the next caliph, Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a major rift occurred. Yazīd escaped from prison and rebelled against the Umayyads before being killed in 102H.[414] Coinage of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab is scarce.[415]

7.6 **ANBYR**: year 84(H)
7.46 **GLM-KLMAN**: year 78(H)
7.58.19 **KLMAN-GY**: year 78(H)
7.58.21 **KLMAN-HPYC**: year 78(H)
7.58.23 **KLMAN-NAL**: year 78(H)
7.58.27 **KLMAN-NAWGY**: year 78(H)
7.58.31 **KLMAN-SLC**: year 78(H)

Fig. 9.58.1. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, mint **GLM-KLMAN**, 78(H), 3.98g (**Pl. 51, 598**)

Yazīd's coinage is only a partial reflection of the governorships he held. The issues from mints in Kirmān in 78H reflect the temporary position granted to him by his father in that year. The only known issue reflecting his governorship in Khurāsān is a very rare issue dated 84H from Anbīr / Ambēr (**ANBYR**).[416]

[407] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1109; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 3, p. 56; Bosworth 1968, pp. 62, 64.

[408] Bosworth 1968, p. 64.

[409] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1129; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 74.

[410] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1138–44; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, pp. 83–8.

[411] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1179; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 126.

[412] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1182; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 129; Bosworth 1968, pp. 64–5; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:344-5, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 997.

[413] Al-Tabarī, ii, 1217; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 23, p. 163.

[414] Bosworth 1968, pp. 66–70; Wellhausen 1927, pp. 312–18.

[415] For a discussion of Yazīd and his coinage, see Mochiri *ENIS* II, chapter 15.

[416] At the time of Walker's 1941 *Catalogue* no issues were known in his name. Walker 1952a and Miles 1960, published drachms in his name.

Fig. 9.58.2. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, mint **ANBYR**, 84H, 3.45g
(Shah Firzan collection = Baldwin's of St James's (12 June 2019), lot 2012)

The coin of Anbīr / Ambēr (**ANBYR**) is very unusual. In the obverse right field the name of the governor is written in Arabic; in the margin *bism allāh* / *al-aʿzim* is found in the second and third quarters. The helmet of the personage is in a different style from the usual type.[417] Instead of the usual reverse, there is a standing figure of a warrior wearing chain mail armour and holding both a sword and spear,[418] and on the reverse margin is the place name Juzjān in the Arabic inscription: *duriba* (*zarb*) *jizya biʾl-jūzjān*, ('struck for tribute in al-Juzjān') as well as a Bactrian inscription naming the local ruler, Zhulād Gōzgān. This issue can probably be regarded as Arab-Hephthalite,[419] given the presence of legends in three languages: Pahlavi, Arabic and Bactrian. It is likely that this issue is in some way linked to the capture of Nīzak in 84H. The reference to *jizya* (a form of poll-tax paid by non-Muslims) indicates that the coinage was used to pay tribute to the conquering Muslims. It is not clear whether it was the Muslims who struck the coins or Zhulād Gōzgān. The standing figure may be the caliph, but it is could be Yazīd b. Muhallab depicted as a warrior. The coin is one of the earliest surviving portraits of a warrior from the time of the Islamic conquest.[420]

At least six mint signatures representing mint places within Kirmān are known for Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.[421] Instead of *bism allāh* in the second quarter margin on the obverse, there is the Arabic legend *quwwa yazīdu billāh* ('strength increases through God'; or 'the strength of Yazīd is in Allāh').[422] Pahlavi words or letters are often added in the obverse third quarter margin: **šyl** (for Širgān?) on drachms with **KLMAN-HPYC'** and **KLMAN-NAL**, **šyl nʾw** on a drachm of **KLMAN-NAWGY**; **slc** on a drachm of **KLMAN-SLC**. On the latter two issues the extra letters in part mirror the mint place on the reverse. The official's name is written in Pahlavi in the obverse right field.

9.59 Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Ziyād was initially known as Ziyād b. Abīhi in view of his uncertain paternity, meaning Ziyād son of his father. The Caliph Muʿāwiya adopted him as his brother in 44H, hence the name Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, a move designed to bring him within his fold rather than the ʿAlid movement.[423] This was only two years after Ziyād had locked himself in the fortress at Istakhr for a year in 42H, then having made peace with Muʿāwiya, went to Kūfa.[424]

Ziyād was regarded as stern and capable of subduing the provinces over which the Umayyads had often only tenuous if not intermittent control. Thus in 45H he was appointed governor of Basra as well as the

[417] Walker 1952a, pp. 106–9; *SICA* 1, p. 41; Morton and Eden auction 73 (23 April 2015), lot 13 (with useful notes on this type).

[418] The spear is likely to be a *rumh*, used by the Arabs as a long shafted weapon: Schulze and Oddy 2015, p. 200.

[419] Although described as Arab-Hephthalite in the numismatic literature, the Hephthalites may not have had anything to do with the issue, as Zhulād Gōzgān may have been a local ruler unrelated to the Hephthalites.

[420] Schulze and Oddy 2015, p. 200.

[421] *SICA* 1, p. 33.

[422] Miles 1960, p. 93.

[423] Humphreys 2006, p. 89, this proclamation was opposed by members of Muʿāwiya's family, including his son Yazīd.

[424] Al-Tabarī, ii, 25; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, pp. 29–30.

eastern regions of Khurāsān and Sīstān. His suppression of any dissent in Basra put its citizens in fear of him.[425] Ziyād's name first appears on drachms with Hijrī dates for two rare issues dated 47H from Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) and Maysān (**MY**). This is the last known date of his predecessor, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir's, coinage (see 9.2). These towns would have been administered from Basra.

In 49H or possibly 50H, the Caliph Muʿāwiya expanded the area of responsibility for Ziyād by making him governor of Kūfa as well. This made him the first governor to control both garrison cities in the east at the same time.[426] No drachms dated 48H, struck in Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān's, name are known. 49H is represented by very rare issues with mint signature **SYLY** and **BYŠ** (Bīshāpūr).[427] He spent six months in Kūfa and Basra alternatively and when absent would leave the administration to a deputy governor. In 50H he appointed the brutal Samura b. Jundab (see 9.47) as his deputy in Basra, while he went to Kūfa.[428] Al-Tabarī records that in 50H Ziyād was in charge of Basra, Kūfa, the East, Sīstān (Sijīstān), Sind and Hind.[429]

Ziyād encouraged further conquest and settlement in Iran. In 51H he sent 50,000 of the Arabs of Basra and Kūfa, including their wives and children, to settle in Marw in Khurāsān.[430] He sent ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra (see 9.52) to Sīstān with the order to kill the Zoroastrian priest Shāpūr and destroy their sacred fires. This would have led to open revolt as ʿUbayd Allāh soon appreciated. He set out his views in a letter to the caliphal court, which countermanded the order.[431] In the same year Ziyād appointed his son Rabīʿ b. Ziyād, who had previously acted as governor in Sīstān, over Khurāsān. It seems that Ziyād did not always see eye to eye with the Caliph Muʿāwiya and had a great deal of independent authority. Yaʿqūbī recounts that during Rabīʿ's governorship, Muʿāwiya made a direct and personal appointment of Khālid b. Muʿammar al-Sadūsī over Khurāsān. We do not know whether this is accurate, but it reflects Ziyād's position. Ziyād intercepted Khālid before he could reach Khurāsān and imprisoned him.[432]

According to al-Tabarī Ziyād died in Kūfa in Ramadān 53H while Samura b. Jundah was his deputy in charge of Basra.[433] This did not end his family's power over the eastern provinces. His son ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (see 9.53) held important posts and wielded power over a wide area. Salm b. Ziyād (see 9.46) was governor of Khurāsān for some time until he was deposed by the Zubayrid ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (see 9.7).

Drachms in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān are relatively prolific and cover a wide geographic area though the output of mints varied massively, with some mint signatures rarely encountered.
In particular the following are noted:

7.2 **AHM**: year 52(H)
7.5 **ANAT**: year 54(H)
7.9 **APLŠ**: years 53(H), 54(H)
7.14 **ART**: years 26 (unknown era), 51–4(H)
7.16 **AW**: year 51(H)

[425] Al-Tabarī, ii, 71, 73, 77; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, pp. 76, 78, 83; al-Balādhurī (Ansab), IV/1, 206/8 (trans. Humphreys 2006, pp. 90–1) which records his inaugural sermon in the mosque of Basra threatening strong measures against opponents and disorder.

[426] Al-Tabarī, ii, 87; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 95; c.f. Khalifa (trans.), pp. 62, 89, places this in 50H.

[427] Both of these issues are extremely rare and Bates (personal communication) considers them to be irregular issues which may not have been struck in 49H.

[428] Al-Tabarī, ii, 87; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, pp. 96–7.

[429] Al-Tabarī, ii, 101; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 111.

[430] Kennedy 2007, pp. 85–6; Bosworth 1968, p. 22.

[431] Bosworth 1968, p. 24.

[432] Bosworth 1968, p. 42.

[433] Al-Tabarī, ii, 158; al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 18, p. 167; Khalifa (trans.), p. 75 (also 53H). However the numismatic evidence is consistent with the death occurring in 54H, and this is the date given by al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:280, (trans.), vol. 3, p. 916.

7.21 **AYL**: years 30 (unknown era), 46(H), 52(H)
7.25 **BAB**: year 50(H)
7.27 **BCLA**: years 53(H) and 55(H)
7.30 **BN**: years 6? (unknown era), 52(H) and 53(H)
7.31 **BPA**: year 53(H)
7.34 **BYŠ**: years 25 (unknown era), 30 (unknown era), 35 (unknown era), 37 (unknown era), 47(H), 49(H), 50(H), 51(H), 52(H), 54(H), 56U(H)
7.36 **DA**: years 26 (unknown era), 30 (unknown era), 36 (unknown era), 43 (frozen year, *c*.50–3H)
7.38 **DAP**: year 43 (frozen year, *c*.50–3H)
7.38.3 **DP**: year 43 (frozen year, *c*.50–3H)
7.40 **DL**: year 46? (unknown era)
7.42 **DŠT**: years 51(H), 52(H)
7.43 **GBL**: year 52(H)
7.44 **GD**: years 30 (unknown era), 43 (unknown era), 46 (unknown era), 50(H), 51(H), 52(H)
7.45 **GLM**: years 52(H), 53(H)
7.59 **KWAT**: years 51(H), 52(H), 54(H)
7.63 **LD**: year 30 (unknown era)
7.70 **MY**: years, 30 (unknown era), 47(H), 51(H), 53(H)
7.72 **NAL**: years 52–4(H)
7.74 **NHL**: years 52–3(H)
7.75 **NY**: years 26 (unknown era), 30 (unknown era), 51–4(H)
7.77 **NYW**: year 25 (uncertain era)
7.88 **SLCN**: year 54(H)
7.89 **ST**: years 30 (unknown era), 50–4(H), 56U(H)
7.91 **SYLY**: year 49(H)
7.95 **SYWK'**: year 54(H)
7.101 **ŠY**: year 11 or 33 (unknown era), 30 (unknown era), 33(?) (unknown era), 37 (unknown era), 52(H)
7.107 **WH**: year 37 (unknown era)
7.109 **WYH**: year 30 (unknown era), 33 (unknown era)
7.110 **WYHC**: year 35 (unknown era), 50(H)
7.114 **YZ**: years 50–3(H)
7.120 Without mint: year 1 (unknown mint)

Although Ziyād was appointed governor of Basra and the eastern provinces in 45H, coinage in his own name prior to 50H was limited. Drachms were struck in his predecessor's, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir's, name up to 47H, suggesting the chronology in the written sources may be inaccurate. Ziyād's earliest coins are dated 47H.[434] The great bulk of his mint output covers the period 50–3H. There are also issues struck posthumously dated 54H (**ANAT**, **ART**, **BYŠ**, **KWAT**, **NY**, **SLCN**, **ST** and **SYWK'**) and 55H (**BCLA**, Basra).[435] It would appear that prior to 50H, at least for the period 47 to 49H he allowed most coins to be struck in the name of Khusrau, rather than in his own name, as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir had done. The existence of drachms in his name from 6 different mints for 54H, is some support for the date of 54H given for his death by al-Yaʿqūbī. The issue dated 55H from Basra is most probably a postumous issue.

[434] Michael Bates is of the firm view that 47H is the transition date between the two governors (personal communication).

[435] An alternative analysis is to treat the coin dates as correct, indicating the historical sources are inaccurate, having been compiled centuries later. Thus Ziyād died in 54H. It is less plausible that he died in 55H as that date is only known for a coin of Basra with an unusual style.

The complexity of Ziyād's coinage arises from the existence of types where the era of the date is unknown or coins bear dates which are not authentic:

Year 25 **BYŠ**, **NYW**
Year 26 **ART**, **DA**, **NY**
Year 30 **AYL**, **BYŠ**, **DA**, **GD**, **LD**, **NY**, **ST**, **ŠY**, **WYH**
Year 33 **ŠY**, **WYH**
Year 35 **BYŠ**
Year 36 **DA**
Year 37 **BYŠ**, **ŠY**, **WH**

Other, equivocal or unconfirmed, dates are known.

These coins do not fit in with Ziyād's periods of office (45 to 53H) even if they were dated using the Yazdgard Era or Post-Yazdgard Era. This suggests the dates are not authentic. This is supported by the fact that for year 26 three mint signatures (**ART**, **DA** and **MLW**) struck coins in the name of his son, Salm b. Ziyād.

Some of Ziyād's coins were struck at mints unknown for any other Arab-Sasanian issues: **BAB**, 50H; **BPA**, 53H; **GBL**, 52H; **KWAT**, 51, 52 and 54H; **SYLY**, 49H. None of these mint signatures have been conclusively identified. None of the coins in his name from the Dārābgerd mints in Fārs bear authentic dates. He, like many officials struck coins with the frozen date 43, probably in the period 50 to 53H. No coins are known in his name for Sīstān (**SK**).

Ziyād's coins from 50H onwards usually have the obverse marginal legend *bism allāh* / *rabbī*, though some issues have *bism allāh* alone (year 26 in particular). The pattern is not always consistent. For example, coins dated 51H with **MY** mint signature use both varieties of obverse marginal legend. Generally, *bism allāh* alone is rarely encountered from 50H onwards, apart from on coins from the Dārābgerd mints where it is the usual pattern.

The drachms of Ziyād do not have any marginal inscription on the reverse, apart from the occasional Pahlavi letter **p** (and very rarely **gm**) found on issues of Dārābgerd and its district.

By far the most productive mints are Bīshāpūr and Dārābgerd, which Album noted together account for 60% or more of all extant coins in the name of Ziyād.[436] The name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān is spelled in at least ten different ways on his coins, otherwise his coins display a high degree of uniformity.

Even though Ziyād was appointed governor of Basra in 45H, the first coins with that mint name (**BCLA**) are dated 53H. There is an unusual issue dated 55H, one or two years after Ziyād's reputed death, where the hairball behind the head is in a unique style. Also dated 55H is a very rare issue where the hairball is in the usual style, but there is the obverse marginal legend of *bism allāh / rabbī allāh* ('In the name of God / My Lord, God'). Under Ziyād's son, 'Ubayd Allāh, Basra was the prolific mint.

Fig. 9.59.1. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, mint **BCLA**, 55(H), 3.43g (**Pl. 14, 157**)

[436] *SICA* 1, p. 15.

Fig. 9.59.2. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, mint **BCLA**, 55(H), 3.38g (**Pl. 14, 159A**)

Coins from various mints in Kirmān province were struck in Ziyād's name (e.g. **ANAT**, **BN**, **GLM**, **SLCN**) but not in large numbers judging by the number of known examples. None have the prefix **KLMAN** (for Kirmān province) which was not used until 58H under ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

Fig. 9.59.3. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, mint **GLM**, 52(H), 3.25g (**Pl. 50, 587**)

It is noteworthy both that there are at least 11 different spellings / legends for Ziyād's name and that his coinage was struck at so many mints, The coinage of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān is important and it calls for a reappraisal of the written sources as there are inconsistencies between dates on his coins and those in the histories.

9.60 Ziyād b. Qatrān

The name Ziyād b. Qatrān is found on one drachm (so far unique) with the mint signature **AHMTAN** and dated 63(H).[437] Both the mint signature and date are defectively written. One has to be wary of hitherto unknown issues appearing on the market in recent years given the skills and ingenuity of modern forgers. On balance this issue is probably genuine.[438]

Fig. 9.60. Ziyād b. Qatrān, mint **AHMTAN**, 63(H), 2.85g
(Baldwins Islamic Coin Auction 19 (24 April 2012), lot 3)

The official's name is clear and may be transliterated from the Pahlavi as **zyy't y** / **ktl'n**. The date legend is crudely inscribed as **swšst'**, presumably intended to be 63(H). The mint name can be read as **'smt'n** or **''mt'n**, whereas it should be **'hmt'n** for Hamadān. The histories do not refer to anyone of the name Ziyād b. Qatrān around this date. If the coin is genuine Ziyād was presumably a sub-governor or other official. The previous issue struck at Hamadān (**AHM**) is in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dated 61H.

[437] Amini and Dashkov 2013, p. 60, no. 83.

[438] This unusual coin is more fully discussed in Chapter 7, under 3. **AHMTAN**, p. 92. Album has expressed the view that the coin is more likely to be a modern fabrication.

9.61 Zhulād Gōzgān

The coinage of Zhulād Gōzgān is confined to Khurāsān.

7.6 **ANBYR**: years 63(H) or YE=75H, 64(H) or YE=76H, 65(H) or YE=77H, 66(H) or YE=78H, 68(H) or YE=80H and 69(H) or YE=81H

7.68 **MLW**: year 69(H)

Zhulād was a ruler of Gōzgān who minted coins solely within Khurāsān province, mainly in Anbīr (Ambēr), but also in Marw. His name also appears in the reverse margin of a drachm from Anbīr in the name of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (see 9.58) dated 84H. His coins have Bactrian legends and are often countermarked. They have been fully analysed by Sims-Williams,[439] and are considered further in Chapter 14, along with other issues bearing Bactrian legends.

Fig. 9.61. Zhulād Gōzgān, mint **ANBYR**, 66(H) or YE=78H, 3.68g (**Pl. 2, 20**)

9.62 Anonymous

Most anonymous issues are in the names of the Sasanian kings Khusrau and Yazdgard but there are rare types of drachm where no name at all is given.

7.4 **AKWLA**: year 70(H) and undated (?) with *muhammad rasūl allāh* ('Muhammad messenger of God') right of bust on obverse; year 73 in Arabic to right of bust on obverse

7.14 **ART**: years 75(H) and 76(H) with **lwyt' dʾtwbl** / **blʾ yyzt'** ('There is no justice except from God') right of bust on obverse

7.39 **Dimashq**: year 72(H) with *muhammad rasūl allāh* right of bust on obverse

7.46 **GLM-KLMAN**: year 70(H) with **mhmt pgtʾmy y dʾt** (Pahlavi equivalent of *muhammad rasūl allāh*) right of bust on obverse

7.68 **MLW**, year 78(H) with **yzdt' wlwyšnykʾn h[d]ybʾl yhnwwnʾt** ('May God be the faithful men's helper') right of the bust on the obverse, and *baraka min allāh* ('Blessing from Allāh') in the second quarter obverse margin[440]

7.114 Without mint: with date left and right of bust on obverse. Year 75(H) with Standing Caliph reverse; undated with *muhammad rasūl allāh* right of bust on reverse

These issues from 70 to 78H are not representative of the regular Arab-Sasanian coinage and all display exceptional features. All too often numismatists concentrate on rare and unusual types, whereas the focus should be on the regular issues which would have formed the overwhelming part of the output from various mints. With that in mind, only a relatively short commentary is provided on these issues which are discussed and analysed elsewhere. The issues from Ardashīr-Khurra (**ART**) dated 75 and 76H bear the Khārijite slogan on the obverse and were struck during the period when the Khārijites controlled parts of Fārs and Kirmān provinces.[441] These are discussed under Qatarī b. al-Fujāʾa (9.45) where as example dated 75H is illustrated (Fig. 9.45.3).

[439] Sims-Williams 2008. The dates may be either Hijrī or YE as noted in ch. 14, p. 403. Joe Cribb reads the decade as **hšt** 80 rather than **šst** 60 (personal communication).

[440] Gholami and Amini (2017); c.f. Amini 2015. Other readings are also possible, particularly of the Pahlavi to the right of the bust. There are stylistic similarities to coins with **BBA** mint signature dated 77H in the name of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh.

[441] *SICA* 1, p. 30; c.f. Popp 2013, p. 91 for an alternative view.

The period is noteworthy for experimental types. Thus the issues from Kūfa (**AKWLA**) which refer to Muhammad as the Messenger of God on the obverse right field are known with two different reverse legends in the left field. The first type has a full date in Pahlavi which can be read as 70 or 73H.[442] The second has what appears to be Pahlavi letters which could be read as **bbm**. These letters may not denote a date. There is a type with the date 73H in Arabic to the right of the bust on the obverse, but with the same letters **bbm** (?) in the usual place for the date on the reverse (see 9.24). These coins were probably struck before the drachms in the name of Bishr b. Marwān with Caliph Orans reverse dated 73 to 75H from the same mint.

Fig. 9.62.1. Anonymous *muhammad rasūl allāh* type, mint **AKWLA**, probably undated, 3.87g (**Pl. 1, 12**)

Fig. 9.62.2. Anonymous type with date right of bust, mint **AKWLA**, 73H (Lofti collection)

The Arab-Sasanian drachms from Dimashq (Damascus) are all unusual and depart from the format of most coins struck in Iran and Iraq. 'Muhammad as the Messenger of God' is also found on the drachm dated 72H from Dimashq.

Fig. 9.62.3. Anonymous *muhammad rasūl allāh* type, mint *Dimashq*, 72(H), 3.79g
(Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lot 20)

On the rare coin from Garm Kirmān (**GLM-KLMAN**) the Islamic formula 'Muhammad as the Messenger of God' is written in Pahlavi.[443]

Fig. 9.62.4. Anonymous **mhmt pgt' my y d't** type, mint **GLM-KLMAN**, 70(H), 3.94g
(New York Sale 14 (10 January 2007), lot 498)

[442] Sotheby's auction (18 March 1983), lot 80 (= Warden-Album). Cribb considers that all the issues read here as 63 to 69H are in fact dated 83 to 89H, thus reading **hšt** (80) instead of **šst** (60) for this decade. This view is not without its complications but is plausible.

[443] Shams Eshragh 2004, pp. 45–6, who discusses this coin, probably found in the large hoard of coins which appeared on the market in 2000 that had a high proportion of drachms with mints from Kirmān province; c.f. Popp 2013, pp. 71, 138–9.

The next coin is remarkable, the design being a substantial departure from the general Arab-Sasanian series. It was struck under the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. To the left and right of the bust on the obverse is the Arabic legend *duriba fī sanatī khams* / *sabaʿīn* (‘struck in the year 75’). In the obverse margin is the long *shahāda*. In place of the fire altar and attendants on the reverse is a figure which has been identified as the Standing Caliph with a large sheathed sword. The legend to the left is *amīr al-muʾminīn* (‘Commander of the Faithful’) and on the right *khal*[*ī*]*fat allāh* (‘Caliph of God’), probably best understood as ‘God’s deputy’.[444] It was probably struck in Damascus.[445] The title *amīr al-muʾminīn* is not found in the Qurʾān, but the title *khalīfat allāh* is Qurʾānic.[446] In using this latter title, not found on any previous coins, ʿAbd al-Malik was perhaps aiming to strengthen ‘the perception that his rule had Qurʾānic warrant.’[447]

Fig. 9.62.5. Anonymous Standing Caliph type, without mint, 75H, 3.53g (Shah Firzan collection)

The final coin is clearly dated 78(H) and is from Marw in Khurāsān. The obverse legend poses some difficulty, but the coin is an anonymous issue. It is linked to the issue with **BBA** mint signature dated 77(H) on stylistic grounds and helps to confirm that **BBA** coins were struck in Khurāsān at this time.

Fig. 9.62.6. Anonymous drachm, mint **MLW**, 78H, 2.9g, 27mm (image courtesy A. Amini)

[444] Crone and Hinds 1986, chapter 2 on the title *khalīfat allāh.* See also Marsham 2018, pp. 1–37.

[445] Walker 1952a; Gaube 1973, p. 49, pl. 14; Treadwell 1999, pp. 253–5; *SICA* 1, p. 28; Heidemann 2011, p. 44. For an alternative view, see Popp 2013, pp. 76–7.

[446] Qurʾān, sura 38:26 where God tells David ‘O David! We did make you a *khalifa* on earth, to judge between men in truth, so do not follow your vain passions.’

[447] Donner 2010, p. 211.

CHAPTER 10

POST-REFORM ISLAMIC COINS

Introduction

In 77H the Umayyads began striking gold dinars in Damascus. The following year silver dirhams were introduced at a limited number of mints. The number of mints increased in 79H and more started minting in the following years. Bronze or copper fals were probably introduced around the same time, albeit the earliest dated copper issues are 78H. These issues, in three metals, were a radical departure from the past. They were purely epigraphic and almost always exclusively in Arabic. Initially, they were anonymous. Further, the weight standard of the dirhams is significantly lighter than that of the Arab-Sasanian drachms.

10.1. *Post-reform denominations*

10.1.1 *The gold dinar*

The first Umayyad issue of purely epigraphic anonymous, dated, gold dinars was in 77H. Initially they bore no mint place but it is assumed they were all struck in Damascus. From 100 until 127H there are scarce issues with the mint places named on the coins for al-Andalus and Ifrīqiya.[1] Judging by the small number of known examples, the output of dinars dated 77H was low, but in subsequent years it increased.[2] The new dinars were intended to rival the Byzantine solidus and must have primarily circulated in the former Byzantine lands of Syria, Palestine and Egypt. They are rarely found in Iran, where the silver dirham would have been the principal and dominant form of currency.

The intended weight of the dinar was in the region of 4.25–4.26 grams. The flan was thicker and significantly smaller in diameter than the silver drachm, or indeed dirham.

The legends on Umayyad dinars follow a consistent formula. On the obverse there is a central legend in three lines

lā ilāh illā
ilāh wahdah
lā sharik lah

‘There is no god but Allāh. He is unique. He has no partners.’

The marginal legend is:

muhammad rasūl allāh arsalahu bīʿl-huda wa dīn al-haqq li-yuzhirahu ʿala al-dīn kullih.

This is a shorter version of the *sura* from the Qur’ān (*Sura* 9,33) found on dirhams: ‘Muhammad is the messenger of Allāh. He sent him with guidance and the religion of truth, to proclaim it over all religions.’

On the reverse there is a central legend in three lines consisting of a shortened version of the *Surat al-ikhlas* (Qur’ān 112):

allāh ahad allāh
al-samad lam yalid
wa lam yulad

‘Allāh, the One and Only; Allāh is eternal, absolute; He is not born.’

[1] Ifrīqiya, 101–5H (*SICA* 2, pl. 14, nos 332–337); al-Andalus, 120 and 127H (*SICA* 2, pl. 14, nos 338–339).

[2] There are modern forgeries of dinars, especially those dated 77H.

The marginal legend is:

bism allāh duriba (*zarb*) *hazā al-dinar fī sanat* [date]
'In the name of God, this dinar was struck in the year' [date].

Fig. 10.1. Anonymous dinar, 91H, 4.23 grams (Johnson 0510-0112) struck during the caliphate of Walīd (86–9H) 14 years after the dinar was introduced, using the same formulas

10.1.2 *The silver dirham*[3]

10.1.2.1 *Mints*

In 78H the Umayyads started striking purely epigraphic, anonymous, dated, silver dirhams with Arabic legends. Initially (78H), the output was limited, with few surviving examples. They are known from five (possibly seven) mints: Ādharbayjān, Armīniya, al-Basra (?), Jayy, al-Kūfa, Shaqq al-Taymara and reportedly Tokharistān(?).[4] There was considerable experimentation in 78H with the position of the legends, and the design, varying. Dirhams from Ādharbayjān, Armīniya and al-Kūfa have the mint and date formula in the reverse margin instead of in the usual place in the obverse margin. Unusually, these dirhams also have an extra circle of pellets on the obverse which separates the outer circular legend from the central legend.[5] Ādharbayjān has a second type which has no separating circle between legends on the obverse and the date is in the obverse circular legend. Very unusually, the mint is on the outer obverse margin, in the first quarter.[6] Dirhams dated 78H from two or three other mints have the standard date and mint formula in the obverse circular legend (which becomes the usual place for this legend) (Shaqq al-Taymara, Jayy, Tokharistān (?) and a doubtful reference to al-Basra).[7]

The next year output increased. Dirhams dated 79H are not rare, though certain mints are. The following mints started production: Abarshahr, Anbīr, Ard, Bahurasīr, Bardasīr, Bazijakhusra, Bihqubādh al-Aʿla, Bizamqubādh, Dārābgerd, Dard, Dasht Maysān, Dastawa, Dimashq,[8] Fasā, Fīl, al-Furāt, Herāt, al-Hīra, Istakhr, al-Jazīra, al-Jisr, Junday Sābūr, Kaskar, Māh al-Basra, Māh al-Kūfa, Manadhīr, Marw (Merv), Masabadhān, Maysān Mihrijanqudhaq, Nahr Tīrā, Rāmhurmuz, al-Rayy, Sābūr, Suq al-Ahwāz, Surraq, al-Sūs (Susa), Tustar, al-Zawahi. In total well over 40 mints struck dirhams dated 79H. Some struck coins for a short period, or intermittently. Other mints started striking later. In particular, the garrison town of Wāsit started production of coinage in 83H. The number of mints striking dirhams in any one year declined and by 84H there were only about 10 mints operating. Between 85 and 89H the fall in production was

[3] The main work, with a detailed listing of Umayyad dirhams, is Klat 2002. For those dated 78H, see Stephen Lloyd's note in Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 28, which refers to two examples from Tokharistān but without any citation or illustration and thus should be considered as subject to confirmation. Since Klat's 2002 corpus a few additional mint and date combinations have emerged. Some rare mint and date combinations have been forged, including genuine dirhams which have been re-engraved.

[4] There is a debate as to where the dies for the early post-reform dirhams were engraved. At least for the early years it is possible that they were cut centrally (and Damascus would appear to be a natural choice) and then sent out to the individual mints for striking. For a discussion of this in the context of the Umayyad issues of Armīniya (Armenia), see Vardanyan 2014, pp. 9–10.

[5] Klat 2002, no. 23b (Ādharbayjān), no. 45 (Armīniya), no. 539 (al-Kūfa).

[6] Klat 2002, no. 23a.

[7] Album 2011, p. 42. Klat 2002, no. 200 (Shaqq al-Taymara); Peus auction 369 (10 December 2001), lot 1467 (Jayy).

[8] The dirhams from Dimashq dated 79H show the mint name in different positions. There are dirhams, presumably from Dimashq, with no mint place indicated (Klat 2002, no. 1). Where the mint place is present, there are two varieties. On one, Dimashq is placed in the outer margin on its own on the reverse. The other has Dimashq in the conventional place as part of the marginal legend on the obverse. For examples, see Ilisch 2010, pp. 134–5, figs 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5.

even more dramatic. The number of mints varied between three and six in any one year. Very few, apart from Wāsit and Damascus, were striking dirhams in quantity. None of the mints to the east of Iraq struck post-reform dirhams from 85 to 89H, with production resuming in 90H. The reason for the large number of mints in 79H was presumably because a substantial recoinage was being undertaken, with massive amounts of Sasanian coins being melted down and restruck. Like Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān before him, al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf required that taxes be paid in the older and heavier drachms. This would have allowed them to be collected in and melted down for striking the new lighter dirhams.[9] Once the recoinage had produced sufficient coins the authorities may have decided that they did not need so many mints.

Numerous mints opened or re-opened in 90H with almost 40 mints striking dirhams over a large geographical area, including in Iran. Between 85 and 89H the coinage from Wāsit predominated, such that it became the sole mint in the east with a substantial output of dirhams. One explanation for this phenomenon is that near the end of his rule, ʿAbd al-Malik sought to centralise administration and production of coinage across the Umayyad territories. This policy of central production was evidently abandoned for practical reasons in 90H.

10.1.2.2 *Metrology*

The intended weight of the Umayyad dirham was approximately 2.87 grams, being 7/10 of the weight of the Sasanian style drachm. The flan is thin, and of high quality silver, as are Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms. It usually measures between 26 and 29 millimetres, making it smaller than Arab-Sasanian drachms, which are usually between 30 and 33 millimetres.

10.1.2.3 *Design and legends*

The legends on Umayyad dirhams follow a consistent formula. The obverse has a three-line central legend:

lā ilāh illā
ilāh wahdah
lā sharik lah

‘There is no god but Allāh, He is unique. He has no partners.’

The marginal legend is:

bism allāh duriba (*zarb*) *hazā al-dirham ba* [mint place] *fī sanat* [date]

‘In the name of God, this dirham was struck in [mint place] in the year [date]’.

On the reverse the four-line central legend consists of the *Surat al-ikhlas* (Qurʾān 112):

allāh ahad allāh
al-samad lam yalid
wa lam yulad wa lam yakun
lahu kufuwan ahad

‘Allāh, the One and Only; Allāh is eternal, absolute; He is not born, nor does He give birth; and there is none like unto Him’.

The marginal legend is:

muhammad rasūl allāh arsalahu bi-l-huda wa dīn al-haqq li-yuzhirahu ʿala al-dīn kullihi wa law kariha al-mushrikūn

This too is taken from the Qurʾān (Sura 9, 33). ‘Muhammad is the messenger of Allāh. He sent him with guidance and the religion of truth, to proclaim it over all religion, even though the Pagans may detest [it].’

[9] Morony 1984, p. 50; Walker 1941, p. cxlix.

The obverse has four circles around the central legend, with single annulets at 2, 4, 7, 9 and 11h between the third and fourth circles. The reverse has three circles around the central legend with the marginal legend between the first and second circles, and single annulets at 2, 4, 7, 9 and 11h between the second and third circles.

Figure 10.1 shows a dirham struck in Jayy in 80H soon after the dirham was introduced in 78H.[10] Issues from this mint are not rare being known for the years 79–83, 90–8, 102, 127–30H. The majority of existing dirhams, though, come from the two mints, Damascus and Wāsit. Damascus is known for all years from 79 to 132H, whereas Wāsit commenced in 84H and coined until 132H (with only years 100 and 102 unknown).

Fig. 10.2. Anonymous dirham, mint Jayy, 80H, 2.78 grams
(Johnson 0510-0113)

Very few Umayyad dirhams diverge from the above designs and legends but a few have an additional mint signature, in Pahlavi, added to the area below the obverse central legend. Dirhams from Marw (Merv) dated 79 to 84H have the Pahlavi mint signature **MLW** in the obverse field, as well as the place name Marw in Arabic in the obverse marginal legend (Fig. 10.4). There is also a dirham dated 81H with *marw* in Arabic in the usual place and **MLWLWT** (Marw al-Rūd) in Pahlavi in the obverse field. Another dirham dated 79H has *marw al-rūd* in Arabic in the usual place and what appears to be the traces of a Pahlavi legend in the obverse field which could read **MLWLWT**.[11] The Pahlavi mint name, **HLA**, is found in the obverse field of a dirham from Herāt dated 80H (Fig. 10.3).[12] These Pahlavi mint names were presumably added for the benefit of the local population in Khurāsān who would not, in the main, have been able to read Arabic.

Fig. 10.3. Anonymous dirham, mint Herāt, 80H, 2.93 grams
(Shah Firzan collection)

Fig. 10.4. Anonymous dirham, mint Marw, 81H, 2.70 grams
(Johnson 773001)

[10] As with all the mints in Iran dirhams are known for some, but not all years. Many mints were active for a short time only.

[11] Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 48.

[12] For references see Chapter 7: 7.54. **HLA**, 7.68. **MLW** and 7.69. **MLWLWT**. Album 2011, p. 42, type 126A.

10.1.3. *The copper fals*

There was much less uniformity in copper fulūs issues, than in the gold and silver. The issue of copper was the responsibility of the local administration, though it has been argued that ʿAbd al-Malik set out to create a unified caliphal coinage of gold, silver and copper coinage.[13] About 75 mints are known for the copper issues. Most were struck in the west, namely Egypt, Syria and Palestine. Coins from the east are considerably scarcer. A number of mints operated in Iraq[14] but there was very little output in Iran itself.[15] There is an isolated fals issue dated 78H from Ādharbayjān (Āzerbaijān) which follows the style of post-reform dirhams struck in the same year at the mints of Ādharbayjān and Armīniya (Fig. 10.5).[16] Apart from this no fulūs are known dated earlier than 86H. It is considered that production of undated fulūs also began in Syria in the period 78–80H. Although most of the copper coinage has purely Arabic legends, it differs significantly from the precious metal coinage. Some coins are undated, some include the name of the caliph, local governor or other official, they often lack a mint name and many include pictorial figures or symbols in their designs.

The exchange rate between the bronze or copper fals and the dirham appeared to vary from district to district and may have depended on local conditions such as the availability of the base metal. It would appear that an exchange rate of 60 fulūs to the dirham was commonly followed after the introduction of the post-reform coinage, but this is not accepted by many scholars. Some issues have that rate expressly stated on the fulūs. On the other hand, some local issues have a much higher exchange rate.[17] There no exchange rate stated, though, on most fulūs.

In Iran, at least, Arab-Sasanian copper coins continued to be struck well after the introduction of post-reform fulūs.[18] This shows the importance of local culture on the coinage, to ensure its acceptability by the populace. As noted in Chapter 11 some fulūs struck in the east combine an obverse with and Arab-Sasanian style bust with a purely epigraphic Arabic reverse. Further, there is no evidence of reform fulūs at the fringes of the caliphate, including Marw and Sīstān.[19]

Fig. 10.5. Anonymous fals, mint Ādharbayjān, 78H, 5.46 grams
(Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 49)

[13] Ilisch 2010, for an excellent analysis of the issues.

[14] For example Basra 100H (*SICA* 2, pl. 54, no. 1126), Kūfa 101H (*SICA* 2, pl. 60, no. 1246), Mawsil 97H (*SICA* 2, pl. 61, nos 1268–1269), Wāsit 120H (*SICA* 2, pl. 62, no. 1278).

[15] For example Rayy 104, 129, 131H (*SICA* 2, pl. 58 nos 1219–1223).

[16] Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 49.

[17] Zarazir 2017, considers that the ordinary exchange rate was 60:1 and illustrates various rare fulūs with exchange rates: undated and without mint name issued in name of Qutayba b. Muslim (120:1); Baliekh, 79H (360:1); Gurgān, 107H (60:1); Marw, 112H (60:1); Balkh, 117H (60:1); undated and without mint name (60:1).

[18] Ilisch 2010, pp. 140–2, which discusses the change of the copper issues from caliphal to regional.

[19] Ilisch 2010, p. 148.

10.2 *The development of Arab-Sasanian coinage up to 77H*

There are numerous ways in which the development of Arab-Sasanian coinage can be categorised and described. The purpose of this section is simply to give a very broad outline of the changes from 31 to 77H.

The pace of change from a Sasanian style coinage, introduced in around 31H with issues either in the name of Yazdgard or Khusrau, until 77H when post-reform coinage was first struck, was not rapid. The Arabs had to rely on the local administration to strike coins, using the engravers and mint officials from Sasanian times. In the former Sasanian lands many did not initially convert to Islam and the Sasanian style coinage would have been familiar and acceptable to them.

The first phase of the change can be seen on most of the earlier anonymous issues with the addition of an Arabic legend referring to God in the second quarter obverse margin *bism allāh* ('In the name of God'), followed later by *rabbī* in the third quarter ('My Lord').

The second phase came when the Umayyads and their rivals started to add their own names in Pahlavi in the obverse field to the right of the bust, in place of Khusrau. This second phase started in 41H with coins in the name of ʿAbd Allāh, and for a while overlapped with the striking of the anonymous Khusrau type coinage. In Sīstān the Khusrau type coinage continued until the end of the Umayyads and beyond.

The third phase developed alongside the second phase with changes in the message conveyed by the obverse Arabic marginal legends, often with Pahlavi additions. These are considered in Chapter 6.

In the 70sH what may be regarded as a fourth phase developed, where changes were introduced or experimented with. Thus from 76H until 81H most coins of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf had his name in Arabic. The only other person to have his name in Arabic to the right of the obverse bust, was his rival, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad at his mints in Fārs from 81 to 83H. On some rare coins of Bishr b. Marwān the fire altar reverse was replaced by a standing figure in prayer, known as the Caliph Orans type, struck from 73 to 75H at Basra and Kūfa. Longer marginal legends were at times used by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, and others such as Bishr b. Marwān, which were mirrored on the post-reform coinage. One such legend is the proclamation *muhammad rasūl allāh* ('Muhammad Messenger of God'). More radical changes are evident from the very rare issues from Damascus, showing the standing caliph, dated 75H and the undated issue depicting what has been described as a *mihrāb*, which was probably struck in 76 or 77H. The greatest changes can be seen at Damascus, including perhaps the most significant, the use of Arabic for mint and date on the reverse of issues from 72 to 74H. An experimental and transitional phase of striking Arab-Sasanian drachms can be observed during in a five year period from 72 to 77H. These coins were based on Sasanian type drachms, but ultimately ʿAbd al-Malik made a complete break with the past, striking a purely epigraphic coinage from 77H.[20]

10.3 *Overlap in production of Arab-Sasanian and post-reform coinage*

The post-reform coinage, introduced in 77H (gold) and 78H (silver), did not create a complete break with the Arab-Sasanian coinage. First, Arab-Sasanian coins had increasingly used Arabic legends. Secondly, from 77 to 86H Arab-Sasanian style coins continued to be struck by certain officials at some mints.[21] Thirdly as noted above, for a short period the Pahlavi mint signature was used as well as the Arabic name for the mints of Marw (Merv), Marw al-Rūd, and Herāt.

Under the Umayyads and their opponents a very large number of mints struck drachms. Some mints operated for only short periods, or intermittently. For the last nine years (77 to 86H) when Arab-Sasanian style coinage was struck under the Umayyads they are known from 26 mints (see Table 10.1). This clearly illustrates that some cities or towns minted drachms and dirhams at the same time.

[20] For an excellent analysis of the coinage from the experimental phase from 72 to 77H, the role of the Damascus mint and the evolution of the epigraphic dirham, see Treadwell 2009.

[21] For Sīstān (**SK**) drachms were struck for significantly longer and indeed into the ʿAbbāsid period (see Chapter 15).

Table 10.1. Overlapping mints for Arab-Sasanian type and post-reform silver coinage

Arab-Sasanian drachms (*77–85H*)			*Post-reform dirhams* (*78–85H*)	
Mint no.	*Pahlavi mint name*	*Dates known*	*Arabic mint name*[22]	*Dates known*
7.1	**AWKLA**	79H	Kūfa	78–82H
7.6	**ANBYR**	84H	Anbīr	79H
7.14	**ART**	79–81H	Ardashīr-Khurra Ard Jūr	79, 80, 82–4H, 83–4H
7.26	**BBA**	77H	(within Khurāsān)	-
7.27	**BCLA**	83H	Basra	79–82H
7.34	**BYŠ**	77–83H	Sābūr	79–84H
7.36	**DA**	65YE (77H) 70YE (82H)	Dārābgerd	79–81H
7.37.3	**DA-GH**	70YE (82H)	(Jahrōm)	-
7.38.1	**DA-P**	65YE (77H) 71YE (83H)	Fasā	79–82H
7.44	**GD**	79, 83H	Jayy	79–83H
7.46	**GLM-KLMAN**	78, 82–3H	(Garmsīr)	-
7.58.1	**KLMAN**	84H	Kirmān	79H
7.58.15	**KLMAN-BN**	77, 83H		-
7.58.18	**KLMAN-GLM**	82H	(Garmsīr)	-
7.58.19	**KLMAN-GY**	78, 83H	Jīroft	82H
7.58.21	**KLMAN-HPYC**	78, 83H	Khabīs	-
7.58.23	**KLMAN-NAL**	77–8, 83H	Narmāshīr	80H
7.58.27	**KLMAN-NAWGY**	77–8, 83H		-
7.58.32	**KLMAN-SLC'**	78H	(Sirjān)	-
7.68.2	**MLW'**	78–9H	Marw (Merv)	79–84H
7.87	**SK**	77, 79–86H	Sijistān (Sīstān)	-
7.89	**ST**	78, 80–3H	Istakhr	79–84H
7.103	**TART**	77–8, 80H	Tawwaj (*twj*)	82H
7.110	**WYHC**	77H	(Arrajān) Bizāmqubādh	79–80H
7.114	**YZ**	81H	Yazd	-

What one may deduce from this needs to be examined mint by mint. In Iraq there seems to have been an overlap of the issues at Kūfa. The drachm dated 79H in the name of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd Allāh is very rare. At Basra post-reform dirhams were struck for four years (79 to 82H), but then no more were struck until 100H. In 83H there was a very rare drachm issue in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān. ʿUbayd Allāh's reversion to the drachm is perhaps not surprising as he was an opponent of the Umayyads.

The main drachm mints in Fārs continued to strike Arab-Sasanian style coins from 77 to 83H. These often overlap with the dates of post-reform dirhams, a pattern that can be seen at Ardashīr-Khurra (**ART**), Sābūr (**BYŠ**, Bīshāpūr), Jayy (**GD**) and Istakhr (**ST**), but not at Dārābgerd (**DA**), Tawwaj (**TART**), Arrajān (**WYHC**) and Yazd (**YZ**). Where the dirham and drachm issues overlap it does not necessarily follow that the coins were being struck simultaneously at the same location. The cities may have had more than one mint place or the coins could have been struck at different times in the same year.

[22] Where the place name is in brackets, this name is not found on Arabic dirhams for the periods indicated.

Fig. 10.6. Anonymous dirham, mint Jayy, 80H, 2.78 grams
(Johnson HMM 0510-0133)

In Kirmān province at least nine of the many mints operating continued to strike drachms from 77 to 84H. There is no overlap in dates between the drachms, largely struck by opponents of the Umayyads, and post-reform dirhams which are only known dated 79H (Kirmān), 80H (Narmāshīr) and 82H (Jīroft). This reflects the opposition faced by the Umayyads in that turbulent region.

In Khurāsān, Anbīr is known as a post-reform mint for 79H only. In 84H a drachm was struck there (**ANBYR**) in the name of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab with a standing figure reverse and the place name, Juzjān, in the margin (see under 9.58, Fig. 9.58.2). This very unusual issue was struck in a region which was difficult to control. The last known drachm for Marw (**MLW'**) is dated 79H and dirhams were struck from 79 to 84H, usually with the Pahlavi mint signature added, a compromise solution (Fig. 10.7).

Fig. 10.7. Anonymous dirham, mint Marw, 80H, 2.89 grams
(Johnson 0580-0047)[23]

In Sīstān (**SK**) drachms were struck for a considerable time after the introduction of dirhams elsewhere, probably mainly at Zaranj (Zarang). Post-reform dirhams are known for Sijistān for 90–102, 127–30 and 132H, and for Zaranj for 101–2H only (Fig. 10.8).

Fig. 10.8. Anonymous dirham, mint Sijistān, 92H, 2.83 grams
(Johnson 0750-0091)

10.4 *Conclusions*

The introduction of the post-reform coinage represented a major departure from the past. In the period immediately after the conquests and for many years afterwards, the Arabs left much of the local administration in place. This included the minting of coins. ʿAbd Al-Malik's reform introduced new standardised designs and weights for a monetary system intended for use throughout the empire which would have facilitated the unification of the fiscal systems in both parts of the empire. The coinage was in Arabic with no Christian or Zoroastrian elements. It promoted fiscal efficiency and uniformity as the same coins could, in theory, be used in both former Byzantine and Sasanian territories. ʿAbd Al-Malik evidently

[23] Münzen und Medaillen auction 77 (20 September 1991), lot 1178, 2.89g.

wanted to make his administration distinctly Islamic. By the late 70sH the Arabs were probably sufficiently confident of their authority and control to do this, for there is no evidence that there was any rejection of the new coinage in the former Sasanian lands. For some time post-reform Islamic coins circulated alongside Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins. In hoards of coins from the early Islamic period one often encounters a mixture of Sasanian, Arab-Sasanian and Umayyad (or even later Islamic) silver coins. The Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms have often been clipped, but this is not always the case. It is likely that coins (other than perhaps copper) would usually be weighed and not traded on a fiduciary basis.

By 79H it is clear that the Umayyads had started to phase out the production of Arab-Sasanian drachms and from 82 to 84H they were struck by few mints. Those that did were mostly limited to places controlled by opponents of the Umayyads. Thus in Iraq the only known drachm in that period is dated 82H from Basra (**BCLA**) and struck by ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān who sided with ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad against the Umayyads and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. In Fārs there are few issues and these again are mainly from the rebel ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad struck at Dārābgerd (**DA**), 70YE (82H); Jahrōm (**DA-GH**), 70YE (82H); Fasā (**DA-P**), 71YE (83H); Istakhr (**ST**), 82–3H. Khālid b. Abī Khālid, who is known from a drachm from Jayy (**GD**) dated 83H, was probably also part of the rebellion. In the Kirmān region drachms are known from eight mints, all controlled by those who joined the rebellion:

ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān	**KLMAN**, 84H
ʿAmr b. Laqīt	**GLM-KLMAN**, 82–3H
	KLMAN-NAL, 83H
	KLMAN-NAWGY, 83H
	KLMAN-BN, 83H
	KLMAN-GY, 83H
ʿAbd Allāh b. Bastām	**KLMAN-GLM**, 82H
ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad	**KLMAN-HPYC**, 83H

Khurāsān and Sīstān are the only areas where allies of the Umayyads are known to have struck drachms, and even then in low numbers. No doubt these were intended to fill a particular local need: Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in Anbīr (**ANBYR**) struck a special and unusual issue dated 84H. In Sīstān (**SK**) ʿUmāra b. Tamīm struck scarce issues dated 84 and 85H and Mismaʿ b. Mālik's drachms are dated 85 and 86H. The ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad faction again predominated in Sīstān and coins in his name were struck there for each of the years 80 to 84H.

The new coinage introduced under ʿAbd al-Malik was intended to be a break from the past. Instead of two currency systems across the empire (one based on the Byzantine and the other on the Sasanian coinage and weight standards), there was to be one monetary system based on the gold dinar, silver dirham and bronze fals. Much of the old coinages were to be handed in and melted down for the striking of the new coinage. The eighth-century-Hijrī Egyptian scholar, al-Damīrī noted for his work *Hayāt al-hayawān* ('Animal Life'), admittedly a late source, recorded that the caliph instructed in writing:[24]

> 'The currency be struck in all of the Islamic currencies and that it be issued to the masses for circulation, and that he also threatened to slay all who transacted in dirhams and dinars other than these, and to void the latter and return them to the mint to convert them into Islamic money.'

Whether or not ʿAbd al-Malik issued an order in such extreme terms, the new currency soon predominated.[25]

[24] Quoted in Heck 2010, p. 114.

[25] Indeed Ilisch 2010, p. 142 considers that the old coinage was not intentionally replaced by the new one. This view of al-Dāmīrī is evidently not shared by Heck 2010. The position is likely to be somewhere between the two, namely the new coinage was intended to replace the old system, but the old coinage was to a large extent melted down and the level of circulation phased out over time with co-existence being permitted in practice.

CHAPTER 11

COPPER ARAB-SASANIAN COINAGE

There is no universally accepted definition of Arab-Sasanian coinage, either geographic or chronological. This book concentrates on the Arab-Sasanian coins struck prior to the fall of the Umayyads and inspired by Sasanian coinage. It is appreciated that even within this definition there are coins which have no Arabic legends and may have been struck by locals independent of the Umayyads. The early copper coinage of the Ispahbads of Tabaristān was struck in the Umayyad period in a region which remained independent until the ʿAbbāsids. It has been omitted from the Catalogue as it has been fully covered elsewhere.[1] On the other hand the coins from Zābulistān have been included in the Catalogue, even though the copper coins were struck by local dynasts independent of the Umayyads. Some coins have more in common with Byzantine coins than Sasanian and indeed Walker categorised some coins from Susa (**ŠWŠ**) as Byzantine-Sasanian.[2]

Gyselen's seminal work on the copper favours wider geographic and chronological boundaries than those adopted in the present book.[3] Geographically, she includes coins of Zābul and Raxvad (as well as Zābulistān), in modern Afghanistan. The Umayyads did not rule these regions and the legends on the coins are not in Arabic. She also includes the copper coins of Tabaristān. Chronologically, Gyselen's work includes coins from (probably) the later years of the Sasanian empire (after Khusrau II's death in 628 but before the death of Yazdgard III in 651) up to the ʿAbbāsid period.[4]

There are a large number of different types or issues of Arab-Sasanian copper coins. They are often poorly preserved and there are few in public collections. Some have been found in the course of excavations in Bīshāpūr,[5] Istakhr,[6] Marw (Merv),[7] Naqsh-i Rustam,[8] Qasr-i Abū Nasr[9] and Susa.[10] The variations in design and legend are numerous and the coins can be arranged in a number of different ways. As further varieties are discovered a fuller picture will doubtless emerge. Traditionally collectors of Arab-Sasanian coins have not focused on copper coins because of their poor condition, the difficulty in deciphering the legends and the lack of comprehensive numismatic works to compare them with. The Catalogue illustrates a number of coins in better condition than those available to Gyselen. In some cases alternative readings of the legends are suggested.

The basic unit of the Sasanian copper or bronze coinage was the *pashīz* and particularly during the second half of the Sasanian period these were small coins of varying weight. Numismatists often describe Arab-Sasanian copper coins as *pashīz* or use the Arabic term *fals*.

[1] Malek 2004.

[2] Walker 1952b.

[3] Gyselen 2009. Given the quality and depth of Gyselen's work, it is unnecessary in this chapter to provide much more than an overview of the copper Arab-Sasanian coinage. The chronology of such coins is analysed in Treadwell 2008 which considers both conventional Islamic copper issues of the Umayyads and the Arab-Sasanian issues. Reference should also be made to Album's section on copper coins in *SICA* 1, pp. 45–51 and Daryaee 2016c.

[4] Gyselen 2009, p. 185, types a and b being copper coins of the ʿAbbāsid governor of Tabaristān ʿUmar (PYE129) and the anonymous Abzūd type (PYE143).

[5] Walker 1956; Curiel and Gyselen 1987.

[6] Miles 1959, pp. 28–43, nos 135–173, including many bronze coins with **ST** mint signature, denoting Istakhr.

[7] Loginov and Nikitin 1993.

[8] Miles 1959, pp. 101–3, pl. 18, nos 54–56.

[9] Frye 1973, pp. 32–4, nos 45–73.

[10] Walker 1960, which lists copper coins with Susa mint signature taken from excavations in 1947–9.

The main variables are divided into nine sections:

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There are other variables but, for reasons of space, not every type is discussed here. Unlike drachms, many copper issues have no mint signature, or even the name of an official. This leads to difficulties in attribution. The uniformity of the silver drachm issues was not followed by the copper coinage which was struck by a proliferation of different persons and authorities, particularly in the region of Fārs and Susa (Khūzistān region). Some coins follow the design of the drachms, with the fire altar and attendants on the reverse. Others show a diversification of design indicating a series of unrelated issues. This suggests that, unlike the drachms, copper issues were primarily for local circulation. This is re-enforced by excavations which show that local issues predominating.[11] As noted by Treadwell, we have a great deal yet to learn about this coinage.[12]

11.1 *Mints*[13]

Unlike Arab-Sasanian drachms, which almost always name a mint place,[14] copper coins often have no mint signature at all.[15] If they do indicate a mint it is often written in full (e.g. Ardashīr-Khurra, Bīshāpūr, Kāzerūn, Kavād-Khurra, Sābūr). Again, this is unlike most Arab-Sasanian silver drachms, where the mint place is normally denoted by an abbreviation.[16] When mints are indicated they are mostly located in Fārs (and what is now Khūzistān province) comprising: Ardashīr-Khurra (7.12 Ardaxšīr, 7.13 Ardaxšīr-Xvarrah, 7.14 **ART**), Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ** and the Arabic *Sābūr*), Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA**), Gūr (7.49 **GWBL**), Istakhr (7.89 **ST**, 7.90 **STHL**), Jahrōm (7.113 **YHLWM**), Kavād-Khurra (7.60 **KWAT-GDH**), Kāzerūn (7.56 **KACLWN**), Rēv-Ardashīr (7.65 **LYW**), Susa (7.100 **ŠWŠ**), Weh-az-Amid-Kavād / Arrajān (7.110 **WYHC**) and in all probability the as yet unidentified locations denoted by **PNŠ** (7.80) and **TBNK'** (7.104). The types from Istakhr are particularly varied.

Fig. 11.1. Uncertain official (**dwnystny**), reverse winged angel with mint place Ardashīr-Khurra in full, 0.28g, 19mm (**Pl. 116, 1368**)

[11] Treadwell 2008, p. 336. 22 copper coins, all of different types, have had their metal composition analysed. This sample is too small to draw any firm conclusions, save to confirm the impression that copper coinage was a local matter: Blet-Lemarquand and Gyselen 2014.

[12] Treadwell 2008, p. 333.

[13] Arab-Sasanian copper coins with mint signatures are considered alongside drachms in Chapter 7.

[14] An exception are the **ABZŪD-K** (7.1) issues of 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, and the issues referred to in section 7.120, 'Without mint' in Chapter 7.

[15] Copper coins with mint signatures are noted under their respective mints in Chapter 7.

[16] Exceptions occur when the mint is written in Arabic (e.g. 7.39 *Dimashq* / Damascus 7.52, *Hims*).

Copper coins were also struck outside the Fārs region, for example in Kirmān (7.58.25 **KLMAN-NAT**, unidentified location Kirmān region)[17] and Marw (7.68 **MLW**, Khurāsān). No copper coins are known for areas in Iraq where drachms are prolific such as Basra[18] or the Ctesiphon area. Towards the end of the Umayyad period coins with Arabic legends, struck at a variety of mints throughout the former Sasanian territory, predominate. Many of these are dated and, apart from sometimes having a Sasanian style bust, are basically Islamic coins: Hamadān 105H (no bust, only legends), Jayy 113, 114 and 119H, Kirmān 95H (no bust, legends only, Pahlavi obverse and Arabic reverse), Kirmān 95H (no bust, legends only, Pahlavi obverse and Arabic reverse), Rayy 113 and 116H (no bust, legends only), Shīrāz 137H, Ispahān (undated), Susa (undated).

There are also issues from Sīstān in the east. These bear either the mint signature **SK** (7.87) in Pahlavi for Sīstān, or *Zaranj* (7.116) in Arabic. These were struck under the Umayyads. They tend to be crude.

Copper was also struck in regions not controlled by the Umayyads. These include Tabaristān under the Ispahbads where the legends are in Pahlavi (Tabaristān was not taken by the Arabs until the time of the ʿAbbāsids). The Tabaristān issues are all dated using the Post-Yazdgard Era (PYE).[19] Zābulistān (7.119), Zābul (7.117 **ZAWL**) and Raxvad (7.64 **LHWT'**) were also outside Umayyad territory. When dated their coins probably use either a regnal year or possibly a dynastic date era. They certainly do not use the YE, PYE or Hijrī.

Coins were probably struck at more mints than those identified above. New issues are still being discovered. Also, many Arab-Sasanian coins have no indication of their mint so their place of striking is unknown.

11.2 *Chronology and Dates*

11.2.1 *Chronology*

Album divided the copper issues into three series in order to formulate a chronology.[20] This is unsatisfactory for a coinage which is so locally based and varied. It is better to focus on individual types and issues and then date them if possible. The easiest to deal with, of course, are those which are dated even though the era used is sometimes debatable. Despite these limitations Treadwell, using Album's analysis, has provided a useful framework for a more general chronology. Treadwell split the copper issues into four phases, with Phase D divided into two parts.

Phase A Imitations of Arab-Sasanian drachms struck during the Sufyānid and Zubayrid administrative period. Date range: 50s to *c*.72H (Treadwell), 40s to 72H (Malek). These are from a relatively small number of mints (Istakhr, Ardashīr-Khurra and Bīshāpūr). They can be dated with a degree of confidence. Treadwell's start date in the 50sH should be put back to the 40sH, not least in view of the coinage of ʿAbd Allāh dated 44H.

Phase B Figural coinage (drawing on a wide range of imagery) during the early Marwānid period. Date range *c*.72 to *c*.95H (Treadwell), *c*.20s / 30s to 95H (Malek). This is the most complex phase as it involved more mints and was based on a decentralised city-based mint network. These undated coins pose the greatest problems in terms of precise chronology. They have Zoroastrian motifs and make no reference to Islam. Where they bear names they are usually Iranian rather than Arab names. An end date of *c*.95H for Phase B is credible but a start date may have been as early as the final years of the Sasanian dynasty, that is, before the death of Yazdgard III in 651. Most of these coins are from the Fārs region. This area was

[17] **Pl. 119, 1416**. For an issue with an unread Pahlavi legend on the obverse, and Kirmān and 95(H) in Arabic on the reverse: **Pl. 119, 1415** (Stephen Album Rare Coins auction 31 (19 May 2018), lot 185).

[18] For Basra (7.27 **BCLA**) there is a copper issue dated 75H of Bishr b. Marwān struck from the same dies used for a drachm. For this coin, see Chapter 9, 24, fig. 9.42, p. 276..

[19] Malek 2004.

[20] *SICA* 1, p. 49; see discussion in Treadwell 2008.

fought over for a number of years and the Umayyads may have given the local elite a degree of autonomy. Thus instead of a suggested start date of *c*.72H, a start date in the 20s or 30sH is more probable.

Phase C Plain *shahāda* series. Date range *c*.96 to 132H (Treadwell and Malek). These undated issues generally have Arabic legends only. They bear the *shahāda* in three variants: plain style with no additional inscriptions, with *jāʾiz* ('current') added to the top of the reverse field, and with ʾ**pd** (*abd*, 'excellent') top of reverse field.[21]

Phase D1 Fulūs with a mint and date. Date range 101 to 132H (Treadwell and Malek). The date of these poses no difficulty, of course, as they all bear dates. These issues are purely epigraphic with legends in Arabic. They come mainly from north-western Iran and Zaranj (Zarang).

Phase D2 Hybrid types with images on one side and an Arabic mint/ date formula on the reverse. Date range 105 to 132H (Treadwell), 105 to 137H (Malek). Their dating again poses no difficulty as they all bear dates. The date range for Phase D2 can now be extended to 137H in view of the Shīrāz issue with that date.

11.2.2 *Dated issues*

Most Arab-Sasanian copper coins are undated, in contrast with the silver drachms where the vast majority are dated. The date system usually employed is Hijrī, but areas not under Umayyad control adopted their own dating systems. Tabaristān adopted the Post Yazdgard Era (PYE) starting in 652 (the year after the death of the last Sasanian king, Yazdgard III). Zābulistān apparently used regnal years based on the accession of the respective ruler, or dynastic dates. The dated Arab-Sasanian copper coins can suggest the approximate dates of the many undated types.

11.2.2.1 *Fire altar and attendant types*

Late Arab-Sasanian copper issues often have reverse legends, including the date, in Arabic. Otherwise, dates are mainly found on copper coins in the style of late Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms, with a fire altar and attendants on the reverse. Here the dates are usually in the Hijrī era and written in Pahlavi. They are found in the usual place to the left of an altar on the reverse. These fall within Treadwell's Phase A coinage. All types were struck in Fārs and Khūzistān, with the proviso that the mint place for **DST'** is uncertain, but possibly may have been Dasht-i Maysān in Iraq.

Khusrau, **ST** (7.89), 30 (**Pl. 120, 1426**; Gyselen 2009, type 19), 43 (?), 48 (**Pl. 120, 1428**), 60H (**Pl. 120, 1426**; Gyselen 2009, type 19)
YHLWM (7.113), 29YE (40H) (**Pl. 123, 1475**; Gyselen 2009, type 54)
ʿAbd Allāh, **ART** (7.14), 44H(?) (**Pl. 116, 1353**; Gyselen 2009, type 101)
ŠWŠ (7.100), 44H (**Pl. 123, 1468**)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, **ST**, 60H (**Pl. 120, 1431**; Gyselen 2009, type 63), 61H (**Pl. 120, 1432**), 62H (**Pl. 120, 1434**), 67H (**Pl. 120, 1435**)
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, **ART**, 65H (Gyselen 2009, type 1, **Pl. 116, 1361**)
ST, 68H (**Pl. 121, 1437**; Gyselen 2009, type 18), 57H, 59H, 61H, 67H
ʿUmar, **ART**, 60YE (72H) (**Pl. 116, 1360**)
Anonymous, **ST**, 60YE (72H) (**Pl. 121, 1445**; Gyselen 2009, type 105)
Tslm (?), **ST**, 69?H (**Pl. 121, 1439**; Gyselen 2009, type 19)
Uncertain (**nspw**?), **BYŠ** (7.34), 60YE (72H) (**Pl. 117, 1380**)
Uncertain, **ST**, 30 (**Pl. 120, 1429**)
Farrukhzād (Farroxzād) ī Gušn-anōšān, **DST'** (7.42), 64YE or 104 Khusrau era (76H) (**Pl. 118, 1404**; Gyselen 2009, type 53)

[21] *SICA* 1, p. 47; Treadwell 2008, pp. 363–4.

Farrukhzād (Farroxzād), **GWBL** (7.49), 64YE or 104 Khusrau era (76H) (**Pl. 118, 1406**; Gyselen 2009, type 16)
Muhallab, **ST**, PYE 43 (75H) (**Pl. 121, 1448**), 76H (**Pl. 121, 1449**)
Anonymous (*abzūd*), *Sābūr*, 80H (Gyselen 2009, type 9)

Fig. 11.2. ʿAbd Allāh, **ART**, 44? (H), with fire altar and attendants reverse, 1.01g, 25mm (**Pl. 116, 1353**)

11.2.2.2 *Dārābgerd copper*

The dated copper coins of Dārābgerd are less straightforward as different eras may have been used.[22] Numismatists are not agreed about the era or eras employed. It is assumed here that all issues bear either YE or PYE dates.[23] The following copper coins with **DA** (7.36) mint signature have a fire altar only on the reverse.

Year 46 (PYE) = 78H (**Pl. 117, 1390**)
Year 47 (PYE) = 79H (**Pl. 118, 1391**, 0762; Gyselen 2009, type 10a)
Year 48 (PYE) = 80H (Gyselen 2009, type 10a)
Year 60 (YE) = 72H (**Pl. 118, 1393**; Gyselen 2009, type 10a)
Year 67 (YE) = 79H (**Pl. 118, 1394-1396**; Gyselen 2009, type 10b)
Year 68 (YE) = 80H (**Pl. 118, 1398**; Gyselen 2009, type 10b)

All these coins are similar in style and design. This suggests it is unlikely there is a gap of 12 years between the issues, as would be the case if all coins used the same era. It is far more likely they were minted around the same time. The coin dated 60 probably has a Yazdgard Era date (= 72H) as a PYE date would be too late (= 93H).[24]

Dārābgerd struck another issue, with a similar obverse, but with a standing figure on the reverse with a Pahlavi date (72) to the left.[25] This is probably a Yazdgard Era date equivalent to 84H. This interpretation is supported by drachms of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (70YE = 82H, mint signatures **DA** and **DA-GH**) and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (71YE = 83H), mint signature **DA-P**) which also bear YE dates. A later Dārābgerd type has a reverse type showing a winged horse with a Hijrī date in Arabic above (94H).[26]

Fig. 11.3. Anonymous *abzūd* issue, **DA**, year 68 (YE = 80H), with fire altar reverse, 3.55g, 21mm (**Pl. 118, 1398**)

[22] Gyselen 2009, pp. 88–9.
[23] Treadwell 2008, pp. 341, 344–5; Gyselen 2009, pp. 88–9.
[24] Gyselen 2009, type 10a.
[25] Gyselen 2009, type 12.
[26] Gyselen 2009, type 13.

11.2.2.3 **DŠT'** *and* **GWBL**

The complexities which may occur in the reading of dates and ascertainment of the relevant era, is illustrated by the coins with mint signatures **DŠT'** (7.42, **Pl. 118, 1404**) and **GWBL** (7.49, **Pl. 118, 1406**) with an equivocal date legend which can plausibly be read as either 64 or 104. Coins with **DŠT'** are in the name of Farroxzād (Farrukhzād) ī Gušn-anōšān but those of **GWBL** only have Farroxzād. A date of 64YE would be equivalent to 76H. The name Farrukhzād is found on the obverse margin of drachms of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra for 75 and 76H, so it is at least possible that the copper and silver issues were struck at around the same time. If the date is read as 104 (which seems to be a more natural reading), then it has been suggested that the era dates from the commencement of Khusrau II's reign in AD590 and thus equates with AD694 (i.e. 75/6H).[27]

11.2.2.4 *Hijrī dates in Arabic*

Coins with the Hijrī dates written in Arabic all come from the later Umayyad period and form part of Treadwell's Phase D copper coinage.[28] Date and mint combinations include the following:[29]

95H	Kirmān (**Pl. 119, 1415**)
105H	Hamadān (Gyselen 2009, type 17)
110H	Rayy[30]
111H	Balkh (Gyselen 2009, type 95)
113H	Jayy and Rayy (Gyselen 2009, types 30, 31 and 36)
114H	Jayy (Gyselen 2009, type 32)
116H (?)	Rayy (Gyselen 2009, type 36)
119H	Jayy (Gyselen 2009, type 33)
137H	Shīrāz (Gyselen 2009, type 60)

Fig. 11.4. Anonymous Umayyad fals with reverse of Arabic legends only, Rayy, 113H, 1.85g (Album auction 25 (19 May 2016), lot 205)

11.3 *Names*

One of the frustrations with studying Arab-Sasanian copper coinage is that they are often poorly preserved, thus making the reading of legends difficult. In addition many coins either have no official's name or are in the name of Khusrau, and thus anonymous.

11.3.1	Khusrau types
11.3.2	Names of officials known from drachms
11.3.3	Names or epithet Farrukhzād, Mansūr and Gyānbūd
11.3.4	Other personal names in Pahlavi
11.3.5	Other personal names in Arabic

[27] Amini 2008, pp. 290–2.

[28] Treadwell 2008, pp. 364–71.

[29] For a listing of conventional Islamic as well as Arab-Sasanian coinage with dates written in Arabic, see Treadwell 2008, Table 3.

[30] Treadwell 2008, p. 370.

11.3.6 Names of office
11.3.7 Zābulistān issues

11.3.1 *Khusrau types*

It is not always clear whether copper coins in the name of Khusrau were struck in the Sasanian period or after the fall of the dynasty. In the Catalogue only those which are, or most probably are, from the early Islamic period have been included. These all have the usual obverse with the bust facing right and the name Khusrau in Pahlavi to the right. The reverse depicts the usual fire altar and attendants. The date eras on these issues should be regarded as uncertain. They are known with the following mint signatures:

ST (7.89), 30 (**Pl. 120, 1427**; Gyselen 2009, type 19), 48 (**Pl. 120, 1428**); 60H (**Pl. 120, 1426**; Gyselen 2009, type 19)
YHLWM (7.113), 29 YE (40H) (**Pl. 123, 1475**; Gyselen 2009, type 54), undated (**Pl. 123, 1474**; Gyselen 2009, type 107)
No mint (**Pl. 124, 1490-1491**)

Other issues have a facing bust on the obverse and the name Khusrau (**hswlwy**). The reverse shows a facing bust of a deity, either Anāhitā or Adur a male deity, and the mint signature **LYW** (7.65) (**Pl. 119, 1422**; Gyselen 2009, type 123).[31] The same nimbate bust appears on a copper coin dated 61(H?), where the obverse shows a bust facing right with the name **ʾwslwy** on the right (**Pl. 127, 1541**; Gyselen 2009, type 65).[32]

Fig. 11.5. Anonymous Khusrau type, **YHLWM**, year 29 (YE = 40H), with fire altar reverse, 1.16g, 17mm (**Pl. 123, 1475**)

11.3.2 *Names of officials known from drachms*

Copper coins in the names of officials known from the drachms generally pose no problem in identification. They are noted under the relevant official and mint signature in Chapters 7 and 9.

11.3.2.1 *ʿAbd Allāh* [*b. ʿĀmir*]

The copper issues closely follow the drachm type.

ART (7.14), 44? (**Pl. 116, 1353**; Gyselen 2009, type 101)
ŠWŠ (7.100), 44H (**Pl. 123, 1468**)

Fig. 11.6. ʿAbd Allāh, **ŠWŠ**, 44H, with reverse of fire altar and attendants, 1.95g, 21mm (**Pl. 123, 1468**)

[31] For differing views on the deity, see Malek 2002 (Anāhitā) and Gyselen 1999 (male deity). An example is in the British Museum (BM 5601-0324).

[32] Treadwell 2008, pp. 341–2, who attributes this type to Bīshāpūr.

11.3.2.2 *ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr*

The copper issues closely follow the drachm type.

ST (7.89), 60H (**Pl. 120, 1431**; Gyselen 2009, type 63), 61H (**Pl. 120, 1432**), 62H (**Pl. 120, 1434**), 67H (**Pl. 120, 1435**)

Fig. 11.7. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, **ST**, 61H, with reverse of fire altar and attendants, 1.19g, 17.5mm (**Pl. 120, 1433**)

11.3.2.3 *Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf*

These copper issues are unusual in that they are found in a number of different styles.

11.3.2.3.1 *Obv*. Bust right with *shahāda* in radial form in obverse margin and *al-hajjāj b. yūsuf* to the right of the bust. *Rev*. fire altar with attendants and a marginal legend **pylwč** / **[YH]WWN't** / **hk'k** (*pērōz*, *bavād*, *hakāk*, 'May Hajjāj be victorious') (Gyselen 2009, type 61).

11.3.2.3.2 *Obv*. Bust right with *shahāda* in radial form in obverse margin and *al-hajjāj b. yūsuf* to the right of bus. *Rev*. Caliph Orans, either representing the caliph or another prayer leader, similar to the type found on coins of Bishr b. Marwān from Kūfa (7.4 **AKWLA**) and Basra (7.27 **BCLA**) for the period 73–5H (Gyselen 2009, type 78).[33]

11.3.2.3.3 *Obv*. Bust right with name in Arabic on the right *al-hajjāj b. yūsuf* with *shahāda* marginal legend. *Rev*. standing figure with large hand with legend **plywč'** / **YHWWN't** (*pērōz*, *bavād*) left and **hč'č** right ('May Hajjāj be victorious') (**Pl. 125, 1501**; Gyselen 79).

11.3.2.3.4 *Obv*. facing bust with Pahlavi legend **hč'čywsp'n** (al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf) on right. *Rev*. horse right, legend above **pylwč'** / **'p'd** (or **hč'd**) ('Victorious Ābāy') (Gyselen 2009, type 62; **Pl. 124, 1493**).[34]

Fig. 11.8. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, with reverse of Orans figure, 0.42g, 18.2mm (**Pl. 125, 1501**)

11.3.2.4 *Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra*

The copper issues have some of the basic features of drachms but have significant differences.

ST (7.89), PYE 43 (75H) (**Pl. 121, 1448**), 76H (**Pl. 121, 1449**)

ST with facing uncrowned bust on obverse and nimbate bust on reverse (Gyselen 2009, type 23; **Pl. 121, 1451**)[35]

[33] Treadwell 2008, p. 346.

[34] Treadwell 2008, p. 348.

[35] Treadwell 2008, p. 354.

Fig. 11.9. Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra, **ST**, 76H, with reverse of fire altar and attendants, 0.92g, 14mm (**Pl. 121, 1449**)

11.3.2.5 *ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād*

These coppers usually follow closely the drachm type.

ART (7.14), 65H (**Pl. 116, 1361**; Gyselen 2009, type 1)
ST (7.89), 57H, 59H, 61H, 67H, 68H (**Pl. 121, 1437**; Gyselen 2009, type 18)

By contrast one rare issue has a bird on the obverse and on the reverse a 4-line Pahlavi legend including the name ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (**Pl. 121, 1438**) (Fig. 11.29).

Fig. 11.10. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, **ST**, 68H, with reverse of fire altar and attendants, 3.35g, 22mm (**Pl. 121, 1437**)

11.3.2.6 *ʿUmar* [*b. ʿUbayd Allāh*]

These issues are similar to the drachm issue but are only in the name of ʿUmar without mentioning his father's name.

ART (7.14), 60YE (77H) (**Pl. 116, 1360**)
ST (7.89), undated (**Pl. 121, 1442**)

Fig. 11.11. ʿUmar [b. ʿUbayd Allāh], **ST**, undated, with reverse of fire altar with attendants, 1.72g, 17.5mm (**Pl. 121, 1442**)

11.3.3 *Names or epithets: Farrukhzād*, *Mansūr and Gyānbūd*

Three of the names found on Arab-Sasanian copper coins merit separate consideration: Farrukhzād (Farroxzād), Mansūr and Gyānbūd. They are noteworthy because they are also found in the obverse margin on drachms in the names of Umayyad governors and their opponents.

11.3.3.1 *Farrukhzād* (*Farroxzād*)

The Pahlavi word **plʾwzʾt** (Farroxzād, Farrukhzād) is found on the third quarter margin of drachms of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra from Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**) dated 75 and 76H.[36] The same word is found on a number of copper issues. Farrukhzād (Farroxzād) may either be a proper name or an attribute ('Born with glory' or 'born fortunate' or 'noble birth'). If Farrukhzād is a proper name it should not be assumed that it always refers to the same person. If it is an attribute the word may not always have the same meaning. Given the time gap between 75H and 105H, it is most improbable that the fals of Hamadān dated 105H (11.3.3.1.5 below) refers to the same person as the earlier issues. The other dated copper coins with Farrukhzād are either 64 or 104, but both can be made to fit in with the issues dated 75 and 76H of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra. This can be done either by considering them dated 64 in accordance with YE (= 76H) or as dated 104 in accordance with a Khusrau era (= 75/6H). The arguments are finely balanced, and a reading of 104 is preferred here, but the argument that they refer to a person in Fārs at the time of al-Muhallab appears reasonable.[37]

Gholami has compared copper coins with the names of Farrukhzād son of Gušn-Anōs, Gušn (**gwšn**) and Farrukhzād with various drachms of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (7.89, **ST**, 70H with **gwšn** in Q2 obverse margin), al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (7.14 **ART**, 75H; 7.103 **TART**, 75H, 76) and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (7.34 **BYŠ**, 79H). The latter two officials' coins are the types with Farrukhzād in the obverse margin. He concludes that Gušn-Anōs was part of the local elite who was appointed a local governor over Istakhr by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and he was succeeded by his son Farrukhzād who remained in power at least during the period 75 to 79H.[38]

11.3.3.1.1 *Obv*. bust right, **plʾwzʾt** to right. *Rev*. *sēnmerv* (simorgh) left, mint name **ʾrthštr GDH** (7.13 Ardashīr-Khurra) around (Gyselen 2009, type 2; **Pl. 116, 1364**).[39]

11.3.3.1.2 *Obv*. bust right, **plʾzʾt** to right. *Rev*. ram, mint name **TNBK'** (7.104) to right (Gyselen 2009, type 59).[40]

11.3.3.1.3 *Obv*. bust right, two line legend to right **plʾwzʾt y** / **gwšnʾnwšʾn** (Farroxzād ī Gušn-anōšān). *Rev*. fire altar with attendants, mint name **DŠT'** (7.42 Dasht) and date either 64 or 104 (Gyselen 2009, type 53; **Pl. 118, 1404**).[41]

11.3.3.1.4 *Obv*. bust right, **plʾwzʾt** to right. Rev. fire altar with attendants with mint name **GWBL** (7.49 Gūr) and date either 64 or 104 (Gyselen 2009, type 16; **Pl. 118, 1406**).

11.3.3.1.5 *Obv*. 3-line Arabic legend *amara llāh* / *bi l-wafāʾ* / *wa l-ʿadl* ('God ordered honesty and justice'). *Rev*. 4-line legend *bism allāh* / *duriba* (*zarb*) *hadhā* / *l-fals bi hamadān* / *sanat khams wa miʾa* ('In the name of God, this fals was struck in Hamadān in the year 105'). The Pahlavi word **plʾwzʾt** is found in the outer margin below the reverse legend (Gyselen 2009, type 17).

[36] In addition it is found on the third quarter obverse margin of drachms dated 79H of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf from Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) (*SICA* 1, pl. 15, no. 225) and Jayy (**GD**).

[37] Treadwell 2008, p. 150 considers that Farrukhzād refers to the governor who issued the coins. Daryaee 2016c, p. 75 considers that Farrukhzād could have been a member of a local elite who had come to an agreement with al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf to act as co-ruler of various areas.

[38] Gholami 2017, pp. 44–5.

[39] Gyselen p. 156, type 53 transliterates the name as **plhwzʾt**, which is equally acceptable as a reading. Treadwell 2008, pp. 350–1 places the issue in the early 80sH.

[40] Treadwell 2008, p. 352.

[41] See 11.2.2.3, p. 352 above; Chapter 8, 8.D.1, p. 248 above.

Fig. 11.12. Farroxzād, **GWBL**, year 64 (YE = 76H) or 104 (Khusrau era = 75/6H), with fire altar and attendants on reverse, 4.04g, 26mm (**Pl. 118, 1406**)

11.3.3.2 *Mansūr*

From 81 to 83H **mnswl** (*mansūr*) is found in the third quarter of the obverse margin on drachms in the names of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (7.110.2 **WYHC** (Arrajān) and **YZ** (7.114 Yazd), 81H) and his opponent ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad (7.89 **ST**, (Istakhr), 82H, 83H; 7.34 **BYŠ** (Bīshāpūr), 83H).

Mansūr can be a proper name but can also be an epithet meaning 'the victorious'. In the context of the drachms, the word is probably used as an epithet, as it is unlikely that a person called Mansūr in Fārs would have been allied to both al-Hajjāj and his enemy ʿAbd al-Rahmān. It is more likely that *mansūr* may be a claim by both that they were divinely aided victors.

The word *mansūr* in Pahlavi or Arabic also appears on at least four copper issues of very different types from Istakhr (**ST**). All are undated and may not be contemporary with the silver drachms. While the drachms all name an official in the usual place to the right of the bust, the copper issues do not. If Mansūr is not the issuer's name on copper issues, then they are anonymous. A reference to a person with an epithet of *mansūr* is possible.[42] The coins, or at least some of them, may have been struck in the early 80sH.[43]

11.3.3.2.1 *Obv*. bust right, with **mnswl** in Pahlavi to right. *Rev*. standing caliph (Gyselen 2009, type 20; **Pl. 122, 1455**).

11.3.3.2.2 *Obv*. bust right, with **mnswl** in Pahlavi right. *Rev.* fire altar without attendants (**Pl. 122, 1454**).

11.3.3.2.3 *Obv.* winged horse, with **mnswl** in Pahlavi below. *Rev.* fire altar with attendants (Gyselen 2009, type 22; **Pl. 122, 1456**).

11.3.3.2.4 *Obv.* bust right, with *mansūr* in Arabic to right. *Rev.* 5-line Pahlavi legend including **mnswl** (Gyselen 20009, type 24).

Fig. 11.13. Mansūr, **ST**, Undated, with reverse of fire altar without attendants, 0.74g, 16mm (**Pl. 122, 1454**)

[42] Daryaee 2016c, p. 75 thinks that Mansūr was a member of a local elite who had been given autonomy by al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf.

[43] Gyselen 2009, pp. 73–4 for a discussion of these issues.

11.3.3.3 *Gyānbūd*

One copper issue has a Pahlavi word which may be transliterated as **yʾnbwt'**, for Gyānbūd, on the reverse. The obverse shows two Byzantine style busts and the reverse a standing figure.[44] The same word appears on the reverse of another type, also with two Byzantine style busts on the obverse, but with a 4-line Pahlavi legend on the reverse.[45] There is a variant of this with a 3-line Pahlavi legend on the reverse.[46] It is unclear whether Gyānbūd is meant to be a proper name or an epithet referring to the growth of the animal spirit of man.[47] Gyānbūd, like the words Farrukhzād and Mansūr, is also found on the silver. One drachm issue of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh, (7.26 **BBA**, 77H) has Gyānbūd in the second quarter of the margin, denoting either an official under him in Khurāsān or an attribute of Umayya himself.[48]

Fig. 11.14. Gyānbūd, with reverse of 3-line Pahlavi legend, 1.59g (Album auction 25 (19 May 2016), lot 103)

11.3.4 *Other personal names in Pahlavi*

In contrast with the names discussed above (11.3.2), other less familiar names probably represent local officials. It has not been possible to attribute any of these issues to individuals known from the historical texts, illustrating the gap in the surviving literature before the ʿAbbāsids.

11.3.4.1 *Ābāy*, *Abzāy and Dārāy*

A series of copper coins have a *gōpatshāh*, and the mint name Bīshāpūr in Pahlavi, on the reverse. They are undated. The obverses vary in design and have different names to the right of a bust. These coins must have been struck at around the same period and it is likely the names are the proper names of unidentified local officials. The word Ābāy has also been read on the reverse of a coin of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf which is written above a horse (Gyselen 2009, type 62; **Pl. 124, 1493**).[49]

11.3.4.1.1 Two heads back to back with **ʾpzʾy** (Abzāy) on the right (Gyselen 2009, type 6; **Pl. 117, 1384**).

Fig. 11.15. Abzāy, **Bīshāpūr**, undated, *gōpatshāh* reverse, 0.64g, 18mm (**Pl. 117, 1385**)

[44] Gyselen 2009, type 80; **Pl. 127, 1541**.

[45] Gyselen 2009, type 73; **Pl. 127, 1543**.

[46] Album auction 25 (19 May 2016), lot 103.

[47] Gyselen 2009, pp. 75–6.

[48] **Pl. 14, 152**.

[49] Gyselen 2009, p. 74. An alternative reading has been given of **hčʾd** rather than **ʾpʾd**: Gyselen 2009, p. 161.

11.3.4.1.2 Facing nimbate bust with **dʾlʾy** (Dārāy) on the right (Gyselen 2009, type 7; **Pl. 117, 1388**).

Fig. 11.16. Dārāy, **Bīshāpūr**, undated, *gōpatshāh* reverse,
0.80g, 21mm (**Pl. 117, 1388**)

11.3.4.1.3 Two facing Byzantine style busts with **ʾpʾd** (Ābāy) on the right (Gyselen 2009, type 8; **Pl. 117, 1389**).

Fig. 11.17. Ābāy, **Bīshāpūr**, undated, *gōpatshāh* reverse,
1.90g, 20.5mm (**Pl. 117, 1389**)

11.3.4.2 **ʾwkʾt'**

One copper issue has a bust facing right on the obverse and a fire altar on the reverse with the mint signature **HBL**. A word to the right of the obverse bust appears to read **ʾwkʾt'**, though Gyselen noted it as illegible. The word may well be the name of an official (Gyselen 2009, type 52; **Pl. 119, 1410**).

Fig. 11.18. **ʾwkʾt'**, **HBL** (7.51), undated, reverse fire altar,
3.81g, 20mm (**Pl. 119, 1410**)

11.3.4.3 **dwšnwʾl**

A Pahlavi word which can be transliterated as **dwšnwʾl** occurs to the right of a bust on the obverse. Judging by its location is probably a proper name of an unidentified official. The reverse has a fire altar and the mint signature **ST** (**Pl. 122, 1458**).

Fig. 11.19. **dwšnwʾl**, **ST** (7.89), undated, with fire altar reverse,
1.26g, 18mm (**Pl. 122, 1458**)

11.3.4.4 Kayān

The name **ky'n** (Kayān) occurs on the obverse, to the right of the bust, on two issues from Tabaristān. The reverse shows a fire altar with the mint place **tpwlst'n** (Tabaristān) and dates **hpt't** (107) and **hšt't** (108).[50] The dates are probably the PYE equivalent to 141H and 142H and thus were struck before the ʿAbbāsids finally conquered the province (Gyselen 2009, types 46a and 46b).[51]

11.3.4.5 Khurshīd

A word which appears to be the proper name **'wlšt'** (Khurshīd) occurs to the right of a right-facing bust on an issue from Susa (7.100 **ŠWŠ**). The reverse shows a winged standing figure. This Khurshīd is a different person from the Ispahbad who ruled Tabaristān at the time of the conquest of that province by the ʿAbbāsids about 142–3H (Gyselen 2009, type 45).

11.3.4.6 **nspw** (?)

The reading of these Pahlavi letters is uncertain. They occur to the right of the bust on the obverse on one issue from Bīshāpūr (7.34 **BYŠ**) dated 60 (YE = 72H). The reverse shows the usual fire altar and attendants. **nspw** may be a proper name of an unidentified official (**Pl. 117, 1380**).

Fig. 11.20. **nspw**, **BYŠ**, year 60 (YE = 72H), reverse fire altar and attendants, 1.11g, 22.5mm (**Pl. 117, 1380**)

11.3.4.7 **tslm**

Two issues from Istakhr have the word **tslm** (possibly a proper name) to the right of the obverse bust. One type is the standard type similar to the drachms with a fire altar, attendants and mint signature **ST** (7.89) on the reverse. The second type has a Byzantine style facing bust with **tslm mnslm** (?) to the right and a large **M** on the reverse with mint signature **STHL** (Gyselen 2009, type 19; **Pl. 121, 1439** and Gyselen 2009, type 27; **Pl. 121, 1440**).

Fig. 11.21. **tslm**, **STHL** (7.90), undated, with large **M** and cross above on reverse, 0.92g, 17mm (**Pl. 121, 1441**)

11.3.4.8 Yazīd

The Pahlavi name **yzy't** (Yazīd) is found to the right of the obverse bust. The reverse has a fire altar and the mint signature **KLMAN-NAT** denoting a place within Kirmān province.[52] The coin may have been struck by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who is known to have struck drachms from at least six mints in Kirmān province

[50] Gyselen reads the dates as 70 and 80, but this would give a gap of 10 years between coins of the same type.

[51] Malek 2004, types 203–205, p. 62.

[52] **Pl. 119, 1416**.

dated 78H. Alternatively, as Kirmān province was often out of Umayyad control, Yazīd may have been an opponent of the Umayyads.

Fig. 11.22. Yazīd, **KLMAN-NAT** (7.58.24), undated, reverse of fire altar, 1.06g, 15.5mm (**Pl. 119, 1416**)

11.3.4.9 Others

The Catalogue lists a number of copper coins with unread or partially read names or words: **mʾlšlmnnw** (Gyselen 2009, type 77; **Pl. 123, 1469**); **wlwʾsmy** (?) (Gyselen 2009, type 122; **Pl. 123, 1472**); **dwnystny** (Gyselen 2009, type 103; **Pl. 116, 1367**); **wlč**…**m** (Gyselen 2009, type 122; **Pl. 125, 1507**).

11.3.5 *Other personal names in Arabic*

A number of copper issues have the name of an official in Arabic. None of these are likely to have been struck before the 90sH and some may have been struck up to three decades later.

11.3.5.1 Abān b. al-Walīd

The obverse of this copper coin has a bust facing right with the Arabic legend *abān bn* / *al-walīd*. The reverse shows a 3-line Arabic legend *lā illāh* / *illā llāh* / *wahdu-hu* ('There is no God but God, He is unique').[53] Abān b. al-Walīd, was governor of Fārs under the Umayyad governor of the East (*mashriq*), Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī who arrived in the East in 105H. Abān was dismissed in 120H. Thus this coin was struck in the period 105–20H.[54]

Fig. 11.23. Abān b. al-Walīd, reverse 3-line Arabic legend, 1.23g, 26mm (**Pl. 139, 1611**)

11.3.5.2 Khālid b. ʿAbbād (Gyselen 2009, type 58)

A copper type with a facing bust on the obverse has the Arabic legend *khālid b* / *ʿabbād* to the right. The reverse has the usual fire altar and attendants, with the mint signature **TNBK'** (7.104). It has been suggested that it was struck in the 90sH.[55]

11.3.5.3 al-Malek al-ʿAzīz

A rare copper coin with a camel on the obverse has a 3-line Arabic legend on the reverse naming *al-malek* / *al-ʿazīz*.

[53] Gyselen 2009, type 64; **Pl. 139, 1611**; *SICA* 1, p. 47 dates the issue to the Caliph al-Walīd in 96H, but this was without the benefit of a clear example showing the name Abān.

[54] Treadwell 2008, pp. 363–4.

[55] Treadwell 2008, p. 353.

Fig. 11.24. Al-Malek al-ʿAzīz, camel on obverse, Arabic legend reverse, 0.91g, 21mm (**Pl. 139, 1614**)

11.3.5.4 Shurayk b. al-Hārith

The name Shurayk or Shurayk b. al-Hārith[56] is found on a number of issues of copper coins, mostly from Istakhr (7.89 **ST**). One type has the name Shurayk b. al-Hārith in Arabic either side of the obverse bust and as part of a 3-line legend with mint signature (**ST**) on the reverse (Gyselen 2009, type 72; **Pl. 122, 1463**). A second type is a variant of the first and omits the mint signature on the reverse but is most probably from Istakhr as well.[57] A third type has the names Shurayk and ʿUmar either side of the obverse bust and Shurayk as part of a 3-line legend on the reverse (Gyselen 2009, type 106; **Pl. 122, 1464**). A fourth type has Shurayk to the right of the obverse bust only with a fire altar with attendants on the reverse (Gyselen 2009, type 120; **Pl. 122, 1465**).[58] Another type has a camel on the obverse and a 4-line legend on the reverse which includes the name Shurayk (**Pl. 125, 1502**).[59]

Fig. 11.25. Shurayk b. al-Hārith, **ST**, undated, with reverse fire altar and attendants, 2.08g, 20mm (**Pl. 122, 1465**)

11.3.5.5 Yūsuf b. ʿUmar

The name *yūsuf* / *bn ʿumar* is found either side of a two faced obverse bust. The reverse has a 3-line legend. The style is later than that of the copper coin of Abān b. al-Walīd (11.3.5.1 above) (Gyselen 2009, type 125; **Pl. 139, 1615**). In addition to these rare copper coins, there is a square lead seal in the name of Yūsuf b. ʿUmar dated 123H with a 6-line Arabic legend.[60] Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaqafī was appointed ʿ*amīl* (governor) of Basra and the East from 120 to 126H Iraq by the Caliph Hishām.[61]

[56] Dr Bates prefers a reading of Sharīk rather than Shurayk (personal communication).

[57] Gholami and Zohoorian 2017, p. 61, fig. 1.

[58] This type comes in two varieties with Shurayk also being on the reverse either to the left or right of the attendants and mint signature **ST** also alternating in its position to the left and right: Gholami and Zohoorian 2017, p. 63, figs 2A and 2B. They read the name as Sharīk.

[59] Gholami and Zohoorian 2017, p. 61, consider all these issues to have been struck in the 50s H, but this is far from certain and it is difficult to reconcile the numismatic evidence with references to Shurayk or Sharīk b. al-Hārith in the written sources such as al-Tabarī.

[60] Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 53.

[61] Al-Tabarī, iii, 1698, al-Tabarī (trans.), vol. 26, p. 35; al-Yaʿqūbī (History), 2:387-93, 404, (trans.), vol. 3, pp. 1042-7, 1060. Wellhausen 1927, pp. 333–5, 367–8, 376, who painted him as a cruel and despicable individual who got his just deserts when killed in prison.

Fig. 11.26. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, with 3-line Arabic legend on reverse, 1.80g, 18mm (**Pl. 139, 1615**)

11.3.6 *Name of office: ōstāndār*

The office *ōstāndār* is known from Sasanian times. It continued in the early Islamic period and is still used in modern Iran, denoting the governor of a province (*ōstān*). The title is found on various documents in the Pahlavi Archive, without mentioning any personal name,[62] as well as on Sasanian administrative seals. It is found on one copper issue to the right of an obverse facing bust **ʾwstʾndʾl**. The reverse has the usual fire altar and attendants and mint signature **ST** (7.89 Istakhr) (Gyselen 2009, type 21; **Pl. 122, 1457**).[63] In this case *ōstāndār* is likely to refer to the governor of the district of Istakhr rather than the whole region of Fārs, which covered a very large area.

Fig. 11.27. *ōstāndār*, **ST**, undated, with reverse of fire altar and attendants, 3.26g, 23mm (**Pl. 122, 1457**)

11.3.7 *Zābulistān issues*

For a discussion of copper coins in the names of Pangul, Tegin and Spur from three closely related mints (Zābulistān, Zābul and Raxvad), see under the relevant mint signatures in Chapter 7, and for their dates (2, 4 and 11), see under Chapter 8.[64]

11.4 *Animal motifs*

The reverses of copper coins are very varied, unlike the vast majority of Arab-Sasanian drachms whose reverses bear a fire altar and attendants. Many coppers have an animal (real or mythical) on the reverse, which is a feature of the copper coinage of the Parthians. Some of these issues were probably not struck under the Umayyads, but by autonomous local authorities hostile to them. Even though the Arab Conquest of Iraq and most of Iran is considered by some commentators to have been relatively quick, nevertheless it took years to pursue Yazdgard III to his death in Marw in 651. Some districts had to be taken more than once with cities moving from Sasanian to Arab control and then back to Sasanian or local autonomous control.

Where coins have no Arabic legends or do not refer to any Arab official, the issue arises as to whether those coins are more properly regarded as Sasanian or at least autonomous local issues. All the issues listed

[62] Weber 2011, p. 31.

[63] Gyselen 2009, p. 76; Treadwell 2008, p. 355.

[64] Chapter 7, mint signatures 7.64. **LHWT'**, 7.117. **ZAWL**, and 7.118. **ZAWLSTAN**, pp. 179, 239-40; Chapter 8, 8.D.2, p. 248.

here were probably struck during the early Islamic period, but an earlier date in the final years of Yazdgard III cannot be entirely excluded for some issues.

11.4.1 *Birds*

One issue in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād of Istakhr (7.89 **ST**) has a bird on the obverse (**Pl. 121, 1438**). Birds are often found on Sasanian seals but they are not found on Sasanian copper coins, albeit eagles are found on Parthian bronze issues.[65] The bird on the ʿUbayd Allād b. Ziyād issue may be a goose. The coin was presumably struck in the 50s and 60s Hijrī when he was Umayyad governor of the East. Birds are also found on two other issues: one holds a diadem, but the reverse is not clear (**Pl. 126, 1539**), on another there is a bird with ʾ**pzn** or ʾ**pzwn** (**abzūn**, 'increase') above on the obverse and *muhammad rasūl allāh jāʾiz* on the reverse.[66]

Fig. 11.28. Sasanian seal, fifth to sixth century, goose with snake (?)
(Johnson 7870-0017)(2x)

Fig. 11.29. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, **ST**, undated, with bird on obverse,
0.86g, 17mm (**Pl. 121, 1438**)

11.4.2 *Bull or other unidentified animal*

It is not always possible to identify the type of animal depicted. Gyselen described an animal on one issue as a bull but on closer examination it appears to be an elephant (see 11.4.4 below).[67] There is a four-legged animal on the reverse of another issue, but the coin is not clear enough to be sure of the beast (**Pl. 126, 1538**). Bulls appear in various forms on Parthian copper coins.[68]

Fig. 11.30. Anonymous issue, on reverse four-legged animal,
0.47g, 15.5mm (**Pl. 126, 1538**)

[65] E.g. Sellwood 1980, p. 133, type 42.3 (Orodes II, tetrachalkos, *c*.57–38 BC).

[66] Album auction 19 (15 May 2014), lot 140. Listed as struck in the latter part of the Umayyad period, probably in southwestern Irān, *c*.96–100H or somewhat later.

[67] Gyselen 2009, type 105.

[68] E.g. Sellwood 1980, p. 171, types 52.46 (facing bull's head), 52.47 (standing humped bull), Phraates IV, chalkoi (*c*.38–2 BC).

11.4.3 *Camel*

The camel motif is found on a number of copper varieties, including one type with the mint signature **ST** (7.89) and a 3-line Pahlavi legend on the reverse, but without any readable official's name (Gyselen 2009, type 127, **Pl. 122, 1461**). On another coin, also with a 3-line Pahlavi legend on the reverse, the obverse camel has a rider (**Pl. 122, 1462**). Another type, also only in Pahlavi, has no discernible mint signature though this too may be from Istakhr in Fārs (**Pl. 125, 1503**). A further issue, also entirely Pahlavi, has the name Shurayk (**Pl. 125, 1502-1503**).[69] It is possible that these issues were not struck under Umayyad control given the absence of Arabic legends. A later issue is clearly Umayyad. One side has a camel and an Arabic legend on the other *bism allāh* / *al-malek* (**Pl. 139, 1614**). The camel is used as a motif on a number of countermarks, which tend only to be found on Arab-Sasanian drachms struck in Khurāsān.[70] Camels are also found on late Sasanian seals.[71]

The camel is a symbol representing several Zoroastrian deities, including the God of Victory, Verethragna. This shows the strong Zoroastrian and Sasanian influence on the issues with only Pahlavi legends.

Fig. 11.31. Sasanian seal, fifth to sixth century, camel with Pahlavi legend (Johnson 7870-0019)(3x)

Fig. 11.32. Unidentified, **ST**, undated, camel on obverse, 3-line Pahlavi legend reverse, 0.65g, 16.5mm (**Pl. 122, 1461**)

11.4.4 *Elephant*

Elephants are occasionally found on copper coins of the Parthians.[72] An elephant with a rider or accompanying figure appear on several copper Arab-Sasanian issues. A very rare undated copper shows an elephant with a rider on the obverse and the letters **DA** (7.36 Dārābgerd) only within two outer circles on the reverse (**Pl. 118, 1403**). An elephant with rider also features on one dated type from Istakhr (7.89 **ST**), with a fire altar and attendants on the reverse. The date, 60, is of an unknown era: it could be YE (= 72H) or possibly PYE (= 93H) (Gyselen 2009, type 105; **Pl. 121, 1445**; **Pl. 121, 1446**). Another issue has an elephant on the reverse and a diademed figure either standing behind or riding on it. The obverse of the latter shows a bust facing right with an unclear legend (**Pl. 126, 1540**).[73] Elephants are also found on Sasanian seals.[74]

[69] This may be Shurayk b. al-Hārith, whose name is found on another variety with a facing bust on the obverse: Gyselen 72, **Pl. 122, 1463**.

[70] Chapter 12, countermarks 12/1-d.

[71] Loukonine and Ivanov 2003, p. 81, fig. 60, sixth to seventh century Sasanian seal in the name of Darfarrukh, son of Barzushtan with a dromedary (Hermitage Inventory No. GL407).

[72] E.g. Sellwood 1980, p. 31, type 8.3 (Mithradates I, *c*.171–138 BC).

[73] Album auction 20 (18 September 2014), lot 117 (1.22 g), where it is suggested the legend may be the Arabic *jā'iz* (current).

[74] For an example of a Sasanian bulla with a standing elephant, see Niknami and Naderi 2016, fig. II E/187 (Bandar Abbas Museum).

Fig. 11.33. Anonymous issue, **DA**, undated, elephant with rider on obverse, 0.69g, 12.5mm (**Pl. 118, 1403**)

11.4.5 *Gōpatshāh*

The *gōpatshāh* was a mythical beast with a bull's body (Zebu) and a human head.[75] It is encountered on Sasanian seals. A crowned *gōpatshāh* is also found on at least three types of Arab-Sasanian coppers where it wears a crown similar to that of Khusrau II. All issues have the mint place Bīshāpūr in full. One type, which has a bust with two heads back to back on the obverse, is in the name of Abzāy (Gyselen 2009, type 6; **Pl. 117, 1384**);[76] another has a facing bust and is in the name of Dārāy (Gyselen 2009, type 7; **Pl. 117, 1388**); yet another has two Byzantine style facing busts and is in the name of Ābāy (Gyselen 2009, type 8; **Pl. 117, 1389**). Given the fact that all three are from the same mint and have the same motif and reverse style, the coins were probably struck within a relatively narrow time frame. If the Ābāy is the same personality as the one found on coins of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, the coins are likely to have been struck in the 70s Hijrī, but probably no later as there are no Arabic legends.

Fig. 11.34. Sasanian seal, about sixth century AD, *gōpatshāh* (Johnson 7870-0016)(2x)

Fig. 11.35. Abzāy, **Bīshāpūr**, undated, on reverse *gōpatshāh*, 0.64g, 18mm (**Pl. 117, 1385**)

11.4.6 *Horse*

Horses are often found on Parthian copper coins, but not on those of the Sasanians.[77] Various Arab-Sasanian issues have a horse motif, either a horse alone, a horse with a rider (see 11.4.7 below), or a winged horse (11.4.11). The type with a horse (or onager) on the reverse, has a facing bust on the obverse and the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, so was probably struck in the period 76–81H (Gyselen 2009, type 62; **Pl. 124-125, 1493, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1500, 1501**).[78] It also has the name Ābāy, which suggests the coin may have been

[75] Winged human-headed bull figures are not only found on Sasanian seals, but on stucco plaques as at Hajiabād: Harper 2006, pp. 7 and 38 (figs 3 and 5).

[76] British Museum (BM 5601-0426). Treadwell 2008, pp. 348–50 describes the figure as a human-headed bull.

[77] E.g. Sellwood 1980, p. 31, type 8.2 (Mithradates I, *c*.171–138 BC).

[78] The reverse of one example shows clearly it has been overstruck on an issue of Gyselen type 66 (**Pl. 124, 1494**).

struck in Bīshāpūr as other types with the name of Ābāy have that mint signature (11.3.4.1, 11.3.4.1.3, 11.4.5). Furthermore, a number of examples have been found in the excavations of Bīshāpūr.

Fig. 11.36. Sasanian seal, about sixth century AD, horse (Johnson 7870-0015)(2x)

Fig. 11.37. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, on reverse horse, 0.22g, 16mm (**Pl. 124, 1496**)

11.4.7 *Horseman*

There are three varieties of the type with a horseman on the reverse holding what appears to be a falcon. On two of these varieties the mint Kāzerūn is named (Gyselen 2009, type 35a, 35a bis; **Pl. 119, 1411-1413**). The third has no reverse legend, but it is undoubtedly from the same mint place (Gyselen 2009, type 35b; **Pl. 119, 1414**). None of these coins has any Arabic legends. There was no Sasanian mint at Kāzerūn, nor is the mint known for Arab-Sasanian drachms. There are no Arabic legends on these coins. They may have been minted under the Umayyads at a relatively early date but one cannot be certain.

Fig. 11.38. Anonymous *abzūd* issue, **KACLWN** (7.56, Kāzerūn), undated, on reverse horseman, 2.23g, 19mm (**Pl. 119, 1411**)

Fig.11.39. Sasanian clay seal of Ispahbad on horse, sixth century AD (Johnson IMG-1689)(1x)

11.4.8 *Ibex*

One type has what looks like an ibex on the obverse and, apparently, a Pahlavi legend around the animal. The reverse has a 3-line religious Arabic legend (Gyselen 2009, type 92). It was probably struck not before *c.*70H.[79]

11.4.9 *Ram*

A ram is shown on the reverse of one type, with the otherwise unknown mint signature **TNBK'** (7.104; Gyselen 2009, type 59). The obverse has a bust right and the name or epithet Farrukhzād (Farroxzād) in Pahlavi. This name also found on coins of Ardashīr-Khurra (7.13) with a *simorgh* motif (see 11.4.10 and 11.3.3.1.1) and one with **DŠT'** mint signature (7.42) with a fire altar and attendants on the reverse (see 11.3.3.1.3).

The word Farrukhzād may either be a proper name or the epithet 'born with glory' (see 11.3.3.1). The latter is a plausible interpretation, especially as in Sasanian times a ram was associated with regal splendour *xvarrah* (Khurra / Khurrah).[80] If Farrukhzād is an epithet these coins may have been struck locally when the district was free of Arab control, or at least when the Umayyads co-existed with the local elite.

On balance, though, Farrukhzād is probably an official's name. The ram issue was probably struck in Fārs. Although there is no Arabic on these coins they may be much later. Farrukhzād appears in the margin of drachms of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf from 75 to 79H. It also appears on copper issues of the mint Gūr dated 104H (Gyselen 2009, type 16) and Hamadān for 105H (Gyselen 2009, type 17). This makes it unlikely that all the issues with the name Farrukhzād refer to the same official. Farrukhzād was a Sasanian or Iranian name and one cannot be sure that the copper coin with a ram was struck under the same official as the silver drachms of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra and al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf.

Fig. 11.40. Farrukhzād, **TNBK'** (Tanbūk), undated, with ram on reverse, 0.53g, 22mm (**Pl. 123, 1471**)

A ram is found as a motif on other Sasanian objects including seals.[81]

Fig. 11.41. Sasanian seal with ram motif, about sixth century AD(Johnson 7870-0020)(3x)

[79] What are described as stags are found on some Parthian copper coins, e.g. Sellwood 1980, p. 141, types 45.38–39 (Orodes II, tetrachalkoi). For a gazelle, see Sellwood 1980, p. 162, type 50.17 (Phraates IV, chalkos, *c.*38–2 BC).

[80] The *Kārnāmag ī Ardashīr Pābagān* refers to an episode when Ardashīr I was in flight from Parthian forces, when a ram appeared alongside his horse and it was said that the Kayānid glory had reached Ardashīr: Daryaee 2016c, p. 79.

[81] For a Sasanian bulla with an impressive ram motif, see Niknami and Naderi 2016, fig. II, A/39 (Bandar Abbas Museum).

Fig.11.42. Sasanian clay bulla, with ram motif, about sixth century AD (Johnson 7870-0011)(1.5x)

11.4.10 *Simorgh*

The *simorgh* (*sēnmurw*, *sēnmerv*) is a well known Sasanian motif, particularly on silver vessels, textiles and stucco.[82] The *simorgh* was a mythical bird who, in the *Shāhnāmeh* of Ferdowsi ('Book of Kings'), is said to have aided Rustam in his conflicts with the enemies of Iran. A *simorgh* is a composite creature looking like a lion-dragon. In the late Sasanian period it is shown as a winged animal with a feline head and griffin like ears, feline legs and paws and claws, and a long body with a peacock's tail, the feathers depicted without the eye pattern. In the 1980s up to 100 examples of a copper coin with a reverse type of a *simorgh* and the full name of the mint Ardashīr-Khurra (Ardaxsīr-Xvarrah), appeared on the market (Gyselen 2009, type 2; **Pl. 116, 1364-1366**). The word Farrukhzād appears on the obverse. This may be a proper name or the epithet 'born with glory' (see 11.3.3.1).[83] Given that Farrukhzād appears in a number of contexts on both the silver and copper coinage over a relatively extended period, it is possible that the word is sometimes intended to be an epithet rather than a proper name. The coins have no Arabic legends so they may have been struck locally, independent of the Umayyads. The breast ornament below the obverse bust, a pellet within a circle, is not found on Umayyad drachms until the 50sH. This, taken with the absence of Arabic, suggests the issue was struck in the 50s or 60sH. On the other hand, it can be argued that the coins were struck in the late 70s or early 80sH to fit in with the silver drachms of al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra from Ardashīr-Khurra (**ART**) dated 75 and 76H with Farrukhzād in the obverse margin.[84] There is another issue, known only from a poorly preserved example with a *simorgh* on the obverse and a 3-line Pahlavi legend on the reverse (Gyselen 2009, type 91).

Fig. 11.43. Farroxzād, **Ardashīr-Khurra**, undated, on reverse *simorgh*, 0.72g, 23.5mm (**Pl. 116, 1365**)

[82] E.g. on the walls of the large iwan of Khusrau II at Tāq-i Bustān, the *simorgh* motif is found on the decoration of royal garments and on the horse's body armour: Harper 2006, pp. 22, 23, 49 (fig. 20) and 72. For an example of a *simorgh* used on textiles, see Loukonine and Ivanov 2003, p. 95, fig. 83, which illustrates a ninth century caftan found in a grave in Moshchevaya Balka (North Caucasus). For an example of a *simorgh* on a silver plate, see Alibaigi *et al*. 2017, pp. 238–9, figs 9–12, which was found along with other silver vessels in the Qouri Qaleh cave (Kermanshah province).

[83] Indeed the *simorgh* may stand for the ideal of regal or divine glory (*xvarrah*): Daryaee 2016c, pp. 77–8.

[84] Treadwell 2008, p. 351 would appear to be consistent with such a later date.

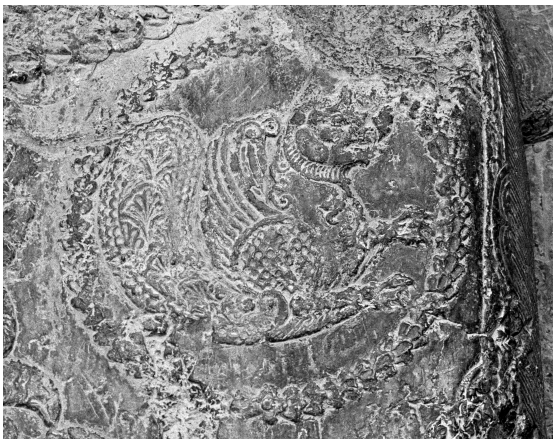


Fig. 11.44. Detail from hunting scene at Tāq-i Bustān (Photo Georgina Hermann)

Fig. 11.45. Sasanian style silver plate from Qouri Qaleh cave, *simorgh* motif, about seventh century AD: 142mm, 170.79g (Kermanshah Cultural Heritage, Handicraft, Tourism Organisation, no. 238; courtesy Dr Sajjad Alibaigi; photo Ali Matin)(0.33x)

11.4.11 *Winged horse*

A winged horse (Pegasus) is found on a number of Parthian copper coins.[85] A winged horse is also depicted on a number of different Arab-Sasanian types. The earliest type, from Susa, shows the motif on the obverse. The reverse has a 4-line Pahlavi legend saying the issue was ordered by Zāday and was current in Susa (Gyselen 2009, type 43). There is no Arabic legend. It is possible this was a local issue, struck independently from the Umayyads. Another type with a winged horse and the mint **BYŠ** (7.34 Bīshāpūr) on the reverse, and a bust with the Arabic word *jā'iz* (current) on the obverse, is probably later (Gyselen 2009, type 4; **Pl. 117, 1381**). A third type has a winged horse and the Arabic word *mansūr* on the obverse, with a fire altar and attendants on the reverse with the Pahlavi **ŠRM** (**drōd**, 'peace') on the left and **ST** (7.89) for Istakhr on the right (Gyselen 2009, type 22; **Pl. 122, 1456**).[86] A later type has the date 94(H) in Arabic with a winged horse and the mint **DA** (7.36 Dārābgerd) on the reverse. The obverse shows a bust with a Pahlavi legend **GDH 'pzwt'** ('may splendour increase') and in the margin in Arabic *bism allāh* ('in the name of God') (Gyselen 2009, type 13).

[85] E.g. Sellwood 1980, p. 130, type 41.18 (Mithradates III, tetrachalkos, 57–54 BC).

[86] In this context one cannot be confident that Mansūr is in fact a proper name. It may be an epithet 'the victorious', particularly as the word is also found on silver drachms of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad for 81–2H: see Gyselen 2009, pp. 73–4.

A winged horse is a fairly common motif on Sasanian objects such as seals and weights. It is not exclusively an Iranian representation, of course, as both the Greeks and Romans depicted Pegasus. Its continued use in the early Islamic period is exemplified by two identical unprovenanced glass weights with a winged horse and an Arabic legend above.[87]

al-burāq was the winged horse which carried the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem and then back.

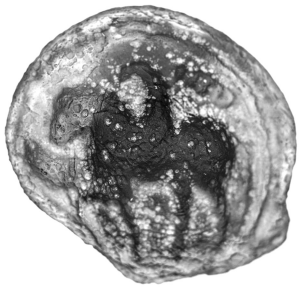


Fig. 11.46. Glass weight with winged horse (*al-burāq*) *c*.60–100H, 17.30g (Stephen Album auction 25 (19 May 2016), lot 107)(1.5x)

Fig. 11.47. Sasanian seal, about sixth century AD, winged horse (Johnson 7870-0018)(3x)

Fig. 11.48. Sasanian clay bulla, about sixth century AD, winged horse (Johnson IMG-1712)(1.5x)

[87] Morton and Eden auction 79 (21 April 2016), lot 15 (legend read as *allāh*); Stephen Album auction 25 (19 May 2016), lot 107 (legend read as [*rabbī*?] *allāh*).

Fig. 11.49. Mansūr, **ST**, undated, winged horse on obverse, fire altar with attendants on reverse, 3.52g, 21mm (**Pl. 122, 1456**)

11.5 *Fire Altar*

There are a significant number of issues with the traditional fire altar with attendants, following the style of silver drachms. These are often in the name of officials who also struck drachms. Many of these are already considered (see 11.3.3.1–2 above). There are also types where the attendants are omitted, such as on the issues from Dārābgerd. These coins were generally struck in the earlier phases of Arab-Sasanian coinage from the 40s to 70sH.

Fig. 11.50. Anonymous Khusrau type, **YHLWN** (7.113), undated, with fire altar reverse, 1.11g (**Pl. 123, 1474A**)

11.6 *Cross*

Some Byzantine-style issues depict a cross on steps or a cross alone, instead of a fire altar.[88] These were probably struck from the late 70sH onwards (Gyselen 2009, types 5, 27, 28, 39a, 39b, 40, 81, 83, 85, 90, 97; **Pl. 127, 1541, 1544, 1545, 1546**; **Pl. 129, 1592**).[89]

Fig. 11.51. Anonymous issue, Byzantine style with Patriarchal cross on reverse, 0.57g, 22mm (**Pl. 127, 1549**)

11.7 *Standing Figure*

There are a number of different standing figures, in addition to the fire altar attendants, shown on the reverses.

[88] Treadwell 2008, pp. 360–1.

[89] The fact these coins are modelled on Byzantine coins has led some commentators to conclude that after the collapse of the Sasanians, Christian bishops or aristocrats stepped in to fill the gap and issued these coins for their own communities. Wood 2018, p. 258. This view is unproven. It does not necessarily follow that those who issued copper coinage modelled largely or even partially on Byzantine prototypes or symbolism were themselves Christians. After all the majority of Arab-Sasanian drachms struck under the Umayyads have the Zoroastrian fire altar on the reverse.

11.7.1 *Standing figure with outstretched hands*

The figure shown of these coins may be the caliph, or other prayer leader, with outstretched hands.

Mansūr – Istakhr (7.89 **ST**) (Gyselen 2009, type 20; **Pl. 122, 1455**)
Susa (7.100 **ŠWŠ**) (Gyselen 2009, type 41)[90]

Fig. 11.52. Mansūr, **ST**, undated, on reverse standing caliph with outstretched hands, 2.92g, 21.5mm (**Pl. 122, 1455**)

11.7.2 *Standing figure with one large hand visible*

The figure may be the caliph or other prayer leader.

Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (Gyselen 2009, type 79; **Pl. 125, 1501**)

11.7.3 *Standing facing figure*, *arms spread*

Without mint (Gyselen 2009, type 88)

Fig. 11.53. Anonymous, mint not identified, reverse standing figure, 2.80g (**Pl. 126, 1537A**)

11.7.4 *Standing caliph with sword*

This figure is similar to that on the Standing Caliph drachms dated 75H, which are considered to have been struck in Damascus.[91]

Susa (**ŠWŠ**) (Gyselen 2009, types 39a, 39b, 40)

11.7.5 *Winged standing figure*

Two types show a, possibly different, winged figure which appears to be an angel.

Susa (7.100 **ŠWŠ**) (Gyselen 2009, type 45)
Ardashīr-Khurra (Gyselen 2009, type 103; **Pl. 116, 1367**)[92]

[90] Treadwell 2008, pp. 359–60.

[91] Walker 1941, p. 24, ANS.5.

[92] Treadwell 2008, p. 351 considers that the same engraver probably prepared the dies for the *simorgh* reverse issue for the same mint. He notes that the image of the nimbate angel is most likely derived from the reverse of a Byzantine solidus of the sixth century AD.

Fig. 11.54. **dwnystny**, **Ardaxšīr-Xvarrah** (7.13), undated, on reverse facing winged nimbate angel, 0.70g, 23mm (**Pl. 116, 1367**)

11.7.6 *Standing figure holding spear*

The standing figure is in armour and holds a spear with a point at each end. This would enable it to be stuck upright on the ground. It has been suggested that the spear could be equated with the *ʿanaza* of the Prophet Muhammad used to indicate the direction of Mecca.[93]

Kavād-Khurra (Gyselen 2009, type 109; **Pl. 119, 1417**)

Fig. 11.55. Uncertain, **KWAT-GDH** (7.60 Kavād-Khurra), undated, on reverse standing figure holding spear, 1.06g, 24mm (**Pl. 119, 1417**)

11.8 *Bust*

The vast majority of Arab-Sasanian silver drachms have a bust, modelled on that of the Sasanian king Khusrau II (590–628), on the obverse. In contrast, comparatively few Arab-Sasanian copper coins have a bust of the Sasanian king. Either they have no bust at all, or they have a bust of a different style, reflecting the location and period when the coin was struck. The Byzantine style coinage is particularly distinctive with either single or double busts modelled on Byzantine coinage. (Two Byzantine style busts: Gyselen 2009, types 73, 80 and 85, **Pl. 127, 1541, 1543, 1544**. Single busts: Gyselen 2009, types 27, 74).

Fig. 11.56. Gyānbūd, with two Byzantine style busts, 1.65g, 23mm (Gyselen 2009, type 80; **Pl. 127, 1541**)

[93] Schulze and Oddy 2015, p. 200.

11.8.1 *Janus busts*

The most unusual busts are probably the double-faced (Janus) busts. This type of bust is never found on Sasanian coins. In the Arab-Sasanian series it is found on anonymous issues and issues from Bīshāpūr in the name of Abzāy (Gyselen 2009, type 6; **Pl. 117, 1384**).[94]

Fig. 11.57. Anonymous issue, with double-faced bust, and Pahlavi legends, 0.53g, 14mm (**Pl. 126, 1530**)

11.8.2 *Left facing busts*

Almost all Sasanian issues have the bust facing right. In the Arab-Sasanian series there is an issue from Ardashīr-Khurra where the bust is facing left (Gyselen 2009, type 103). This may not have been a deliberate break with the past as the same type is more commonly found with the bust facing right. Isolated issues from Istakhr and Susa also have a left facing bust (Gyselen 2009, types 26 and 38).

Fig. 11.58. **dwnystny**, unidentified official, **Ardaxšīr-Xvarrah** (7.13), 0.70g, 23mm (Gyselen 2009, type 103; **Pl. 116, 1367**)

11.8.3 *Facing busts*

Coins with facing busts are rarely seen on Sasanian coins. They are used on the earliest Ardashīr I issues and special issues of Khusrau II. A number of Arab-Sasanian copper types are modelled on the special issues of Khusrau II, copying both the bust of Khusrau II on the obverse and the nimbate deity on the reverse (Gyselen 2009, types 51, 65, 110 and 123; **Pl. 124, 1486**, **Pl. 119, 1419, 1422**). Others have a different obverse, but have the nimbate deity on the reverse (Gyselen 2009, types 23 and 114; **Pl. 121, 1451**).

Fig. 11.59. Anonymous Khusrau type with facing bust of king on obverse and nimbate deity on reverse, 1.17g, 25.5mm (Gyselen 2009, type 65; **Pl. 124, 1486**)

[94] Also on an issue with **WYHC** mint signature: Gyselen 2009, type 49.

11.9 *Legends*

The legends on Arab-Sasanian copper coins are particularly diverse. They can be split into three types

11.9.1 Pahlavi legends

11.9.2 Pahlavi and Arabic legends

11.9.3 Arabic legends

11.9.4 *Pahlavi legends*

The earliest 'Arab-Sasanian' copper coins have no Arabic legends. The inscriptions are in Pahlavi and there is nothing to indicate they were struck by the Arabs. Such issues were probably struck by the local elite who had continued in power from the late Sasanian period. The coins generally bear Zoroastrian symbols ranging from animal figures and deities to the simple crescent and star (representing the moon and the sun). They reflect the autonomous or co-operative nature of the local administration. Such coins are important for our understanding of the extent to which the Arabs were actually in control of specific areas, particularly within Fārs from where most local copper issues predominate. The formula **'p't** or **'c't'** followed by the name of the place is known for issues from Ardashīr-Khurra (Gyselen 2 and 103; **Pl. 116, 1364, 1367**), Bīshāpūr (Gyselen 6, 7 and 8; **Pl. 117, 1384, 1388, 1389**), Istakhr (Gyselen 2009, type 27, **Pl. 121, 1440**) and Kavād-Khurra (Gyselen 2009, types 34 and 109; **Pl. 119, 1417, 1420**), all within the Fārs region. The word can either be read as *ābād*, meaning 'inhabited' or 'place', denoting the town, or *āzād*, meaning 'free' or 'prosperous'. It is not possible to be definitive about which word was intended because of the ambiguity of the script.[95] It is tempting to read the formula as meaning for example 'may Bīshāpūr be free', thus stressing its independence from the Arabs.[96] However, the formula is also found on an issue from Kavād-Ardashīr with *bism allāh* on the obverse and the formula on the reverse. Many towns in Iran feature the word *ābād* at the end of the place name, so it is entirely possible it merely refers to 'town'. Even if the word is *āzād*, it can mean 'prosperous' rather than 'free' (e.g. 'may Bīshāpūr be prosperous'). On the other hand, it may have had a dual implication so it could be understood as 'free' for those who commissioned the coins and the local population.

Fig. 11.60. Anonymous, Kavād-Khurra, with Arabic legend on obverse, 0.92g, 24mm (Gyselen 2009, type 34; **Pl. 119, 1420**)

11.9.2 *Pahlavi and Arabic legends*

Bilingual issues with legends in Pahlavi and Arabic are later, struck at a time when the Umayyads had greater control. Often these coins contain an expression of an Islamic nature, such as *bism allāh*, the standard formula found on silver drachms.

11.9.3 *Arabic legends*

Coins with purely Arabic legends are later still. They were probably struck from the time of ʿAbd al-Malik until the end of the Umayyad dynasty.

[95] Gyselen 2009, p. 85 who leaves open which reading is to be preferred.

[96] Daryaee 2016c, p. 74, prefers the reading 'Bīshāpūr is free'.

Conclusions

What conclusions can be drawn from such a varied coinage? First, the striking of copper coinage was predominantly a local matter and circulation was, by and large, limited to the provinces or localities in which they were struck. This represented a marked contrast with the silver drachms which followed a more or less a standard format and usually circulated widely (save for coins struck in the outer regions such as Sīstān). Second, copper coins varied so much in weight, even within individual issues, that they must have been fiduciary issues and not based on metal value. Third, the earlier copper coinage tended to be in Pahlavi with numerous different motifs (predominantly Zoroastrian), mainly struck within the Fārs region. This indicates that they were struck by local elites who had at least a degree of autonomy from the Arabs. This suggests they were struck, either when the districts were outside Arab control, or when the Arabs were content to leave the local elite in power. It either represents a lack of control or a degree of co-existence, whereby local elites were allowed to remain in power and run affairs within their districts.[97] Fourth, the issues purely in Pahlavi with local types, were phased out over time and replaced by a coinage, at first partly and later entirely, in Arabic. The later copper issues were struck at a time when the Umayyad conquerors had greater control and penetration into the former Sasanian lands.

[97] Daryaee 2016c, p. 74 considers these coins hint at a form of co-operation that is rare for this period anywhere in the Umayyad caliphate.

CHAPTER 12

COUNTERMARKS

Countermarks are frequently found on Arab-Sasanian drachms, usually on the obverse margin (except for on the late Sīstān issues). They are less often found on copper issues, probably because they are in essence fiduciary and intended for local circulation.[1] Walker produced a table of countermarks found on Arab-Sasanian drachms,[2] which was updated by Göbl,[3] but there is no recent detailed and systematic study of countermarks. A useful summary was published by Album, which concludes that further research is needed.[4]

The purpose of countermarks is to confirm the acceptability of a coin so it can circulate in a specific region or among specific groups. In some instances the metal of the coin was checked at the time it was countermarked as there is occasionally a scrape on the reverse. The scrape may have been done first to test the metal; if it was up to standard the coin would have been countermarked.[5] This applies in particular to coins with countermarks 10 and 11 on anonymous Khusrau type drachms. The designs on countermarks fall into three groups: 1. Heads, animals and *simurgh*; 2. Tamgas and symbols; 3. Legends.

Table 12.1 lists all the main countermark types following the order and numbering in Walker and Göbl 1967.[6] Those not in Walker and Göbl (marked with * on the table) are countermarks 3/e, 3/f, 10A, 11/J, 11/L–R, 14/b, 15/b, 19A, 21/b, 28A, 29A, 33A, 33/b, 34A–C, 40A-B, 48/b, 48/c, 53A, 56/b, 59A-B, 60A, 62A, 112A, 113A, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125. Other countermarks are known on Sasanian and Hephthalite coins,[7] and Arab-Sasanian copper.[8]

Arab-Sasanian drachms circulated widely, as evidenced by coin finds throughout the Middle East and as far afield as China. Even within Iran hoards show a wide mix of mints, dates and named officials.[9] Nevertheless certain countermarks are known predominantly on coins from specific mints or provinces. For example, drachms from western mints often bear the *simurgh* countermark (types 1–11/R). Countermarks 48, 48/a and 48/b with the Arabic word *lillāh* are usually found only on drachms from Kirmān and to a lesser extent Sīstān. It is found on various coins with the **KLMAN** (7.58) mint signature by itself, **KLMAN** as part of the signature such as **GLM-KLMAN** (7.46), and **NAL** (7.72). Drachms from mints in Khurāsān can have up to six countermarks, usually with a mixture of Bactrian legends and symbols. This helps confirm the location of some mints in Khurāsān such as **ANBYR** (7.6), **BBA** (7.26), **BHL** (7.29), **HLA** (7.54), **MLW** (7.68) and **MLWLWT** (7.69).

The use of countermarks on late Arab-Sasanian coins struck in Sīstān during the ʿAbbāsid period was different from that of the earlier period. Countermarks were sometimes stamped over the main design of the coin – either obverse or reverse – instead of on the obverse margin. They sometimes bear the names of local rulers in Arabic.[10] These countermarks naming local rulers are not found on regular Arab-Sasanian drachms struck during the Umayyad period. Certain countermarks are not found on the late Sīstān issues,

[1] This chapter does not deal with countermarks on copper coins, but where present they are noted in the catalogue. The countermarks are generally different to those found on drachms and are adequately covered in Gyselen 2009, pp. 20–2.

[2] Walker 1941, table p. cxliv, commentary pp. cxlii–cxlvi.

[3] Göbl 1967, especially vol. 2, pp. 112–202 and vol. 4, pls 8–3. His analysis is far from satisfactory.

[4] *SICA* 1, pp. 61–3.

[5] Tsumura 2012, who considers these scrapes in some detail on the basis of the 1959 hoard found in Wuqia in western China.

[6] Göbl 1967 both added to Walker's list and omitted some listed by Walker.

[7] *SNS* (Usbekistan), pp. 81–91 lists and illustrates 46 countermarks found in museum collections in Usbekistan.

[8] Gyselen 2009, pp. 20–2, lists 13 such countermarks.

[9] For examples of hoards, see Chapter 16, section 3, pp. 419-20 below.

[10] These are dealt with in Chapter 15.

e.g. heads, *simurghs* or those with Pahlavi or Bactrian legends. This may reflect three points. First, the countermarks found on regular Arab-Sasanian coins were generally contemporaneous, or at least put on before the end of the Umayyad period. Second, the late Sīstān issues were struck after the production of Arab-Sasanian drachms had ceased elsewhere in about 84H. Thirdy, late Sīstān issues tended not to circulate widely and are generally not found alongside other Arab Sasanian cions. Countermarks are not found on the drachms of the Dābūyid Ispahbads and early ʿAbbāsid governors of Tabaristān of which the earliest known issues are dated PYE60 (= 93H).

Countermarks on Arab-Sasanian coins can be broken down into four categories:

12.1 Countermarks probably applied in the period of 40–60H, generally bearing a *simurgh* (types 10 and 11).

Found on earlier Arab-Sasanian issues, from western mints, most frequently on anonymous Khusrau types but were also applied to late Sasanian drachms, particularly those of Khusrau II (590–628). The latest attested issue is a drachm of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād struck in Sīstān dated 56H (a frozen date).

12.2 Countermarks probably applied between the late 50s and early 80sH, usually with Arabic legends, particularly *lillāh* (type 48 and its varieties).

Found on Arab-Sasanian drachms struck in the 50s to 70s in Kirmān and Sīstān. These areas were frequently outside the control of the Umayyads being controlled by rebels such as the Khārijites.

12.3 Countermarks probably added from the late 60s to the 80sH, and to a limited extent thereafter, often including Bactrian legends and the *simurgh* (type 3).

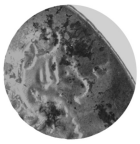
These are particularly found on drachms of Khurāsān. The possibility that Arab-Sasanian drachms were still being countermarked later is indicated by the presence of some of these countermarks on conventional Islamic dirhams: type 3 *simurgh* has been found on Wāsit 89H, Wāsit 97H, Junday Sābūr 97H, and type 23 on Wāsit 93H and Sābūr 95H.[11]

12.4 Countermarks on late Sīstān issues in the form of officials' names in Arabic added in the early ʿAbbāsid period.

Table 12.1. Countermarks on Arab-Sasanian coins
(Types marked with * are not listed in Walker 1941 or Göbl 1967.
All references to Göbl are to Göbl 1967, vol. 2. Numbers in bold indicate coin used for illustration.)

Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
1			*Simurgh* right with ⌣ above	**859**
3			*Simurgh* right	243 247 **273** 274 290 609 907 925 1168 1278 1298
3/a			*Simurgh* right with pellets right	**275**
3/b			*Simurgh* right with Brāhmī legend above **SĀ-HĪ** (Göbl, p. 175)	

[11] *SICA* 1, p. 63.

Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
3/c			*Simurgh* right	
3/d			*Simurgh* right	**1237**
*3/e			*Simurgh* right with cross (?) below and unread legend above	**869**
*3/f			*Simurgh* right with ✸ above	**J-550142** (Khusrau II)
7			*Simurgh* right with Bactrian legend above **ϹΛΟΓΟ** or **ΝΟΓΟ** (Göbl, p. 182)	102 142 584 833 **857**
10			*Simurgh* right with star (or cross) above and legend **bt** (?) below	**104** 124 527 537 907 972 1302
*10A			*Simurgh* right with Bactrian letter **ιο** (io) above	**292**
11/A			*Simurgh* left with legend above and pellets left	567 1008 **1279**
11/B			*Simurgh* left with legend above, pellets below, and star (or cross) below	**255**
11/C			*Simurgh* left with pellets left and circle within circle below	163 234 239 281 **892** 1173
11/D			*Simurgh* left with pellets left and below, • between wings right	
11/E			*Simurgh* left with • above and below right, and pellets left	

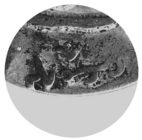
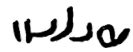
Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
11/F			*Simurgh* left with pellets left	166 193 **815**
11/G			*Simurgh* left with pellets left, · top left and right, and letter or symbol below	**J-500487** (Khusrau II)
11/H			*Simurgh* left with pellets left, · above and below	**913**
11/I			*Simurgh* left with pellets left, and ◡ below	**J-550389** (Khusrau II)
*11/J			*Simurgh* left with pellets left, and uncertain letters or symbol above	**292**
11/K			*Simurgh* left	126 162 **284** 415
*11/L			*Simurgh* left with pellets left, O below and · between wings	**241** 276 894 905
*11/M			*Simurgh* left with ✸ above right and pellets in front and below	**911**
*11/N			*Simurgh* left with symbol or letter above and pellets left	**946**
*11/O			*Simurgh* left with pellets in front and letters below	**970**
*11/P			*Simurgh* left with · above, below and in front	**989**
*11/Q			*Simurgh* left with pellets in front left, ✸ top left, ◡ top right, and O below	**1283**

Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
*11/R			*Simurgh* left with pellets in front, ✸ below, and · either side of wings	**J-500263** (Khusrau II)
12/a			Camel sitting left, ❁ above (camel countermarks tend to be found on Arab-Sasanian drachms from Khurāsān)	
12/b			Camel sitting left, no pellets	
12/c			Camel sitting left with pellets left and ·· above	
12/d			Camel sitting left with pellets above	
12/e			Camel sitting left with · left and above	
13			Legend (uncertain)	
14			Symbol with circle in centre (this symbol is found on a wide range of Arab-Sasanian drachms from various mints)	150 198 214 236 616 861 **865** 868 872 947
14/a			Symbol with ∴ above	**584**
*14/b			Symbol with Bactrian letters **ιο** (io) above	**394**
15			Facing crowned bust with legend right	**845**
*15/a			Facing diademed bust with legend right	
*15/b			Facing crowned bust with legend and tamga right	**J-500255** (Khusrau II)

Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
16			Symbol within heart-shaped (♥) countermark	
17			Standing lion (?) facing right	
19			Tamga type symbol	
*19A			Tamga type symbol	**869**
20			Tamga type symbol	
21			Brāhmī (?) letters **KA-PA** (or Pahlavi **ZRN**) (Göbl, p. 183)	**102**
21/a			Brāhmī (?) letter	**836** 1278
*21/b			Brāhmī (?) letter	J-**550122** (Khusrau II)
22			Tamga symbol with circle between horns and Bactrian legend below **ΦΟΡ(Ο)** (Göbl, p. 165)	
23			Taurus like symbol	**J-550668** (Khusrau II)
24			Elephant standing right	
27			Bactrian legend **σκαγο** (*skago*, Skago) with ·∶ left and symbol above	
28			Bactrian legend **ζολαδο** (*zolado*, Zhulād) with ·∶ left and symbol above	

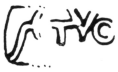
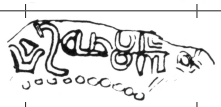
Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
*28A			Bactrian legend **ζολαδο** (*zolado*, Zhulād) with ⁘ left (?) and symbol with ⁘ either side above	**864**
29			Bactrian legend **βησοτο** (*bēsoto*, Bēsut) and symbol below	
*29A			Bactrian legend **βησοτο** (*bēsoto*, Bēsut) and symbol above	**14**
30			Uncertain legend (usually only found with Kirmān mints), suggested to be possibly Bactrian **CΛINI** (?) (Göbl, p. 172)	**83**
33			Bactrian legend **σκαγο** (*skago*, Skago) with ⁘ left and symbol	**282** 1166A
*33A			Bactrian **σκαγο** (*skago*, Skago) with ⁘ left and symbol with ⁘ either side above	**214**
33/a			Bactrian legend **σκαγο** (*skago*, Skag) with ⁘ above left	**891** 1166A(?)
*33/b			Bactrian legend **σκαγο** (*skago*, Skago)	259 **536**
*34			Bactrian legend **ζολαδο** (*zolado*, Zhulād)	**16** 844 860 867
*34A			Bactrian legend **ζολαδο** (*zolado*, Zhulād) with ⌣ above left and symbol above right	21 **858**
*34B			Bactrian legend **ζολαδο** (*zolado*, Zhulād) with symbol above right and unread letter	**860**

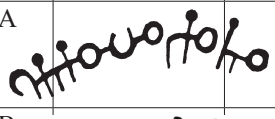
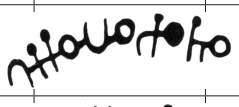
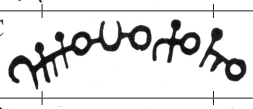
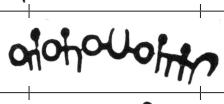
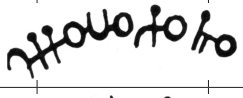
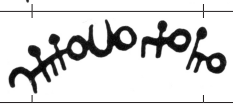
[12] Federov and Kuznetsov 2014, p. 384, who publish a hoard group from the Eastern Sogd which included four drachms of Pērōz (457–84). These include Sogdian countermarks 79, 80 and 83, as well as two further countermarks with Sogdian legends not published by Göbl: **x'γ'n** (*Khāgān*, Turkish title) and **wr** / **kšn** (*w*[*a*]*rsh*[*a*]*n* or *w*[*a*]*ksh*[*a*]*n*).

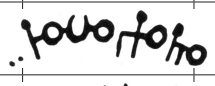
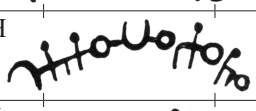
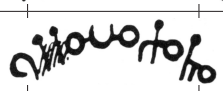
Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
*34C			Bactrian legend **ζολαδο** (*zolado*, Zhulād) with · / ⁼ / · above left and symbol above right	**867**
35			Pahlavi legend **wlhlʾn** (Varhrān)	**226** 992
36			Arabic legend *jahrōm* (Göbl, p. 199)	
37			Pahlavi legend **dyhpt** (*dehpat*) (Göbl, p. 196 **khpt'** or **kzpt'**)	
38			Bactrian legend **σκαγο** (*skago*, Skago) with letters (or symbol) above	130 **609** 1166A
39			Bactrian legend **σκαγο** (*skago*, Skago) with symbol above	102 837 844 **858** 860
40			Bactrian legend **ζολαδο** (*zolado*, Zhulād) with ∵ above left and symbol with · either side above right	17 830 **832** 878 947
*40A			Bactrian legend **ζολαδο** (*zolado*, Zhulād) with symbol above right	**19** 214 853
*40B			Bactrian legend **ζολαδο** (*zolado*, Zhulād) with ∵ above left and defectively framed symbol above right	**861**
42			Arabic word *jāʿīz* (current), usually found on drachms from Sīstān	**236** 693 997 1005 1007 1008 1009
43			Pahlavi legend **čndʾn** (*candān*) with symbol below	
44			Pahlavi legend **phlʾn** or **phlʾw**; **pʾlʾn** or **pʾlʾw** (Göbl, p. 197)	
*46			Pahlavi legend **pylyw'** (or **pylyn'**)	
47			Pahlavi legend **mlwlwt'** (Marw al-Rūd / Merv-Rūd), usually found on drachms from Marw (Merv) and Marw al-Rūd	**876**

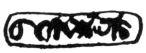
Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
48			Arabic *lillāh* with ⋯ below (usually found with Kirmān mints) (Göbl, p. 200 *billāh*)	**644**
48/a			Arabic *lillāh* (usually found with Kirmān mints), without any pellets	591 592 594 625 627 632 635 637 639 641 646 660 671 672 673 679 692 693 696 699 700 734 739 741 746 754 771 798 **801** 803 806 809 916 917
*48/b			Arabic *lillāh* with ⋯ below (usually found with Kirmān mints)	681 753 **779**
*48/c			Arabic *lillāh* with ⋅ / – / ⋅ below (usually found with Kirmān mints)	747 **758**
49			Pahlavi legend **čndʾn** (*candān*)	
51			Pahlavi legend **wlhlʾn** (*varhrān*) (usually found with Khurāsān mints)	**876**
52			Pahlavi legend **hpnbyt'** (?) or **htwbyt'** (latter preferred)	36 **572** 842 845 865
53			Pahlavi legend **stnp'** (?) (Göbl, p. 195 **rhtwp', rhtyp' bhtwp', bhtyp'**)	
*53A			Pahlavi legend **phnwlwby** (?)	**842**
55			Crowned bust facing left	
56			Symbol with ⌣ in top centre	102 1163 **J-550661** (Khusrau II)
56/a			Symbol with V shape in top centre	

Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
*56/b			Symbol	**877**
57			Head facing left	
58			Facing bust with ◡ above	
59			Bactrian legend **ΦΟΡ** (Göbl, p. 164)	
*59A			Bactrian legend	**880**
*59B			Bactrian legend possibly **ταδο** (*tado*), which might be an abbreviation for **ταδονο** (*tadono*) or **γαδο** (*gado*)	**882**
60			Bactrian legend **ΦΟΙ** (Göbl, p. 186)	
*60A			Bactrian legend	**869**
61			Facing bust with ◡ above	**900**
62			Tamga symbol	**272** 925 1233
*62A			Tamga symbol with Sogdian legend **stwy'n** (receiving 100 boons)	14 **15** 839
63			Brāhmī legend (?)	
64			Sodgian letter or symbol	
65			Symbol	

Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
66			Uncertain Bactrian legend with symbol above **XOO** (Göbl, p. 167)	
67			Head left	**J-500079** (Khusrau II)
68			Head left	
69			Unclear Bactrian legend (?) **πασκ** (*SNS* (Usbekistan), p. 85, KM15)	
70			Unclear legend	
71			Bactrian legend **βησοτο** (*bēsoto*, Bēsut)	**J-500387** (Khusrau II) (Unclear whether Göbl drawing same as image)
72			Head left	
73			Head with cap left	
74			Heart-shaped (♥) symbol	
75			Bactrian legend, **OOXI** (Göbl, p. 141)	
76			Bactrian legend **ZOOBΛO** (Göbl, p. 141)	
77			Symbol	
78			Pahlavi or Sogdian legend	
79			Sogdian 2-line legend either **δxcy βγy** (Lord Dhakhchi) or more likely **δšcy βγy** (Lord Dhashchi)[12]	
80			Sogdian legend possibly **βz'n** (*B*[*a*]*zān*?)	
81			Pahlavi legend	
82			Pahlavi legend **mrw'** / **mrw'n** or **MLK'** / **MLK'n** (Göbl, p. 145)	

Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
83			Sogdian legend possibly **k'š** (*Kāsh*, town Kesh)	
84			Bactrian legend: **Χοηο**, *xidēw* (Lord); (*SNS* (Usbekistan), p. 82, KM7)	
85			Sogdian legend	
86			Bactrian legend **ΟΛ.ΧΟΙ** or **ΛΧΟΙ** Göbl, p. 147)	
87			Pahlavi (?) legend **wyst'** = 20 (Göbl, p. 147)	
88			Bactrian legend	
89			Pahlavi legend	
90			Heart-shaped symbol (♥)	
91			Bust right	
92			Uncertain animal head facing right	
93			Bactrian legend **χιβοι**, **χβοι**, **χιβογ** or **χηβογ** (Göbl, p. 151), *SNS* (Usbekistan), p. 83, KM8)	
94			Bactrian legend, variation of 93 (Göbl, p. 151)	
95			Tamga type symbol	
96			Bactrian (or Sogdian) legend **XOT** (Göbl, p. 152) **χwβ** *Khwab* ('Lord'; Sogdian; *SNS* (Usbekistan), p. 83, KM10)	
97A			Bactrian legend. *SNS* (Usbekistan), p. 81, KM3 lists alternative readings: 1. **αλχονο χδηο**, *Alxono xidēw* (Alchono, the Lord); 2. **γηλανο χοηο**, *gelano xidēw* (the Lord of Gelan)	
97B				
97C				
97D				
97E				
97F				

Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
97G				
97H				
97I				
99			Symbol with Brāhmī script above	
100			Brāhmī letters	
101			Animal head right	
102			*Simurgh* (?) head right	
103			Uncertain letters in Brāhmī script **GIYA** (**RA**?) (Göbl, p. 160)	
104			I-shaped symbol	
105			*Simurgh* (?) facing left	
106			Animal head (wolf?) facing right	
107			Animal head facing right	
108			2-line Bactrian legend **ΧΟΡ** / **ΒΟΓΟ** (Göbl, p. 186). *SNS* (Usbekistan) p. 82, KM4 lists 2 readings: 1. **παινο** / **ιο χδηο** *Painoio xidēw* (Painoio, the Lord) 2. **γαλο** / **ιο χοηο** *galoio xidēw* (Galoio, the Lord)	
109			2-line Bactrian legend, **ΝΟΓΟ** … (?) / **ΝΗÞΙ** … (?) (Göbl, p. 185)	
110			Bactrian legend around symbol **ΖΟΧΟ-ΡΟ** (Göbl, p. 185)	

Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
111			Tamga-like symbol	**142**
112			Arabic *bism allāh* (In the name of God)	**857**
*112A			Arabic *bism allāh* / [unread] (In the name of God / [unread])	**900**
113			Bust facing right	
*113A			Bust facing right with (axe?) symbol right	**290**
114			Bactrian legend **XIZN** or **XOZN** (Göbl, p. 185)	
115			Bactrian legend **CONOXOΛO** (Göbl, p. 142)	
116			Arabic legend *allāh* / *jāʾiz* (Göbl, p. 162)	
117			Arabic legend *shahr* / *jāʾiz* (Göbl, p. 162)	
118			Symbol	
119			Arabic *bism allāh*	**584**
120			Arabic *bism allāh*	
*121			Cross	**867**
*122			Pahlavi legend **tʾl**	**1231**

Type no.	*Drawing*	*Image*	*Notes*	*Catalogue nos*
*123			Arabic *rāj* (?) known for copper coins from Bīshāpūr	**1386**
*124			Pahlavi ideogram, **GDH**, *xvarrah*, splendour)	**J-500135** (Khusrau II)
*125			Diamond shaped symbol with pellet in centre	**J-500183** (Khusrau II)

Notes to Table 12.1

This table combines the countermarks illustrated in Göbl 1967,[12] which were principally based on Walker 1941, with additional countermarks (marked with *) from the Johnson Collection. The latter have been allocated numbers which, where appropriate, fit into the orders in Göbl and Walker.[13] The legends listed are in Bactrian, Sogdian, Pahlavi and Brāhmī. Where one can be more or less confident of a reading, this has been provided. The table does not list the countermarks with names in Arabic found on late Sīstān issues which date from the ʿAbbāsid period.

The drawings in the second column are taken from Göbl and Walker.

The third column provides images only where the countermark is found in the Catalogue, or on Khusrau II drachms in the Johnson collection.

The notes in the fourth column are intentionally brief. The reader may wish to refer to volume 2 of Göbl 1967 where the countermarks are discussed in more detail.[14] Göbl's readings have been given, where appropriate, but these are generally not entirely satisfactory. Some of Göbl's readings have been revised or discarded.

The final column gives the Catalogue numbers.

12.5 *Forgeries of countermarks*

Until recently forged countermarks on genuine Arab-Sasanian coins have not been found. This may be because the presence of a countermark on Sasanian or Arab-Sasanian coins has not been regarded as increasing the price of a coin. However, with late Sasanian coins, particularly drachms of Khusrau II, dealers now tend to charge a premium for coins with countermarks. This has led to forged countermarks being added to genuine drachms. A common forgery circulating from the 1980s was of a human head.

The risk remains that forged countermarks will be added to Arab-Sasanian drachms. The factors to look for which indicate the possibility of forgery include: fresh strike, deep / sharp strike, new variant, countermark type not typical for the underlying mint and date combination.

[12] Vol. 4, tables 8–13.

[13] Göbl omitted those in Walker which he considered either erroneous or which duplicated other countermarks.

[14] Göbl's analysis is, of course, very much out of date and many of the readings are either uncertain or should be revised.

CHAPTER 13

METROLOGY AND METALLURGY

13.A.1 *Metrology*

13.A.1.1 *Silver*

The following comments are based on drachms in good condition which have not become worn with use, or been clipped. In the late Sasanian period the intended weight of the silver drachm appears to have been just over 4.1 grams, perhaps as high as 4.15 grams. The latter is commonly reached by drachms of Khusrau II in good condition.[1]

Arab-Sasanian drachms usually weigh between 3.85 and 4.15 grams. Sears noted that most Arab-Sasanian drachms are approximately 4.00 to 4.14 grams.[2] These figures suggest the intended weight standard (*metqāl* / *mithqāl*) for both late Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms was around 4.1 grams. Some scholars put the weight standard of Arab-Sasanian drachms significantly lower.[3] There are variations in weight. For the Arab-Sasanian series, coins were often crudely struck, especially from Sīstān (**SK**). Unofficial strikings in the form of contemporary counterfeits are frequently under weight. Further, as the legends and symbols on coins did not go right up to the rim, some drachms may have been clipped at the time. After the introduction of the post-reform silver dirhams in 78H, drachms were often clipped down to the lower weight standard. However, the pattern is unclear as clipped coins display a wide variation in weights not necessarily aligned to the standard of post reform dirhams.

The uses coins are put to are many. They were issued partly for prestige and also as a means of collecting taxes, paying troops and administrators and possibly paying tribute. They also acted as a medium of exchange for commerce, promoted trade, and were a means of amassing and storing wealth. These primary purposes of coinage could not be achieved unless the coins themselves were accepted by the populace. Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms are generally struck in fine silver though their weight often fluctuated from the intended weight. This may mean that coins were not accepted by tale (number), but may have been traded by weight.[4]

Coins from Khurāsān show differing weight patterns, with Anbīr (7.6 **ANBYR**) striking to a lower standard. Issues in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim from Marw (7.68 **MLW**) and Salm b. Ziyād from Marw and Marw al-Rūd (7.69 **MLWLWT**) are generally struck to the standard weight of Arab-Sasanian drachms, usually weighing between 3.80 and 4.10 grams. The Arab-Hephthalite issues, either in the name of Zhulād Gōzgān or Salm b. Ziyād (with *ambēro* in Bactrian in the reverse margin for Anbīr), appear to be significantly lighter and probably struck to a different weight standard. There are three drachms in the Catalogue in the name of Salm b. Ziyād from Marw (**MLW**) dated 65H. The two without *ambēro* weigh 3.94 grams and 4.03 grams in contrast to the one with *ambēro* which weighs 3.58 grams.[5]

[1] Some have estimated it to be slightly higher: *SICA* 1, p. 38 (4.17 to 4.18g).

[2] Sears 2003b, p. 82.

[3] Heidemann 1998.

[4] Bacharach 2010, p. 3 considers that Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms would have been traded by weight not number. This would not necessarily have been the case for all transactions, but more likely for Arab-Sasanian drachms which fluctuated in weight and those Sasanian coins traded outside the Sasanian heartlands. Heck 2010, p. 110 says the transactions were by weight, following the practice under the Prophet Muhammad whereby the method of money exchange was calculated not by coin volumes but by weight. See al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), p. 263: 'The dinars of Heraclius used to be current among the people of [Mecca] before Moslem times, but also the *baghliyah* [full weight] drachms of Persia; but it was not customary to buy and sell with them except by considering the coins as bullion.' See also Banaji 2016, p. 136.

[5] **Pl. 73, 850-2**.

The coins in the name of Muhammad with the 'mint' signature **AY** or **ŠY** also appear to have been struck to a lower weight. The three examples in the Catalogue weigh 3.24, 3.29 and 3.32 grams respectively.[6]

The silver coins of Tabaristān were half the weight of the drachms struck under the Umayyads. Contemporaries referred to them as 'dirhams weight of five', that is ten of these coins would weigh five *mithqāls*.[7]

13.A.1.2 *Copper*

The weights of Arab-Sasanian copper coins vary considerably within each type, as well as from issue to issue. Even the relatively uniformed sized coppers from Dārābgerd (7.36 **DA**) dated 67 (YE = 79H) in the Catalogue vary from 3.08 to 3.67 grams.[8] Those of Zaranj vary from 2.04 to 3.23 grams.[9] Others are clearly struck to a much lighter intended weight, such as those of ʿAbd Allāh dated 44H. The seven examples from Ardashīr-Khurra (7.14 **ART**) in the Catalogue range from 0.50 to 1.26 grams.[10] The wide range of weights for coins, even of the same mint and date, show that the copper currency was fiduciary.

13.A.1.3 *Reform dirhams*

The new dirham coinage introduced by the Umayyads in 78/9H were on a different weight standard from the Sasanian *mithqāl*, weighing in the region of 2.85 to 2.95 grams. The intended weight standard was probably around 2.87 grams or 7/10 of the Sasanian style drachms of around 4.1 grams. This is reflected in a well known passage in al-Balādhurī:

> Ten of some of the Persian dirhams weighed ten *mithqāls*; of others ten weighed six *mithqāls*. They added these together and found that it amounted to twenty-one *mithqāls*. A third of this was taken being seven *mithqāls*. And [so] they struck dirhams, ten of which weighed seven *mithqāls*.[11]

The detailed narrative of the second century Hijrī scholar, Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallīm (154 H / 770–224 H / 838) is instructive. It tells us how the weight of the Umayyad dirham was determined at 7/10ths of a full Sasanian drachm. He contrasted the full weight drachm with the Tabaristān drachm weighing half the Sasanian drachm. In his *Kitāb al-Amwāl* ('The Book of Revenue') he explained:[12]

> (1622) Abū ʿUbayd said: I heard a knowledgeable scholar – who was well versed in this issue (of the *dirham*) – narrating the story of the *dirham* and recounting the reason for its minting in Islam. He said: 'The *dirhams* that were the currency of the people since ancient times were of two types: *sūd wāfiya* (*dirhams* with full weight) and the old *tabariyya*.'[13] This was the position upon the arrival of Islam. When it was the time of the Banū Umayya, they decided to mint *dirhams*. They thought about the consequences and said: 'These *dirhams* will continue till eternity, because the obligation of *zakāt* has been expressed in them: On every two hundred, or on every five *awqiya*, there is an obligation of five *dirhams*'. One *awqiya* is equal to forty *dirhams*. They were, however, reluctant to mint new *dirhams* entirely according to the weight of the newer full coins. Yet they had become so widespread that no other coins were generally known to the people. It was believed that *zakāt* would become due only when these larger new coins reached the number of two hundred or more. This, however, tended to reduce the amount of *zakāt*. They were also reluctant to base the coin upon the older *tabariyya dirhams*, which would convey the meaning that *zakāt* would become due when these coins reached the number of two hundred. This would be detrimental for the person under a duty to pay it. They decided, therefore, to adopt a weight in between the two that would ensure the payment of *zakāt* in

[6] **Pl. 11, 120-2**. Sears 2003b, p. 94, considers these to have been struck to a weight standard of eight tenths of a *mithqāl*. He notes that other types of transitional drachms from the Umayyad north were struck to a standard of seven tenths of a *mithqāl*.

[7] Malek 2004, Chapter 11.

[8] **Pl. 118, 1394-7**.

[9] **Pl. 123, 1476-81**.

[10] **Pl. 116, 1353-9**.

[11] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), p. 262.

[12] Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (trans.), pp. 480–1.

[13] This is a reference to the currency of Tabaristān, where the drachm (dirham) was half the weight of the full drachm used by the Sasanians.

full and at the same time avoid injury to the people. Further, it would confirm with the amount fixed by the Messenger of God (pbuh) for *zakāt*.

He said: They used to make an assessment for the payment of *zakāt* in two ways: separately from larger coins and from smaller ones. When they were about to commence minting of the *dirhams*, they examined the heavier *dirham* and found it to be eight *dawāniq*.[14] Thereafter they examined the smaller *dirham* and found it to be four *dawāniq*. They equalized the difference by combining the weight of the two and divided them into two equal *dirhams*, with each weighing six *dawāniq*. After this, they checked the weight of a *dirham* in terms of *mithqāls*. The *mithqāl* had remained of the same standard weight throughout. They took ten of these *dirhams*, each with a weight of six *dawāniq*, and weighed them against *mithqāls*. The weight came out to be exactly seven *mithqāls*. This way all three requirements were fulfilled: the weight came to seven *mithqāls*; it was the mean path between the larger and the smaller coin; and the weight conformed with the *sunna* of the Messenger of God (pbuh) about the *sadaqa* and involving no fractional values.

The *sunna* about the *dirhams* was reaffirmed this way and the *umma* arrived at a consensus, with no one disagreeing about the fact that the weight of the full *dirham* is six *dawāniq*. When a *dirham* was found to differ, it was called a heavier or deficient *dirham*.

The people, in the case of their *zakāt*, with His blessings, praise be to God, still follow the true rule of the *sunna* and guidance. They have not deviated from it and there is no confusion about it.

The same will be said about those who deal in transactions and pay the blood-money in silver coins, as well as for all related matters.

This is how the report reached us or in words that have this meaning.

Abū ʻUbayd said: The weight of the *dirham* prior to this was six and this has been mentioned in some traditions'.

This account is largely a later rationalisation of the situation. While it is evident that Sasanian drachms and the post-reform dirhams adopted different weight standards, and the latter was seven tenths that of the Sasanian drachm, it is unclear or at least uncertain what the rationale was for the latter's weight.

13.B. *Metallurgy*

13.B.1 *Silver*

There was no shortage of silver for striking coins after the Arab conquest of Sasanian lands. Iran itself is well endowed with mineral deposits of both argentiferous lead and copper, which could easily have been exploited to make coinage. The Sasanians had significant silver mines, particularly in Khurāsān, but also smaller silver mines in Fārs, Kirmān and Tabaristān. The fourth century Hijrī historians and geographers make particular reference to substantial mines in Panjshīr and the nearby mining town of Jārbāya.[15]

The written sources are unclear about the extent to which the Sasanians mined silver outside of Khurāsān, but this is more likely to be because of a void in the literature, rather than the lack of mining in other areas. The Sanandaj-Sirjan belt along the Zagros mountains runs 1500 kilometres from north west to south east and is between 150 and 200 kilometres wide. Within the belt, particularly between Malayer (south of Hamadān) and Isfahān there are significant lead deposits which could have been worth mining, and silver worth extracting from the lead. There can be no doubt that mines within the belt were active in the Sasanian period. Our knowledge of mining in Sasanian and Umayyad times in that region is limited, but new discoveries by archaeologists and metallurgists, increase our knowledge.[16]

[14] This is the plural of the Arabic *dānaq*, which is the equivalent of the Pahlavi (as well as modern Persian) word **dang**, a term used primarily in the context of land and currency to denote one sixth of a unit.

[15] For example, al-Muqaddasī (trans.), pp. 265 and 380 refers to the fact that there were many silver mines in Khurāsān, and mines of iron and silver in the region of Kirmān. Even though Panjshīr and Jārbāya may have been outside Sasanian territory, this does not mean that silver was not imported by the Sasanians. See also an ʿAbbāsid fals dated 155H minted at Jabal al-Fidda in the name of Rawh (Stephen Album Rare Coins auction 34, 23 May 2019, lot 390); the mint name means silver mountain, referring to a silver mine near Herāt, Khurāsān.

[16] Momenzadeh 2004, p. 18 notes that there are more than 35 deposits across Iran where there is evidence of ancient mining of lead, silver and zinc deposits. See also Nezafati, Pernicka and Momenzadeh 2008, p. 86.

An example of this is the argentiferous lead mines at Nakhlak, on the southern fringe of the Dasht-i Kavir, in the modern day district of Anarak in Isfahān province. Recent studies have shown that there is extensive evidence of old mining going back to at least the Sasanian period.[17] What these studies do not indicate is the likely volume of lead extracted, from which silver could be produced.

Later the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids relied heavily on bringing silver from mines in Yemen, particularly for the production of coins in Iraq. This may have continued the practice of the Sasanians when silver from Yemen and Oman could have been brought in to help feed the major mints in Fārs, though this is not established.[18] The written sources make little reference to silver mines in Fārs, apart from a small one in the vicinity of Istakhr.[19] For minting Arab-Sasanian drachms, sources of silver were not, of course, confined to freshly mined metal. The authorities must have melted down Sasanian drachms in order to strike new coinage.

Fig. 13.1. View of the southern settlement at Nakhlak with a Sasanian fire temple (*Chahar Tagh*) and a fortress probably dating back to the Parthian period (*Qaleh Bozorg* 'large fortress'). The nearby northern settlement also had a fortress (*Qaleh Kuchek*, 'small fortress') which was destroyed to make way for a modern mining settlement (photograph G. Weisberger, 1978)

13.B.2 *Copper*

Iran has major copper deposits, such as in Ali Abad (within modern day Yazd province) in Fārs region as well as a number of large deposits or mines in Kirmān region, such as at Meiduk, Sarcheshmeh, Darreh Zar and Chahar Goubad. Objects were often fashioned in copper or bronze in ancient times, such as the famous Luristān bronzes. There is evidence for a significant number of copper mines in ancient times across Iran.[20]

[17] Stöllner, Weisgerber, Momenzadeh and Pernicka 2004; Nezafati and Pernicka 2012.

[18] Heck 2010 refers to the evidence of silver deposits and mines in the Arabian peninsula in ancient times and concludes that much of the silver needed for Sasanian coinage in the late Sasanian period was mined in the Dawādimī district in Central Arabia, the Najd.

[19] Daryaee 2009, p. 65. Bates takes the view that the relatively high proportion of drachms minted in Fārs province was likely to be due to the mining of silver within the province. He points out that studies of Gordus (1972) reveal that coins from that province all have a distinctive level of gold impurity, 0.6 to 0.8%, thus indicating a single rich silver mine or mining district in central Iran. Daryaee 2016d, p. 42 takes the view that the late Sasanians extracted silver from the Arabian Peninsula which they controlled and this is the main source for their silver coinage. The current writer considers that this would have been only one of a number of sources for that period, including mines within Fārs and Khurāsān, booty or tribute, and recoinage.

[20] Momenzadeh 2004, pp. 10–13, 20. It is noted that of the 400 copper deposits, 79 are listed as sites for ancient mines. See also Nezafati, Pernicka and Momenzadeh 2008, pp. 82–4.

CHAPTER 14

HEPHTHALITE AND OTHER ISSUES WITH BACTRIAN LEGENDS

Introduction

From the mid-fifth to mid-sixth centuries much of central Asia was ruled by the Hephthalite tribes, who were a Hunnic people. Their strength is reflected in the serious problems they caused the Sasanians. These started in the reign of Yazdgard II (438–57) with a war between the two powers in 442. Subsequently Tokharistān came under Hephthalite rule, and they took Balkh from the Sasanians.

In 457 Pērōz (457/9–84) sought the help of the Hephthalites to take the throne from his father, Yazdgard II. Once in power, Pērōz fell out with the Hephthalites and there were three wars between the two empires. Pērōz was captured in each of the first two wars and finally killed in the third war. As a consequence the Sasanians lost control over the silk trade and were required to pay tribute to the Hephthalites. The weakness of the Sasanians was reflected in the concessions they made to the rebel movement of Vardan Mamikonean in Armenia in the mid fifth century. The Hephthalites helped put Pērōz's son Kavād I on the Sasanian throne in 488 and remained his allies. When the Mazdakite rebellion took hold, it was the Hephthalites who again came to the rescue of Kavād I in 499 in return for tribute.[1]

Following the Turkish defeat of the Hephthalites in 560–3 the power of the Hephthalites waned. They were caught between an expanding Turkish khaganate and a resurgent Sasanian empire under the powerful and wise Khusrau I (531–79). Not only was their territory much diminished but they paid tribute to Khusrau I. The Turks captured the eastern territories of the Hephthalite empire and the whole of Sogdiana.[2]

During the Umayyad period, the Hephthalites remained strong enough to cause instability in north eastern Khurāsān. It appears that they had either established a foothold there, or at least had influence in the area. The sources are sparse and contradictory.

The Hephthalites' written administration appears to have been conducted in Bactrian, albeit their spoken language would have been different, probably varied depending on the period and location.

This chapter concerns what Walker termed Arab-Hephthalite coinage as well as other issues where the Bactrian script is found on coins or countermarks. Whether the term is appropriate is debatable. Not all the issues covered in this chapter have a Hephthalite connection and some have no Arab connection. These issues are all rare or very rare. They will be discussed in eight sections.

14.1 *Salm b. Ziyād ambēro issues*

According to al-Tabarī and other sources, Salm b. Ziyād was the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān from 61H to 64H. After that Khurāsān was governed by ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim who initially supported the Umayyads but went over to the Zubayrid cause in 64H. It is clear that there was serious conflict in Khurāsān from 63H until the death of ʿAbd Allāh in 72H.

The coinage of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim reflects his presence in Khurāsān from 63 to 72H, and there is at least one issue in his name dated 73H from Marw (7.68 **MLW**, Marw). A number of Khurāsān mints did strike coinage for the two rivals, the Umayyad Salm b. Ziyād and the Zubayrid ʿAbd Allāh, and with coins bearing dates for the same year. The picture is further confused when one adds the coins in the name of a local ruler, Zhulād Gōzgān from Anbīr and Marw. Table 14.1 demonstrates the confused situation.

[1] Howard-Johnston 2014, pp. 44–5; c.f. Jackson Bonner 2015, pp. 107–12.

[2] Howard-Johnston 2014, pp. 47–8; c.f. Jackson Bonner 2015, pp. 107–12.

Table 14.1. Coins of the Khurāsān mints
Dates marked with an asterisk (*) have *ambēro* in the reverse margin

Mint no.	*Mint Signature*	*Salm b. Ziyād*	*ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim*	*Zhulād Gōzgān*
7.6	**ANBYR**	63*	63	63–6*, 68–9*
7.9	**APL**	63		
7.10	**APLŠT**	63–4	65, 67–9, 73(?)	
7.23	**AYPTAK**	64		
7.26	**BBA**	64, 67–8	67–8	
7.54	**HLA**	63, 64(?), 66–7, 69		
7.68	**MLW / MLW'**	26, 62*, 63, 64*, 65*, 66–7, 68*, 69, 70	63–7, 68(?), 69–70, 71(?), 72–3	69*
7.69	**MLWLWT**	8, 56, 62–4, 67, 70, 71(?)	68, 70(?)	
7.78	**PHLHAN**	63		

For the period up to 64H the Table reflects the position one would expect from the historical written sources. After 64H Salm b. Ziyād did not coin at **ANBYR** (7.6 Anbīr), **APL** (7.8 probably Abarshahr), **APLŠT** (7.10 Abarshahr), **AYPTAK** (7.23 possibly Itāk) and **PHLHAN** (7.78 uncertain place, probably in northern Khurāsān). Two (possibly three) of his mints overlap with those of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim: **BBA** (7.26 camp mint within Khurāsān), **MLW** (7.68 Marw) and **MLWLWT** (7.69 Marw al-Rūd). Zhulād Gōzgān overlaps with both governors, Salm b. Ziyād and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, at **ANBYR** in 63H. All three names are also known for **MLW** (Marw) 69H.

Fig. 14.1.1. Salm b. Ziyād, mint **ANBYR**, 63H, 3.34g (**Pl. 2, 15**)

Fig. 14.1.2. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, mint **ANBYR**, 63H, 3.66g
(British Museum, Walker 1941, p. 90, no. 166)

Fig. 14.1.3. Zhulād Gōzgān, mint **ANBYR**, 63H, 3.73g
(British Museum, Walker 1941, no. p. 127, no. 246)

The issues in the name of Zhulād Gōzgān all have the Bactrian word *ambēro* in the reverse margin, referring to Anbīr (Amber), a city in the Gōzgān (Jūzjān) district of Khurāsān, a place now known as Sar-i Pul. This

is understandable for his issues dated 63 to 69H which have the Pahlavi mint signature **ANBYR** in the usual place.[3] There is also, though, a coin of his from **MLW** (Marw) dated 69H which has *ambēro* in the reverse margin.[4] What appears to be the Bactrian word *ambēro* is also seen in the reverse margin of a drachm of ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya from Marw dated 65. This must be a YE date equivalent to 77H.

Fig. 14.1.4. ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya, mint **MLW'**, 65 (YE = 77H), 3.75g
(Shah Firzan collection)

Some issues in the name of Salm b. Ziyād also have *ambēro* in the reverse first quarter margin: e.g. on the only known issue in his name dated 63H with the mint signature **ANBYR**,[5] as well as some of the issues in his name with **MLW** (7.68) (62, 64, 65, 67, 68H).[6] Many issues in the name of Salm b. Ziyād with **MLW** mint signature, though, and all with **MLWLWT** (7.69) (Marw al-Rūd / Merv-Rūd) lack this word on the reverse margin. All Salm b. Ziyād's issues with *ambēro* have an additional outer circle of pellets on the reverse margin.

The question arises as to whether the coins in the name of Salm b. Ziyād dated from 65H onwards were struck by his authority. According to the histories he was not in Khurāsān after 64H. Also, we have coins in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim struck in Khurāsān during the same period. Another puzzle is why some coins in his name have *ambēro* in Bactrian in the reverse margin. There are a number of theoretical possibilities, including that these coins were not struck under Salm b. Ziyād at all but by the Hephthalites or at least a faction sympathetic to the Umayyads who were opponents of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim.

One thing that is clear is that all the issues in the name of Salm b. Ziyād are likely to have been struck by opponents of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, the Zubayirid governor of Khurāsān. He is unlikely to have struck coins in the name of his Umayyad opponent.

No coins are known in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim for Anbīr (7.6 **ANBYR**) apart from those dated 63H. Instead, we have issues in the name of Zhulād Gōzgān for 63–6 and 68–9H suggesting Anbīr was probably held by the Hephthalites or another local power at this time. The issues in the name of Salm b. Ziyād, with the **MLW** (7.68) mint signature and *ambēro* in the margin, may have been struck in Anbīr by opponents of ʿAbd Allāh, possibly by the Hephthalites themselves, who had either simply copied Salm b. Ziyād's coinage or had struck them as a sign of support for the Umayyads or at least in opposition to ʿAbd Allāh.[7]

One cannot be confident about any of these explanations as there are gaps in the written sources. It is possible that Salm b. Ziyād was in Khurāsān after 64H, but this is missing from the written sources. Alternatively, the coins may have been struck by his supporters or at least opponents of the Zubayrids. It is unlikely that Salm b. Ziyād and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim were striking drachms in the same mints at the same time.

Album has sought to explain the apparent concurrent striking of coins in the names of Salm b. Ziyād and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim for Marw and Marw al-Rūd, even after 64H, as being the lingering efforts of Salm's partisans to maintain his claim. Album suggests, following Walker, they reused obsolete dies. The first seems plausible, but the reuse of old dies by mint officials is less likely.

[3] **ANBYR**, 64H (**Pl. 2, 16**), 65H (**Pl. 2, 18**), 66H (**Pl. 2, 20**), 68H (**Pl. 3, 23**), 69H (**Pl. 3, 24**). The issues in the name of Zhulād may use the YE. This would put them later than the Salm and ʿAbd Allāh coins. See p. 403.

[4] **Pl. 34, 395**; Walker 1941, p. 129, no. 254.

[5] **ANBYR**, 63H (**Pl. 2, 15**).

[6] 62H (**Pl. 71, 829** 491), 64H (**Pl. 72, 844**), 65H (**Pl. 73, 852**), 67H (**Pl. 73, 858**), 68H (**Pl. 73, 860**).

[7] Album in *SICA* 1, pp. 22–3 takes a different view on this and a number of related issues.

14.2 *Salm b. Ziyād – **PHLHAN** issue*

A drachm in the name of Salm b. Ziyād dated 63H has an ambiguous mint signature on the reverse. It appears to read **PHLHAN** (7.78 **PHRHAN**, transliterated as **phlh'n**).[8] It can be considered a Hephthalite issue as there is a Bactrian word (probably the mint place) in the obverse third quarter margin. This legend can be read in various ways, including **παϱσο** or **παϱδο** / **παϱαο**. Sims-Williams has suggested that **παϱαο** or **παϱαοο** could conceivably represent Pāryāb or Fāryāb, now modern Dowlatābād, just outside the western border of Gōzgān.[9]

Fig. 14.2. Salm b. Ziyād, mint **PHLHAN**, 63H, 3.48g
(British Museum, Walker 1941, p. 83, no. 150)

If this date is authentic the coin may have been issued by Salm b. Ziyād while governor of Khurāsān. The numismatic evidence, though, suggests 63H was a difficult time for him. Drachms were also issued in the names of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim and Zhulād Gōzgān in the same year. Al-Tabarī says Salm b. Ziyād was popular in Khurāsān, but he also says Salm had to leave Khurāsān in disarray in 64H.[10] Salm gave ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim a commission over Khurāsān,[11] at a time when ʿAbd Allāh was still loyal to the Umayyads. It seems clear that al-Tabarī's account is neither totally accurate nor complete, when consideration is given to the numismatic evidence.

14.3 *ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim with uncertain legend*

Only one issue in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim has a reverse marginal legend (only partially visible).[12] It is found in the third quarter on an issue from Marw (7.68 **MLW**) dated 63H. This marginal legend is not Bactrian. It is probably Pahlavi, in which case the visible letters could be read **MLW** for Marw. Other readings are possible. The coin, like the issues in the name of Salm b. Ziyād with *ambēro* in the reverse margin, has an additional outer circle of pellets. It also has a countermark on the obverse with a Sogdian inscription.

Fig. 14.3. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, mint **MLW**, 63H, 3.45g (**Pl. 72, 839**)

[8] Walker 1941, p. 83, no. 150.

[9] Sims-Williams 2008, p. 121. For suggestions based on the Pahlavi mint signature on the obverse, see Chapter 7, section 7.78, pp. 196-7.

[10] Al-Tabarī (ii, 489; al-Tabarī, (trans.), vol. 20, p. 71) refers to Salm b. Ziyād being so popular in Khurāsān that in the two years he was there more than 20,000 children were named after him.

[11] Al-Tabarī, ii, 489; al-Tabarī, (trans.), vol. 20, p. 72.

[12] **Pl. 72, 839**. Album considers that the legend may be Sogdian.

14.4 *Zhulād Gōzgān*

For a long time numismatists were unable to decipher the Bactrian name on certain issues with **ANBYR** (7.6) and **MLW** (7.68) mint signatures. Walker had assumed that the name must have referred to ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim,[13] but this view is no longer accepted. The name should be read as **ζολαδο γωζογανο** (*zolado gōzogano*), Zhulād Gōzgān. Zhulād is a personal name, while Gōzgān is either a family name or a dynastic title. The coins were struck by a ruler of Gōzgān (Jūzjān), a region in what is now northern Afghanistan. It is not known whether he was a Hephthalite or belonged to a native, pre-Hephthalite, aristocracy.

Drachms in the name of Zhulād Gōzgān are known for Anbīr (7.6 **ANBYR**) dated 63–6 and 68–9 and Marw (7.68 **MLW**) dated 69(H or YE). All his coins have the Bactrian word **αμβηρο** (*ambēro*) in the reverse margin, for Anbīr, in the Gōzgān (Jūzjān) district of Khurāsān. Most of his issues with **ANBYR** mint signature also have **ʾpzwn / GDH γαριγο βαυο** (*garigo šavo*) in the reverse margin. The Pahlavi words refer to 'increase in splendour'. The Bactrian means 'king of Ghar' or 'king of the mountains'. Sims-Williams has suggested this may indicate the region referred to in the *Hudād al-ʿalam* as 'Gharchistān of Gōzgānan', that part of Gharchistān which paid tribute to the *malik* of Gōzgān.[14]

Fig. 14.4.1. Zhulād Gōzgān, mint **ANBYR**, 68H or YE (= 80H), 3.76g
(British Museum, Walker 1941, p. 128, no. 247)

Fig. 14.4.2. Zhulād Gōzgān, mint **ANBYR**, 69H or YE (= 81H), 3.79g
(British Museum, Walker 1941, p. 129, no. 250)

Anbīr was probably under the control of the Hephthalites or another local ruler when these coins were issued (63 to 69H or YE). The absence of coins in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim after his sole issue for Anbīr dated 63H is no doubt pertinent in this regard.

The name Zhulād Gōzgān also appears in the reverse margin of a drachm in the name of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab from Anbīr (7.6 **ANBYR**) dated 84H,[15] with the Arabic name of the region, Jūzjān, in the margin. Is this Zhulād Gōzgān the same person as that named on the coins dated 63–9? If the latter are Hijrī dates he would have ruled for over 20 years or Zhulād Gōzgān could be a title. The coins dated 63–9 could be using YE dates (= 75–81H). This interpretation is supported by the lack of Arabic legends or proclamation of Islamic faith on these coins. Secondly, the drachm of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh from Anbīr (7.6 **ANBYR**) dated 64 must have a YE date (= 76H) to be consistent with the historical literature. Finally, one could read the dates as 83–9H.[16]

[13] Walker 1941, p. lxvii. Joe Cribb places these coins in the 80s Hijrī reading the second half of the dates as **hšt** for 80 rather than **sšt** for 60. He thus places Zhulād Gōzgān coins in the period 83 to 89H (rather than 63 to 29H).

[14] Sims-Williams 2008, p. 136. See also al-Muqaddasī (trans.), p. 251 that refers to the place Gharj al-Shār (Garch al-Shāh) as meaning 'mountains of the King', which the people called Gharchistān (Gharjistān).

[15] For a discussion of this issue, see Chapter 9, 58. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, pp. 328–9.

[16] Joe Cribb reads the decade as 80 **hšt** rather than 60 **šst**. This is doubtful. (Personal communication.)

Fig. 14.4.3. Yazīd b. Muhallab, mint **ANBYR**, 84H, 3.45g
(Shah Firzan collection = Baldwin's of St James's (12 June 2019), lot 2012)

The only other issue in the name of Zhulād Gōzgān is a very rare drachm with the mint signature **MLW** (7.68) for Marw dated 69H (or YE), but with *ambēro* in Bactrian in the reverse margin.[17] This may have been struck in Anbīr.

Fig. 14.4.4. Zhulād Gōzgān, mint **MLW**, 69H (or YE = 81H), 3.47g (**Pl. 74, 867**)

The coinage from Anbīr, whether with the **ANBYR** (7.6) mint signature in the reverse left field or with **MLW'** (7.68) but with *ambēro* in the reverse margin, is struck to a lower weight than the standard Arab-Sasanian drachms.[18]

14.5 *Anonymous Khusrau type with Gōzgān*

The two drachm types discussed in this section are both extremely rare. A drachm in the name of Khusrau has the Bactrian word **γωζογανο** (*gōzogano*) signifying the district of Gōzgān, instead of an Arabic inscription, in the second quarter margin.[19] If there ever was a legend in the third quarter margin it has been obliterated by a countermark, probably Hephthalite. This has a legend naming Zhulād, suggesting it was authorised by Zhulād Gōzgān, i.e. the same person or office referred to in section 14.4 above. The date is probably 50, if one reads the legend **pnč'h** (albeit **pnčsyh** for 35 is just possible). If 50 is a YE date, it equates to 62H, which is the year before the first issues were struck in the name of Zhulād Gōzgān from Anbīr (assuming one adopts the Hijrī era for those issues). The mint signature should be regarded as uncertain because of the difficulties posed by the ambiguous Pahlavi script. One possibility is **ZAWL** (7.118) for Zābul. Other suggested readings are **ZND**,[20] **HWL** (**HWR**),[21] **APZWT'** (**'pzwt'**)[22] and **ZWB** or **ZNB**.[23] The readings of **ZND** and **APZWT** can be excluded as being manifestly wrong.

[17] **Pl. 74, 867**; Walker 1941, no. 254.

[18] Chapter 13, p. 395.

[19] Walker 1941, p. 14, no. T.2 did not illustrate the coin as it was not issued by the Arabs and has no Arabic legend. This coin in the British Museum is illustrated by Sims-Williams 2008, p. 118, fig. 1.

[20] Walker 1941, p. 14, no. T.2.

[21] Göbl 1967, I, p. 257.

[22] Humbach 1967, p. 51.

[23] Sims-Williams 2008, p. 117.

Fig. 14.5.1. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **ZAWL** (?), year 50, 3.77g
(British Museum, BM 1894, 0506.1282)

A related issue in the name of Khusrau with *gozgano* in the second quarter margin, has an unambiguous mint signature, **ANBYR** (7.6) for Anbīr on the reverse. The date, 25, could be a PYE date equivalent to 57H.

Fig. 14.5.2. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **ANBYR**, year 25 (PYE? = 57H), 3.43g (**Pl. 2, 14**)

14.6 '*Kurm-zād*'

A different name in Bactrian is found in the obverse right field, in place of Zhulād Gōzgān, on a poorly preserved but legible coin.[24] Sims-Williams has transcribed it as **KOPMO** / **ZOOO** which can be interpreted in several ways: **χοϱμο** / **ζαδο** (*kormo* / *zado*, kurm-zād); **χαϱμο** / **ζαδο** (*karmo* / *zado*; karm-zād); **χοϱμα** / **ζαδο** = *korma* / *zado*, karm-zād), or **χαϱμ** / **ζαδο** (*karma* / *zado*, karm-āzād).[25] Walker read the mint signature as **APNURAN** (?) but would appear to be either **APNWLAN** (**'pnwl'n**) or **SPNWLAN** (**spnwl'n**) (7.10A). In view of the style, presence of Bactrian legends and reference to Anbīr in the reverse margin, the signature probably represents a place in north-eastern Khurāsān. The date is probably 39 (**nwsyh**), which is far too early to be a Hijrī date. Walker considered it to be a YE era date, equivalent to 50H, which also seems early. The other alternative is to treat it as a PYE date, equivalent to 71H, which places it just after the Zhulād Gōzgān issues. This is plausible.[26] The obverse marginal legend in the first and second quarters is the Arabic *baraka* / *bism allāh* ('Benediction, in the name of God').[27] The reverse marginal legend is in both Pahlavi and Bactrian. The Pahlavi legend, which extends from the fourth to the third quarter, reads **GDH 'pzwt' 'nbyl** (*xvarrah abzūd*, *anbīr*; 'the royal glory has been increased, Anbīr'). Sims-Williams regards the Bactrian legend, in the first to third quarters, as corrupt.[28]

[24] Walker 1941, p. 127, ANS.17.

[25] Sims-Williams 2008, p. 117.

[26] *SICA* 1, p. 41, PYE 39 commenced on 18 Dhu'l-Hijja 70, i.e. the last month of 70H.

[27] The word *baraka* can also be translated as 'blessings'.

[28] Sims-Williams 2008, p. 117.

Fig. 14.6.1. Kurm-zād, mint **APNWLAN**, year 39 (PYE? = 71H), 2.34g
(American Numismatic Society; ANS 0000.999.20048)

The name read as Kurm-zād is also found on a related issue. It has an obverse marginal legend: (tamga symbol) / *bism allāh* (3 pellets) / (3 pellets) *baraka* ('In the name of God, benediction'). The reverse has the mint signature **ANBYR** (Anbīr) in the left field and probably the same date 39 (**nwsyh**) to the right of the attendants. The reverse margin is in Pahlavi: (2 pellets) / **ʾpzwn** / **GDH** / (2 pellets), 'the royal glory has been increased'. This is closely related to the issues of Zhulād Gōzgān with **ANBYR** mint signature. The only known example is in the Iraq Museum.[29]

Fig. 14.6.2. **Kurm-zād**, mint **ANBYR**, year 39 (PYE = 71H), 3.60g, 32mm (Iraq Museum 15818)

14.7 *Frum Kēsar*[30]

Four types of coin bear the Bactrian legend **ϕϱομο χησαϱο** (*fromo kēsaro*; Frum Kēsar, 'Caesar of Rome'), a rather grand name or title. It appears that Frum Kēsar was king of Kābul, who ascended the throne shortly before 738, and whose territory extended to Zābul.[31] Frum Kēsar's father bears the Turkish title Tegin, suggesting he was a Turk rather than a Hephthalite. In any event he was an enemy of the Arabs.

On the first type this name or title is found on the first and second quarter margin of a drachm which is otherwise anonymous. To the right of the bust is the Pahlavi legend **bg** / **hwtyp'** ('His Majesty, Lord'). The mint signature is equivocal, but can be read as **ZAWL** (7.117) for Zābul in Zābulistān, but other readings have been suggested such as **ZRNG** for Zaranj in Sīstān.[32] The date is equivocal.[33] On some issues it could be read as **hpt** for 7 or perhaps a shortened version of 70 **hpt**(**ʾt**), or another date in the 70sH.[34]

[29] Al-Qazzaz 1975, who ascribed the coin to al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Hārithi, by misreading *baraka* in the third quarter obverse margin.

[30] Humbach 1983; Göbl 1983, pp. 105–10; Humbach 1987; Mochiri 1987, pp. 88–9.

[31] Rezakhani 2017, pp. 170–1.

[32] Mochiri 1987, pp. 88–9, who reads the date legend as **hph**, a shortened version of 77H.

[33] **Pl. 113, 1329**; Sims-Williams 2008, p. 123; Vondrovec 2014, vol. 2, p. 675, type 250.

[34] **Pl. 114, 1333**.

Fig. 14.7.1. Fromo Kēsaro, mint **ZAWL** (?), year 7(?), 3.49g (**Pl. 14, 1333**)

The second type is similar, but is very rare and has an unusual design. On the obverse margin, the Bactrian legend extends to all four quarters: **φρομο κησορο βαγο χοδδηο** (*fromo kēso bago xoddēo*; 'Frum Kēsar, the noble Lord'). The date is uncertain. In the reverse margin, in each of the four quarters there is what at first sight looks like a thunderbolt symbol, but is more likely to be a tamga.

Fig. 14.7.2. Fromo Kēsaro, mint **ZAWL** (?), year uncertain, 3.22g (**Pl. 114, 1338**)

The third type of drachm has the name Spur[35] (in corrupted Pahlavi) in the obverse right field, and a Bactrian legend in the margin **Φορομ** / **ο κησορο** / **ζηορο βο**(**γο**) / **χοδηο** ('Fromo Kēsaro, Zeoro, the Mighty?, King, the Lord'). On some issues the Pahlavi dates are clearly 4 and 8 (probably regnal years) and the mint signature is **ZAWL** (7.117 Zābul).[36] On others the date legend is undecipherable.[37]

Fig. 14.7.3. Fromo Kēsaro, mint **ZAWL**, year 4, 3.54g (**Pl. 113, 1322**)

On the fourth type the same name or title is found on horseshoe shaped countermarks on various Arab-Sasanian issues. This suggests hostility towards, and a victory over, the Arabs. The countermarks have been read by Sims-Williams:[38]

> Obverse margin: Bactrian legend countermark from 1h **φρομο κησορο βαγο χοδδηο κιδαβο ταζιιανο χαοτο** (*fromo kēso bago xoddēo kidabo taziiano xasto*)
>
> Reverse margin: Bactrian legend countermark from 10h (2 tamga like symbols) **οδο σαρβο οαβατο ασο ιμο β̋ ογδινδο** (*odo sarbo sabato aso imo bogdindo*)
>
> 'Caesar of Rome, the noble Lord, who smote the Arabs / and thereby preserved prosperity (literally fat and fatness)'

[35] Rezakhani 2017, p. 174. The word Spur appears on various other issues and is likely to be a title, rather than a personal name.

[36] **Pl. 113, 1322**; Vondrovec 2014, vol. 2, p. 674, type 247, which only lists year 4, but year 8 is also known, with a variety of marginal legends in Pahlavi on the reverse.

[37] **Pl. 113, 1323**.

[38] Sims-Williams 2008, p. 124. There are variants of the legend.

The countermarks appear in some cases to have been struck on drachms a considerable time after the host coin was issued. The drachms seem to have been randomly selected from circulation and countermarked on behalf of a local ruler called Frum Kēsar, or someone claiming that eminent title.

Fig. 14.7.4. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, mint **DA**, 54 YE (66H), 4.08g (**Pl. 38, 441**)[39]

Examples with this countermark in the Catalogue are as follows:

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr	**DA** (7.36 Dārābgerd)	54 YE (66H) (**Pl. 38, 441**)
ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh	**BYŠ** (7.34 Bīshāpūr)	70H (**Pl. 28, 319**)
ʿAtiyya b. al-Aswad	**KLMAN** (7.58.1 Kirmān)	71H (**Pl. 56, 649**)
Al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra	**ST** (7.89 Istakhr)	78H (**Pl. 103, 1209**)

In addition the countermarks have been noted on drachms of Yazdgard III (**SK**, year 7); anonymous Khusrau type (**BYŠ**, 47H and 50H; **SK**, 48H); Salm b. Ziyād (**MLWLWT**, 63H); Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh (**SK**, 64H); ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (**KLMAN**, 67H; **YZ**, 69H); al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (**ART**);[40] al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra (**BYŠ**, 75H).[41]

14.8 *Other Hephthalite countermarks*

There are various other countermarks, which have been classified as Hephthalite, found on Arab-Sasanian drachms. These are considered in Chapter 12. The names Zhulād, Bēsut (*bēsoto*), and Skag (*skago*) feature.[42]

Fig. 14.8.1. Zhulād Gōzgān, mint **ANBYR** (7.6), 64H, countermark 34 (Zhulād), 3.41g (**Pl. 2, 16**)

Fig. 14.8.2. Salm b. Ziyād, mint **MLW** (7.68), 68H, countermark 34 (Zhulād) in Q2 and Q4 and countermark 39 (Skago) in Q1, 3.54g (**Pl. 73, 860**)

[39] Bates reads the date on this coin as 59YE, which is a possible reading if one treats the first letter as **n** rather than **č**.

[40] Sims-Williams 2008, pp. 127–8 for list with references.

[41] Roma Numismatic Auction 17, 28 March 2019, lot 889 (lot withdrawn).

[42] Whether these persons were Hephthalites is uncertain.

CHAPTER 15

LATE SĪSTĀN ISSUES

This chapter discusses the silver or billion drachms struck in Sīstān (**SK**). Arab-Sasanian type drachms continued to be struck here well after their minting had ceased in the rest of Iran, and Iraq. Sears divided these Sīstān coins into four classes. His final Class IV, which was struck during the ʿAbbāsid period, is the main subject of this chapter.[1] Classes I to III were struck in the Umayyad period and are summarised here but discussed in detail in Chapter 7, section 7.87 **SK**.[2]

The quality of the engraving, the style, silver purity and production standards of these Sīstān coins were all poorer in the ʿAbbāsid period than they had been during the Umayyad period. The dies were crudely engraved and the legends on the reverse deteriorated to what look like a few dashes in place of the mint signature and dates.

These ʿAbbāsid coins used to be rare, but since the early 1980s a considerable number have reached the market, in part because of hoard finds in the regions of Sīstān and Baluchistān in the east of Iran and Pakistan.

Most issues have the name 'Khusrau' in Pahlavi to the right of the bust on the obverse with the usual crescent and star at 3, 6 and 9h in the margin. The obverse marginal inscriptions, in Arabic, are the primary features distinguishing the various issues. Further, many types are countermarked with the name of an official in Arabic.

Some officials' names can be matched with specific persons known from written sources such as the *Tārīkh-ī Sīstān* ('the History of Sīstān').[3] There are gaps in these sources, though, as some names found on the coins are unknown from the literary sources. Other names on the coins are difficult to read.

Album has sought to put all the classes in chronological order, primarily on stylistic grounds, based on the research of Sears.[4] Although some of Album's date ranges are only tentative, they are nonetheless a useful guide.[5]

15.1 *Class I.* Normal Arab-Sasanian drachms struck in Sīstān with the **SK** mint signature and legible dates. They can be anonymous (in the names of Khusrau or Yazdgard) or have the name of an official. The weight standard aims at the usual 4.1 grams, albeit the weights are often lower. These coins were struck from 31H until 86H

Fig. 15.1. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 48H, 3.69g (**Pl. 83, 972**)

[1] Sears 1999. Historically these drachms fall outside the period covered by this work but are covered briefly for completeness.

[2] Chapter 7, pp. 199–207, see also Malek 2017a for a survey of the coinage of Sīstān.

[3] Bosworth 1968.

[4] Sears 1999.

[5] Album 2011, pp. 31–3.

Fig. 15.2. Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh, mint **SK**, 66H, 3.81g (**Pl. 86, 1004**)

15.2 *Class II*. Drachms in the name of Khusrau, with no official named. The style of the coins and the epigraphy is increasingly crude, but the weight standard is still in the range 4.08 to 4.12 grams and the silver is relatively good quality on the basis of visual judgment. These were struck in the period 65 to 90H and are usually dated.

Fig. 15.3. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 65H (?), 3.96g (**Pl. 86, 1002**)

15.3 *Class III*. These coins are all anonymous. They were struck between 87 and the 140sH. Many are dated until about 109H. The weight standard was lower, in the region of 3.86 to 3.96 grams and the quality of the silver was reduced to 40 to 60% purity. Sears divided this class into eight sub-classes.[6] These coins often display crudely inscribed or uncertain date legends. Even on coins with the same date there are varieties in the epigraphy as can be seen from Figs 15.5 to 15.8, all purportedly dated 102H.

Fig. 15.4. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 101H, 3.65g (**Pl. 94, 1099**)

Fig. 15.5. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 102H, (**dwʾčst**), 3.78g
(British Museum, BM 1983, 0514.3)

[6] Sears 1999.

Fig. 15.6. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 102H (**TLYNst**), 3.59g (British Museum, BM 1983, 0514.15)

Fig. 15.7. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, uncertain date 102H (**TLYNhst**?), 3.64g (British Museum, BM 1983, 0514.5)

Fig. 15.8. Anonymous Khusrau type, minst **SK**, uncertain date 102H (**TLYNs**?), **ʾpd** (*afīd*, 'excellent') in Q1 obverse, 3.41g (British Museum, BM 1983, 0514. 14)

The usual obverse marginal legend is *bism allāh* / *rabbī* in the second and third quarters of the obverse margin, but occasionally additional words or letters are added in the first or fourth quarters.

Fig. 15.9. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 102H (**dwʾsty**), Arabic word in Q1 obverse, 3.41g (British Museum, BM 1983, 0514.17)

Fig. 15.10. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 102H (**dwst**), Arabic word in Q1 obverse, 3.60g (British Museum, BM 1983, 0514.19)

Fig. 15.11. Anonymous Khusrau type, mint **SK**, 106H, Pahlavi letter **m** in Q1 obverse, 3.59g (British Museum, BM 1983, 0514.20)

Fig. 15.12. Anonymous Khusrau, mint **SK**, uncertain date 101H (’**wkst**), *jā’iz* or *jabīr* in Q1 obverse, 3.72g (British Museum, BM 1983, 0514.11)

15.4 *Class IV*. This class was struck during the ʿAbbāsid period, from around 138 to 200H. The coins usually have the name of an official. The weight standard was around 3.86 to 3.87g, but the weights of individual coins fluctuate considerably. The silver purity was low, ranging from 10 to 50%. These coins are usually undated, with a series of meaningless strokes in place of the date. A semblance of a date legend can be found on a few issues, but it is usually crudely inscribed. The standard marginal legend includes *bism allāh* / *rabbī* in the second and third quarters on the obverse, as on Class III. The principal distinction between the various issues within Class IV is the presence of Arabic words in the first and/ or fourth quarters with the name of an official, usually in the first quarter. The mint place Zaranj is sometimes present in the third quarter.

Fig. 15.13. Khusrau type with ʿAbd Allāh, mint **SK**, undated, 3.57g (**Pl. 95, 1116**; type 89B)

Table 15.1. Late Sīstān type drachms

This Table is set out in the order given in Album 2011 (*Checklist*) for Sears Class IV. The Notes largely follow Album but with some changes, and include the obverse marginal legend, but with Album’s suggested dates converted into Hijrī.

Malek no.	*Album no.*	*Name of official*	*Notes*	*Catalogue no.* (*and figure*)
15.1	80	Sulaymān	Probably Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbbāsid governor of Sīstān, 138–41H, *sulaymān / bism allāh / rabbī*	**Pl. 97, 1142** (Fig. 15.14)
15.2	81	Jannah	Unknown official (140sH), *jannāh* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 96, 1128** (Fig. 15.16)

Malek no.	*Album no.*	*Name of official*	*Notes*	*Catalogue no.* (*and figure*)
15.3	82C	Muhallab	Unknown official (140sH), *muhallab* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 97, 1132** (Fig. 15.17)
15.4	Y83	Yazīd b. Mansūr	Yazīd b. Mansūr governor of Sīstān, 146–50H. In place of Khusrau right of bust *yazīd bn al-mansūr*	
15.5	83	Yazīd	Possibly same person as Yazīd b. Mansūr, *yazīd* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 98, 1149** (Fig. 15.18)
15.6	83D	Shabīb	Unknown official, *shabīb* right of bust (140–150sH) possibly Shabīb b. ʿUbayd Allāh, - / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 97, 1141**
15.7	86	Qudāma	Unknown official (150sH), *qudāma* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 97, 1135** **Pl. 97, 1136** (Fig. 15.19)
15.8	86D	Halīl	Unknown official (150sH), *halīl* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 96, 1123** **Pl. 96, 1124** (Fig. 15.20)
15.9	M84	Mushajiʿ	Unknown official (150sH), *mushajiʿ* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	
15.10	87	Murād	Unknown official (150sH), *murād* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 97, 1134** (Fig. 15.21)
15.11	N84	ʿAmr	Unknown official (150sH), *ʿamrn* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 95, 1118** **Pl. 96, 1119** (Fig. 15.22)
15.12	84	Khālid	Possibly Khālid b. Suwayd, deputy governor of Sīstān in 159H, *khālid* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 96, 1129** (Fig. 15.23)
15.13	84B	al-ʿAbbās	Unknown official (150sH), *al-ʿabbās* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 95, 1115**
15.14	84D	ʿUthmān	Possibly ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar al-Muzani, governor in Sīstān in 172–6H, *ʿuthmān* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 98, 1148**
15.15	85	Mismaʿ	Unknown official (160s–170sH), *mismaʿ* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 97, 1131** (Fig. 15.24)
15.16	82	ʿIshāq	Possibly ʿIshaq b. Saman, in Sīstān in 193H, no later than 204H, *ʿishaq* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 96, 1126** **Pl. 96, 1127** (Fig. 15.25)
15.17	87E	Bakkar	Unknown official (150s–160sH), *bakkar* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 96, 1120** **Pl. 96, 1121** **Pl. 96, 1122**
15.18	88	Muhammad b. Zubayr	Possibly son of Zubayr b. Muhammad governor of Sīstān prior to 166H (160sH), *muhammad bn zubayr* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 97, 1133** (Fig. 15.26)
15.19	89	Tamīm b. Saʿīd	Tamīm b. Saʿīd, governor of Sīstān 166–70H, *tamīm b. saʿīd* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 98, 1143**
15.20	89A	ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd	Unknown official, possibly brother of Tamīm (160sH), *ʿabd allāh b.saʿīd* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 95, 1117**
15.21	89B	ʿAbd Allāh	Unknown official, possibly same as ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd (160sH), *ʿabd allāh* / *bism allāh* / *rabbī*	**Pl. 95, 1116**
15.22	89C	(Salih) ʿImad	Unknown official (160sH, *salih* in margin either name or title, *bism allāh* / *salih* / *ʿimad*	**Pl. 96, 1125**
15.23	89D	(Salih) Ridā	Unknown official (160sH), *Salih* in margin either name or title, *bism allāh* / *salih* / *ridā*	**Pl. 97, 1137** **Pl. 97, 1138** **Pl. 97, 1139** **Pl. 97, 1140**
15.24	89E	Tamīsh(?)	Unknown official (170sH), *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / *tamīsh* (?)	**Pl. 98, 1144** **Pl. 98, 1145**
15.25	89F	ʿUdayy	Unknown official (170sH), *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / *ʿudayy*	**Pl. 98, 1146**

Malek no.	*Album no.*	*Name of official*	*Notes*	*Catalogue no.* (*and figure*)
15.26	A80	Anonymous	Mint place Zaranj (170sH), *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / *bi-zaranj*	**Pl. 98, 1150** **Pl. 98, 1151**
15.27	89T	Anonymous	Reference to 'Justice' (170sH), *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / *ʿadl*	
15.28	A90	Daʿud b. Yazīd	Daʿud b. Yazīd was sent to Sīstān in 177H to fight Khārijites. Countermark on reverse in his name on various types, *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / *bi-zaranj*	
15.29	B90	al-Layth	al-Layth (b. al-Fadl) (200–4H).[6] Countermark on obverse margin, *al-layth jāʾiz* on various types	**Pl. 98, 1152** **Pl. 98, 1154**
15.30	C90	al-Layth and Daʿud b. Yazīd	al-Layth and Daʿud b. Yazīd (200sH). Countermarks on obverse margin, *al-layth jāʾiz* and reverse centre, Daʿud b. Yazīd on various types	**Pl. 98, 1153**
15.31	D90	Ibrahīm	Ibrahīm, unknown official (200sH).[7] Countermark *ibrahīm jāʾiz* on obverse margin on various types	
15.32	-	al-Layth and Ibrahīm	Ibrahīm and al-Layth (200sH). Countermarks on obverse margin: *al-layth jāʾiz* and *ibrahīm jāʾiz*	**Pl. 99, 1155**
15.33	-	Yaʿqub	Yaʿqub, unknown official (200sH).[8] Countermark on reverse margin on various types	
15.34	89K	al-Maʿmūn	al-Maʿmūn, ʿAbbāsid Caliph (194–218H), *bism allāh* / *rabbī* [ ] / *al-maʿmūn*	**Pl. 96, 1130**

Some of these issues have the mint name Zaranj in the margin and it is likely that most, if not all, were minted there. Their circulation must have been primarily local, unlike the Arab-Sasanian drachms of the Umayyad period which circulated widely. These coins tend to come onto the market either in isolation, or as part of a group of coins of the same type, and not mixed with the earlier Arab-Sasanian drachms.

When Walker published the British Museum *Catalogue* in 1941, there were only two late Sīstān drachms in the collection. He described these as barbarous imitations.[10] Drachms of this series acquired by the museum since Walker's publication are illustrated below. These were purchased from A.H. Baldwin and Sons Ltd in 1983. They all apparently came from the same large group which included both issues of Class III dated between 101 and 107H as well as the undated and later types of Class IV. This shows that these coins circulated alongside each other. The examples illustrated here are published following the order in Table 15.1.

Fig. 15.14. Sulaymān, Album type 80, 3.32g (BM 1983, 0514.24)

[7] Lloyd 2017, p. 146 notes that the name al-Layth also appears on ʿAbbāsid dirhams struck at Zaranj dated 204H.

[8] Lloyd 2017, p. 146 suggests he may have been Ibrahīm b. al-Hysayn al Qusi who was governor of Sīstān for the Tahirids in the period 225 to 239H.

[9] Lloyd 2017, pp. 146–7 suggests that this may be Yaʿqub b. al-Layth, the founder of the Saffarid dynasty who became governor of Bust in 238H and the whole of Sīstān in 247H.

[10] Walker 1941, pp. 125–6, nos 244 (Shabīb, Album type 83D) and 245 (anonymous, mint place Zaranj in obverse margin, Album type A80).

Fig. 15.15. Uncertain, two Arabic letters in Q1 obverse, Album unlisted, 3.39g (BM 1983, 0514.29)

Fig. 15.16. Jannah, Album type 81 (Malek no. 15.2), 3.57g (BM 1983, 0514.30)

Fig. 15.17. Muhallab, Album type 82C (Malek no. 15.3), 3.53g (BM 1983, 0514.44)

Fig. 15.18. Yazīd, Album type 83 (Malek no. 15.5), 3.57g (BM 1983, 0514.47)

Fig. 15.19. Qudāma, Album type 86 (Malek no. 15.7), 3.59g (BM 1983, 0514.53)

Fig. 15.20. Halīl, Album type 86D (Malek no. 15.8), 3.48g (BM 1983, 0514.57)

Fig. 15.21. Murād (?), Album type 87 (Malek no. 15.10), 3.42g (BM 1983, 0514.58)

Fig. 15.22. ʿAmr (?), Album type N84 (Malek no. 15.11), 3.41g (BM 1983, 0514.64)

Fig. 15.23. Khālid, Album type 84 (Malek no. 15.12), 3.38g (BM 1983, 0514.63)

Fig. 15.24. Mismaʿ, Album type 85 (Malek no. 15.15), 3.81g (BM 1983, 0514.66)

Fig. 15.25. ʿIshāq, Album type 82 (Malek no. 15.16), 3.19g (BM 1983, 0514.73)

Fig. 15.26. Muhammad b. Zubayr, Album type 88 (Malek no. 15.18), 3.54g (BM 1983, 0514.60)

CHAPTER 16

COLLECTIONS, COIN FINDS AND FORGERIES

16.1 *Numismatic literature*[1]

The first serious studies on Arab-Sasanian coins were written by Mordtmann (1854, 1871, 1879) and Dorn (1856a, 1856b, 1859, 1877). Although some of their ideas are still valid the series has developed so much, in terms of research and known examples of coins, that there is rarely any need to refer back to their publications.

Three major works cover the series as a whole (silver and copper) and one covers the copper. First, Walker's seminal catalogue of the British Museum collection (1941), which incorporates coins in other collections and published works; second Gaube's *Arabosasanidische Numismatik* (1973); and third Album's catalogue of coins in the Ashmolean Museum (incorporating the Shamma collection) in Oxford (2002). Both Walker's and Gaube's books are now dated, but Walker's catalogue is well illustrated so his readings can usually be checked. Gaube's work has far fewer illustrations and, while it has a table of mint and date combinations, its utility is limited as there are no cross-references to known examples. Album's catalogue is very useful and has an introduction giving an overview of the series. He has a wealth of practical experience in dealing with the series over many years and his observations are pertinent. Gyselen's excellent book on copper coins (revised 2009) supersedes all previous work on the subject.[2]

More specialist works discuss individual mints or series, or publish newly discovered coins. Miles and Bates, both American Numismatic Society (ANS) curators, have produced excellent work and have taken a prudent and conscientious approach to attributing coins and the conclusions which can be drawn. Miles published a significant number of coins from the ANS collection as well as elsewhere (1950 and 1959). Not all his views are accepted today. For example, he conflated the two separate mint signatures of **GD** (7.44 Jayy) and **LD** (7.63 Rayy) in *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (1938). His article on Kirmān (1960) has been overtaken by new discoveries. Bates' study of the first century of Islamic numismatics is a work of solid scholarship (1986). Mochiri published a significant number of Arab-Sasanian coins, many with noteworthy features. His articles on specific mints are particularly useful: Kirmān (1985, 2000), Dārābgerd (2006), Shīrāz (2010b). Some of his views are controversial, particularly where he seeks to draw more from the material than can be confidently established, as in his *Arab-Sasanian Civil War Coinage* (1987). There are still gaps in our knowledge of Arab-Sasanian coins, such as the attribution of certain mint signatures, the eras employed on particular coins, or the meaning of some Pahlavi legends. It is often better to recognise that we do not yet have all the answers, than to seek to fill in the voids by speculation.

Sears, as well as producing his doctoral thesis on the monetary history of Iraq and Iran (1997) dealing with late Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins, has made an important contribution to the understanding and categorisation of drachms from Sīstān (1989, 1999), as well as particular aspects of coinage from Kirmān (1996, 2003a) and coins from the Umayyad north (1995, 2003b).

Both of Shams-Eshragh's books on early Islamic coinage illustrate a number of rare Arab-Sasanian coins (1990, 2010).

Sims-Williams (2008), with his familiarity with the Bactrian legends and historical sources, has made major advances in the Arab-Hephthalite coinage.

One cannot be confident of the readings in Guillou's catalogue of the collection in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (1953), which is replete with errors. Unfortunately the plates are poor quality so his identifications cannot be checked. This will be rectified in Gyselen's *SNS* volume, see below.

[1] Much of the literature is set out in the Bibliography at pp. 727–41. This is merely an overview of some of the key works, which may be consulted; it is not intended to be exhaustive.

[2] Treadwell's important article on the chronology of the copper (2008) takes the subject further.

Chapter 7 lists mint and date combinations with references to the main published sources. Where examples are not known from these sources reference is made to other collections (see below) and to sources such as auction catalogues. The latter are only used where the coin reading has been checked. Auction catalogues and dealers' lists are an important resource, particularly where coins are illustrated, but caution should be exercised as the readings are often incorrect.[3]

16.2 *Collections*[4]

Iran. The main public collections are those of the Muzeh Melli Iran and Malek Museums in Tehran. The Muzeh Melli Iran collection contains coins from a number of sources, including excavations, chance finds, purchases (pre-1980), seizures and donations. The Sasanian part of the collection has been published by Curtis and others.[5] The Arab-Sasanian part has not yet been published, but it is being studied with a view to publication.[6] The Malek Museum has an important collection of Iranian coins, both the pre-Islamic and Islamic, many in top condition. The coin museum of Bank Sepah in Tehran has a collection of 132 Arab-Sasanian coins. The coin museum of the Moztazʿafaan Foundation in Tehran has 12 Arab-Sasanian coins. The Stamps, Banknotes and Coin Museum of the Astan Quds-e Razavi in Mashhad has 13 Arab-Sasanian coins. The Kazameini Museum in Yazd has approximately 40 Arab-Sasanian coins.[7] There are some significant private collections in Iran, such as that formed by Shams Eshragh,[8] but the restrictions on the coin trade in Iran make some collectors reluctant to have details of their collections, or even their existence, published.

Iraq, Turkey, Israel, Uzbekistan. The Iraq Museum's significant collection was published by al-Naqshbandi (1974) but unfortunately the plates are of poor quality. Some coins from the Istanbul collection, and other collections worldwide, were included in Walker's catalogue (1941). Schindel has produced a catalogue of the Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins in Israel as part of the *SNS* series (2009).[9] This volume included more Arab-Sasanian coins than the Usbekistan volume in the same series by Baratova, Schindel and Rtveladze (2012).[10]

United Kingdom. The most important museum collection in the United Kingdom is that of the British Museum which was published in full by Walker in 1941. Since then a number of coins were added by Lowick but few have been added since the 1990s. The collection now has well over 400 Arab-Sasanian coins, all of which are referred to in Chapter 7. The Fitzwilliam Museum collection in Cambridge is now available online and publication is forthcoming.[11] The Ashmolean Museum collection in Oxford has been published by Album (2002) along with the Shamma collection, the latter now being in the National Museum of Qatar.[12]

Qatar. The then holdings then in the National Museum of Qatar (Doha) (141 drachms) were published by al-ʿUsh (1984). Since then the museum's holdings have increased dramatically. As well as acquiring the Shamma collection the Museum also acquired the Warden-Album collection of around 600 drachms. A photographic record of the Warden-Album collection exists.[13]

[3] The auction catalogues of Baldwin's, Leu, Morton and Eden, Münz Zentrum, Sotheby's, Spink, Stephen Album illustrate many Arab-Sasanian coins.

[4] See also Malek 2004, Chapter 12, pp. 70–1 for a list of collections relevant to Tabaristān coins. By and large the same collections and reference works also include Arab-Sasanian coins. The listing here is not intended to be exhaustive.

[5] Curtis 2010 and 2012; reviewed Malek 2011 and 2013.

[6] The curator Dr Baseri is intending to publish these in 2019.

[7] These are being studied for publication by A. Amini.

[8] His works include some coins from his collection, but he does not give provenances or locations for the coins he published (1990 and 2010).

[9] See also Sears 2010 review.

[10] Israel: 94, plus 19 Tabaristān; Usbekistan: 1, plus 4 Tabaristān (both excluding Bukhārā).

[11] Dr Adrian Popescu hopes that this volume will be published in 2019.

[12] The Ashmolean *Sylloge* publishes 429 coins, excluding Tabaristān.

[13] Held by Michael Bates and Stephen Album.

United States of America. In the USA the principal collection is that of the American Numismatic Society (about 400 coins). Most of that collection is available online, albeit the mint descriptions are currently not accurate. In addition, some coins from the ANS collection were included in Walker (1941) and Miles (1950). The coins from the ANS collection are referred to in Chapter 7.

Europe and Russia. The Arab-Sasanian coins in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna) are the subject of the final volume of the *SNS* by Gyselen.[14] As already noted, Guillou's (1953) catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale coins was deficient in a number of respects.[15] The collections in the Hermitage (St Petersburg), and the Moscow museums, have extensive holdings of Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins, only parts of which have been published.[16]

Private collections outside Iran. Mochiri's collection, formerly in Paris and now in Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, is one of the most important private collections. Many coins from his collection appear in his publications. Weber (2013) has published his own collection of 195 drachms in a well illustrated catalogue, albeit not all the readings are accurate. The Johnson collection is by far the most extensive private collection.

16.3 *Coin finds*

Iran. Unauthorised excavating for coins and antiquities in Iran is illegal and any such objects found should be disclosed to the authorities.[17] Trading in antiquities, including their export, has been banned since 1980.[18] Compensation for those who declare finds is limited, making it worthwhile for chance finds to be sold to dealers. Most coin hoards are therefore not declared but dispersed in the market, sometimes over long periods of time, without being published.

Official excavations in Iran have found Arab-Sasanian coins and some of those have been published in the West: Curiel and Gyselen 1987 (Bīshāpūr), Gyselen 1984 (Susa), Miles 1959 (Persepolis region), Walker 1956 (Bīshāpūr) and 1960 (Susa).

Coin finds from elsewhere. One rarely hears of hoards of Arab-Sasanian coins, either from archaeological excavations or on the market, found in any country. Those which do appear on the market have no firm provenance. Gyselen and Nègre (1982) published a group of 2,820 coins ranging from the Sasanian period up to 205H, which included 95 Arab-Sasanian drachms. This parcel could have been from a single find but one cannot be sure, given the lack of provenance and the long date range of the group. Album (1992) published a hoard group with a closing date of 72H, but again it had no provenance. In 2003 a group of around 4000 Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins appeared on the market, supposedly found in Kirmān province. It was also said that the group included Umayyad dirhams. Claims about this supposed hoard have been impossible to verify. In reality it may have been an accumulation of coins from a number of different sources and locations formed decades before.[19]

Given the wealth and influence of the Umayyad empire, it is not surprising that Arab-Sasanian coins are found from a wide area stretching from Scandinavia (where they are often present in Viking hoards)[20] to China (along the Silk Route). Silver drachms found in Xinjiang province in China and now in the Xinjiang

[14] The Arab-Sasanian drachms (approximately 1050) will be included in *SNS* 6. Most of the copper coins (approximately 260) have already been published in Gyselen 2009.

[15] See R. Curiel, review of Guillou's catalogue in *Journal Asiatique* 252 (1954), pp. 121–4.

[16] Kolesnikov 1998.

[17] *Legal bill regarding prevention of unauthorised excavations and diggings intended to obtain antiquities and historical relics which according to international criteria, have been made or have come into being one hundred or more years ago* (17 May 1979); *Islamic Penal Code of the Islamic Republic of Iran* (23 May 1996), Book 5, Chapter 9, Articles 559–62.

[18] *Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran Decree* (29 February 1980).

[19] Album 2011, p. 23. Hoards of Tabaristān drachms seem to be found more frequently, sometimes containing very large numbers of coins.

[20] Kovalev 2015. For a useful reference to numerous finds of Sasanian and (lesser so) Arab-Sasanian coins in the Baltic Sea area, see Czerweiniec-Ivasyk 2017. Most Arab-Sasanian type coins found in that region are in fact Tabaristān drachms.

Museum have been published by Tsumura and Yamauchi (2003).[21] Large hoards have been found in Syria which include Arab-Sasanian drachms. Some of these have been published by Gyselen and Kalus (1983)[22] and al-ʿUsh (1972).[23] In contrast there is a dearth of Arab-Sasanian coins found in Palestine.[24]

16.4 *Unofficial strikes, imitations and contemporary counterfeits*

Official issues can be defined as coins struck by the authority named on the coins, and at the mint place and on the date specified. Contemporary counterfeits are unofficial issues not bearing an authentic name, mint signature or date. There are also imitations struck by the Huns, for example, which are 'official' (as far as they were concerned) but have spurious mints names etc. The distinction between these is often difficult to draw. Many of the latter were probably struck by the opponents of the Umayyads or indeed the Zubayrids. Issues in the name of Salm b. Ziyād for Marw (7.68 **MLW'**) and Marw al-Rud (7.69 **MLWLWT**) are unlikely to have been struck by him for those periods after he left Khurāsān and the province was taken by ʿAbd Allād b. Khāzim. Whether or not it is accurate to describe them as counterfeits is uncertain. Coins with inauthentic dates and from unknown eras are a particular problem in the series.[25]

There are some contemporary counterfeit drachms designed with the aim to profit and mislead, such as issues where the core is copper with an outer layer of silver. Spurious coins were recognised as a problem at the time. Thus al-Balādhurī records:[26]

> 'Dā'ūd, the Inspector says:- I saw a dirham upon which was 'This dirham was struck in al-Kūfa in the year 73.' Closer inspection showed that it was spurious. He continues:- 'I saw a very rare dirham, the like of which was never seen, upon which was 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād.' It was also rejected.'

Al-Balādhurī, in describing the process of administration under al-Hajjāj, throws further light on the extent of spurious coins and counterfeits in circulation:[27]

> 'Al-Hajjāj inquired about the procedure of the Persians in the matter of coining dirhams, and then erected a mint, and assembled men to do the stamping. He used to coin money for the Sultan out of the gold bullion which was collected for him, and out of the good metal obtained from spurious coin, alloyed silver, and counterfeit coin. He allowed merchants and others to have silver pieces struck for them, and kept as profit whatever remained after paying the wages of the workmen and coiners. He marked the hands of the coiners.'

A distinction should be made between unofficial strikes, imitations and contemporary counterfeits, and those produced more recently, designed to mislead collectors, namely modern forgeries.

[21] This includes a hoard found in 1959 near Wuqia with between 835 and 923 late Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins. The Arab-Sasanian part consisted of 79 anonymous issues, 52 in the names of governors and 30 uncertain coins. The countermarks on these coins are considered in Tsumura 2012.

[22] This consists of two hoard groups found in Syria. One cannot be certain whether either hoard is complete. They may be accumulations of coins from various sources. The first is the Bāb Tūma hoard, supposedly found in that district of Damascus in around 1950 and acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris in 1966. It comprises 854 silver coins: Sasanian drachms (712 coins) from Kavād I to Yazdgard III; Arab-Sasanian drachms (65 coins) of which 32 are from Dārābgerd and 22 from Bīshāpūr; Umayyad dirhams (77 coins) from 81 to 130H. The second group was purchased in Beirut in 1960 by the BnF and was reportedly found in Qamisliyya in north east Syria. It comprises 1519 coins: Sasanian drachms from Ardashīr I to Yazdgard III (255 coins); Arab-Sasanian drachms of which 32 are from Bīshāpūr, 13 from Basra and nine from Dārābgerd (74 coins); Dābūyid Ispahbads of Tabaristān drachms (31 coins); Umayyad dirhams (236 coins); ʿAbbāsid dirhams from 132 to 200H (902 coins).

[23] The so-called Damascus hoard was found in a large bronze jar in al-Tahrir Square in Damascus in 1950. The recorded part comprised 3815 silver coins: Sasanian drachms (1309 coins); Arab-Sasanian drachms (118 coins); Khwarizmian (one coin) and Umayyad dirhams (2377 coins).

[24] Sears and Ariel 2000.

[25] See chapter 8; *SICA* 1, p. 65.

[26] Al-Balādhurī (trans. Murgotten, 1924), p. 265.

[27] *Ibid*, p. 266.

16.5 *Modern forgeries*

Modern forgeries of Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins have been in existence for at least a century. One of the problems is that most dealers and auction houses lack the specialist knowledge and experience in both these series to detect forgeries. The more recent forgeries, particularly those which have been struck rather than cast, can be difficult to detect.[28] Further, some dealers do not really care whether or not the coins they sell are genuine or fake, as long as they can make a profit without any significant risk to themselves. The lack of any international trade body with the time and resources systematically to expose modern forgeries does not help matters. Even when a type has been exposed as a forgery, this does not necessarily stop trading in that forgery.

The method of manufacture of forgeries falls into two general categories – cast and struck. Cast forgeries are generally easy to detect by an experienced numismatist. A genuine coin is used to make the moulds from which the forgeries are then cast. Since the mould is made in two halves there will either be a visible joining ridge around the edge or traces of file marks which were made in an attempt to obscure the ridge. Small bubbles are often visible on the surface of cast coins. These bubbles are less likely to be found on pressure casts.[29] To confuse the subject, small bubbles can also sometimes be found on genuine coins. This can happen when a rusted die has been used, or the coin has been cleaned with acid. A coin which has corroded in the ground can have a similar look to a cast coin. Another sign of a cast coin is a lack of definition and a soapy look.[30]

More recent, and better, forgeries are struck. New dies are prepared by a number of methods using either a genuine coin as a model or a fantasy issue is created. Given the well known drawbacks with casts, sophisticated forgers prefer to make struck versions of rare coins which will fetch a high price.[31] Such forgeries are not usually struck in large numbers. Sometimes as few as five examples are made, on other occasions tens or even low hundreds can be produced. The coins can be carefully marketed with only one or two initially placed in an auction to establish a provenance or mark of acceptability as well as a price level. The auction coins are then used as a stamp of authenticity to sell the remainder. Unfortunately, even relatively well known forgeries, such as those of the Sasanian dinars of Khusrau II dated year 36, continue to be sold by dealers and auction houses.[32] There comes a stage when so many forgeries of a particular type have been sold that the market as a whole is unwilling to admit the coin is a forgery. If it did, then the dealers and auction houses who had sold the forgery would have to refund the purchasers. This could leave the sellers with the loss if they are unable to recover the money from the original consignor.

Modern forgeries are being made in Iran and sold there. In the 1970s, there was an itinerant dealer who used to hawk his wares from a briefcase in Tehran bazaar. The coins in the briefcase were all, or almost all, modern forgeries of ancient Iranian coins. In 2012, the Iranian authorities arrested a dealer in Tehran whose stock consisted of forged ancient coins. Forgeries are also being made in Afghanistan, China and Europe.

It should not be assumed that the forgers are uneducated. They carry out research and will learn from any mistakes pointed out. This chapter will not, therefore, set out the errors and the mistakes to look for in detail but some general pointers can be usefully highlighted.

[28] *SICA* 1, p. 65. In 2002 Album noted the dearth of high quality modern forgeries of Arab-Sasanian coins. Such coins do now exist and, since then, Album has expressed the view to the writer that certain new types are modern forgeries.

[29] An example of this is a cast of the rare *mihrāb* type coin which is occasionally offered for sale. There is no difficulty in finding poor quality forgeries of Arab-Sasanian drachms and some imaginative concoctions on the internet.

[30] For examples of cast forgeries on the Zeno Oriental Coins Database (https://www.zeno.ru/): ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, **BCLA**, 56H (no. 149087); Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, **DA**, 43 (no. 103147). Multiple copies are known of these two fakes.

[31] Examples of these are considered by the writer and other specialists to be the series of drachms with trilingual legends with Muhammad in the obverse margin: Morton and Eden auction 54 (23 April 2012), lots 26–27.

[32] Malek 2011, pp. 480–1; Malek 2013, pp. 485, 490–2, on the problem of Sasanian coin forgeries. The situation is not helped by the practice of some auctioneers recording the sale of a lot, when in fact it failed to sell. Some auction houses permit consignors to bid on their own lots. The same workshop that produced the forged Khusrau II dinars of year 36 may have produced the more recent forgeries of Bōrān year 2 dinars, of which the only known genuine example is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. These have been circulating since about 2015 and are very similar in style and manufacture of the Khusrau II forgeries.

One forgers' technique, not yet commonly found on Arab-Sasanian forgeries, involves altering a common coin into a rare one. This has been used for other series, including Umayyad post-reform coins, where a genuine but common mint name or date is changed into a rare one. As collectors seek out rarities this practice may be extended to Arab-Sasanian coins. Already a coin has been observed where the word *jayyid* has been added, in recent times, to the second quarter obverse margin.

Some stylistic and technical errors can be harder to interpret as they are sometimes found on genuine coins as well as forgeries. Forged Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms will often have one or more of the following errors: the wrong weight (either too low or too high, or coins from the same dies having a consistently wrong weight); too sharp striking; misshaped or concave flan; more than two languages employed; significant numbers of coins in a group from the same die; cracked edges; use of modern highly refined metal; polished looking surfaces; crude epigraphy; errors in epigraphy; re-cut features on the die (where a genuine coin has been used to make the die and the die is re-worked either to change features or to re-cut features which are obscured or worn on the genuine coin); mismatch of obverse and reverse types.[33]

Very few forged copper coins of Arab-Sasanian types are known, albeit some Byzantine style Arab-Sasanian coppers are suspect. There are no genuine gold Arab-Sasanian coins. A gold forgery in the name of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf exists and has appeared on the market from time to time since the 1980s.[34] Other gold issues are also modern forgeries.[35] Forged countermarks have been added to both Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms, the most notorious being a male head.

No genuine silver fractions of Arab-Sasanian drachms are known. Nevertheless, in 2014 and 2015 a number of silver coins with a small flan weighing around half a drachm (*c*.2.1–2.3g) appeared on the market. These are forgeries, apparently modern casts. The legends are crudely and defectively inscribed. One has a mint signature similar to **ABZŪD-K** (7.1 **APZWT-K**). The officials' names are crudely written and bear hitherto unknown names.

Particular caution must be exercised when evaluating high-priced, rare, types, such as coins from hitherto unknown rulers or coins with unusual features. For those who have handled many thousands of Arab-Sasanian coins, the forgeries tend to stand out immediately. The sad fact is, though, that collectors must be buying forgeries as the forgers continue to produce new ones. Unfortunately few collectors and dealers have the knowledge and experience to identify the high quality modern fabrications as forgeries. A further problem is that, in some cases, one cannot be sure about the authenticity of such coins by merely looking at a photograph or scan.

The fight against forgery is not helped by the fact that relatively few Arab-Sasanian coins, found in an archaeological context, have been published. The counterfeiting of coins, both ancient and modern, is a criminal offence in Iran[36] but dealing in both genuine and forged coins is illegal.

Forgery is a criminal practice. It should be confronted and deterred. Many prefer simply to say nothing about suspect coins. As well as being a problem for collectors, forgeries can falsify history. Historians may rely on references to coins in good faith without appreciating that they may be forgeries.

All the coins in the Catalogue are considered genuine and so may be used as a reference point. It may be observed that some types are not represented in the Catalogue or listed in Chapter 7, even though they have been readily available or recently published. This may be because these types have been avoided due to their doubtful nature.[37]

[33] In 2015 the writer saw a forgery in the Souq al-Muttrah in Oman where the obverse, in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, was paired with a reverse of a drachm of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh from Bīshāpūr (**BYŠ**) dated 70H.

[34] The withdrawal of coins from the market which have been exposed as forgeries, only for them to reappear later, is a recurrent theme. Göbl condemned various Sasanian gold dinars in the 1960s / 1970s, but these have reappeared in the last decade and have been sold by dealers and auction houses as genuine, often being identified as eastern issues to explain their crude style.

[35] *SICA* 1, pp. 39–40.

[36] *Islamic Penal Code, the Islamic Republic of Iran* (23 May 1996), Book 4, Chapter 4, Article 518.

[37] In Chapter 7, where an issue is listed which may be a modern forgery, this is noted.